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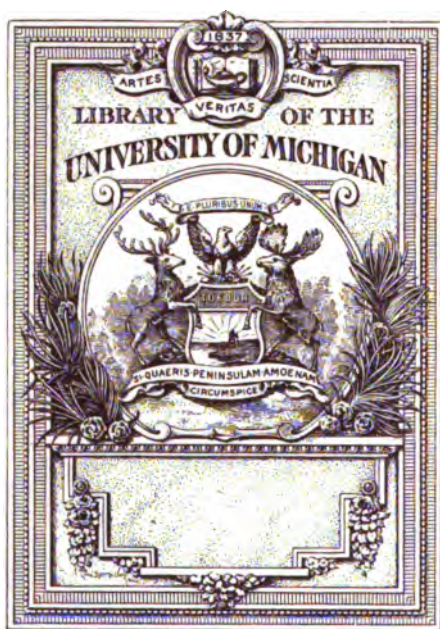
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**THE**  
**LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.**



**THE  
LONDON QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.**

**VOL. XLIII.**

**PUBLISHED IN**

**OCTOBER 1874, AND JANUARY 1875.**

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**LONDON :  
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW.**

**MDCCCLXXV.**

LONDON :  
PRINTED BY BEVERIDGE AND CO.,  
9, 10 & 11, FULLWOOD'S RENTS, (34) HOLBORN.

## CONTENTS OF NO. LXXXV.

---

ART.		PAGE
I. 1.	<i>Egypt's Place in Universal History.</i> By C. C. J. Baron Bunsen, D. Ph., &c. Translated from the German, by Samuel Birch, LL.D. London. 1867. Vol. V.	
2.	<i>Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs, nach Sarkophagen des altägyptischen Reichs im Berliner Museum, herausgegeben.</i> Von R. Lepsius. Berlin. 1867.	
3.	<i>Sal an Sinain, sive Liber Metempsychosis veterum. Ægyptiorum.</i> Edidit Henricus Brugsch. Berolini. 1851.	
4.	<i>Die ägyptische Gräberwelt.</i> Von Heinrich Brugsch Leipzig. 1868 . . . . .	1
II.		
1.	<i>The Comedies and Tragedies of George Chapman, now first collected, with Illustrative Notes, and a Memoir of the Author. In Three Volumes.</i> London: John Pearson, York Street, Covent Garden. 1873.	
2.	<i>Specimens of English Dramatic Poets, who lived about the Time of Shakespeare. With Notes. By Charles Lamb. New Edition, including the Extracts from the Garrick Plays.</i> London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden. 1854 . . . . .	32

ART.	PAGE
III. 1. The Traveller's Guide in Sweden. Adolph Bonnier. Stockholm. 1871.	
2. Histoire de Suède. Geyer. Paris. 1844.	
3. Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. 1871 . . . . .	60
IV. 1. On the Preparatory Arrangements which will be Necessary for Efficient Observation of the Transits of Venus in the Years 1874 and 1882. By George Biddell Airy, Astronomer Royal. Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. XXIX.	
2. The Universe and the Coming Transits. By R. A. Proctor, B.A. Longmans, Green and Co. London. 1874. Pp. 233—303 . . . . .	93
V. Hellas und Rom. [A Popular View of the Public and Private Life of the Greeks and Romans. Part I. Rome under the Antonines.] Von Dr. Albert Forbiger. Leipzig: Fues. 1874	123
VI. A History of Philosophy, from Thales to the Present Time. By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Königsberg. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by Geo. S. Morris, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan. With Additions by Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster-row . . . . .	153
VII. 1. Report of the Old Catholic Congresses Held at Munich, September, 1871; at Cologne, September, 1872; and at Constance, September, 1873.	

## ART.

## PAGE

2. Theologisches Literaturblatt. Edited by Professor Reusch. Bonn.
3. The Vatican Council and the Old Catholic Movement. A Paper Read by Professor Krafft at the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, New York. October, 1873. . . . 177

## LITERARY NOTICES :—

Davies's Heterodox London . . . . .	195
Kingsley's Health and Education . . . . .	199
Maudsley's Responsibility in Mental Disease . . . . .	204
Tozer's Lectures on the Geography of Greece . . . . .	209
St. Clair's Darwinism and Design . . . . .	210
Hodge's What is Darwinism ? . . . . .	210
Collins's Ancient Classics for English Readers . . . . .	211
Neaves's Greek Anthology . . . . .	211
Bell's Poetical Works of David Gray . . . . .	212
Buchanan's Poetical Works . . . . .	213
Dodds's Poems . . . . .	215
Waddington's Congregational History, 1567-1700, &c. . . . .	216
Stoughton's Ecclesiastical History of England . . . . .	219
Brown's Higher Life . . . . .	222
Smith's Spirit and Word of Christ . . . . .	226
Arthur's Memorials of the Rev. William Toase . . . . .	228
Briggs's Bishop Asbury. . . . .	230
New's Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa . . . . .	231
Wilberforce's Church and the Empires . . . . .	233
Hole's Young Christian Armed . . . . .	234
Harding's Texts and Thoughts for Christian Ministers . . . . .	234
The Poems, Plays, and other Remains of Sir John Suckling . . . . .	234
Stokes's Poems of Later Years . . . . .	237
Morris's Epochs of History . . . . .	239
Seebohm's Era of the Protestant Revolution . . . . .	239
Cox's Crusades . . . . .	239

	<b>PAGE</b>
<b>Gardiner's Thirty Years' War . . . . .</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>Farrar's Life of Christ . . . . .</b>	<b>241</b>
<b>Hare's Ministry and Character of Robert Henry Hare.</b>	<b>244</b>
<b>Plumptre's Bible Educator . . . . .</b>	<b>245</b>
<b>Society for the Promotion of Scientific Industry.</b>	
—Artisans' Reports upon the Vienna Exhibition .	245
<b>Thomas's History of the Welsh in America . . . . .</b>	<b>246</b>
<b>Collins's Missionary Enterprise in the East . . . . .</b>	<b>248</b>
<b>M'Farlane's Story of the Lifu Mission . . . . .</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>Van Oosterzee's Christian Dogmatics . . . . .</b>	<b>250</b>
<b>Lewis's Life of John Thomas . . . . .</b>	<b>255</b>
<b>Ford's Lyra Christi . . . . .</b>	<b>260</b>
<b>Arnold's Islam . . . . .</b>	<b>261</b>
 <b>BRIEF NOTICES . . . . .</b>	 <b>263</b>



## CONTENTS OF NO. LXXXVI.

---

ART.		PAGE
I.	History, Essays, Orations, and other Documents of the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, held in New York, October 2—12, 1873. Edited by Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., and Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D.D. New York: Harpers. 1874. . . . .	265
II. 1.	The Book of Daniel, with Notes and Introduction. By Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. Rivingtons. 1871.	
2.	Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. The Book of the Prophet Daniel. By C. F. Keil, D.D. Translated from the German by the Rev. M. G. Easton, A.M. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1872.	
3.	Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. With Copious Notes. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. Oxford: James Parker and Co. Third Edition. 1869.	
4.	Etudes Bibliques. Par F. Godet, Docteur et Professeur en Théologie. Première Série: Ancien Testament. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher. Deuxième Edition. 1873.	

ART.	PAGE
5. Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament. By Karl Friedrich Keil. Translated from the Second Edition, with Supplementary Notes from Bleek and others, by George C. M. Douglas, B.A., D.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1870 . . . . .	292
III. Ismailia. By Sir Samuel W. Baker, Pacha, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., &c. Macmillan and Co. 1874. . . . .	329
{ IV. The Church and the Empires: Historical Periods. By Henry William Wilberforce; preceded by a Memoir of the Author by J. H. Newman, D.D., of the Oratory, with a Portrait. King and Co. 1874 . . . . .	344
V. 1. Iliad of Homer in English Blank Verse. By Edward Earl of Derby. London: Revised Edition. Murray. 1865.	
2. The Iliad of Homer in the Spenserian Stanza. By Rev. P. S. Worsley, and Professor Conington. London: Blackwood. 1866.	
3. The Iliad in English Verse. By E. Dart. Longmans. 1866.	
4. The Iliad of Homer in English Accentuated Hexameter. By Sir John Herschel, Bart. London: Macmillan. 1866.	
5. The Iliad of Homer Translated into English Blank Verse. By William Cullen Bryant. Boston: Osgood. 1870.	
6. Ilias Traduite en Vers Français. Par P. Q. Thomson. Paris. 1870.	

# CONTENTS.

iii

ART.

PAGE

7. The Iliad of Homer Translated into English Blank Verse. By I. G. Cordery. London : Rivingtons. 1871.
8. Omero, dalla Rapsodia IX. dell' Iliade : La Reposta de Achille. Nella Versione inedita di Ago Hinto. Livorno. 1872.
9. Homer, Translation from the Iliad. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. London : Strahan. 1865—1873.
10. Iliade Traduite en Français. Par le Prince Lebrun. Limoges. 1874 . . . . . 363

- VI. 1. A Chapter of Autobiography. By the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P. 1868.
2. Ritualism and Ritual. By the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P. (*Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1874).
3. The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance. A Political Expostulation. By the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P. 1874 . . . . . 382

- VII. Forgiveness and Law. Grounded on Principles Interpreted by Human Analogies. By Horace Bushnell, D.D. London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1874 . . . . . 411

## LITERARY NOTICES :—

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| Christlieb on Modern Doubt . . . . .                      | 438 |
| Oosterzee's Image of Christ as presented in Scripture . . | 446 |
| Leathes' Bampton Lectures . . . . .                       | 453 |
| Rainy's Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine .  | 458 |
| Luthardt on St. John's Gospel . . . . .                   | 463 |
| Godet's Etudes Bibliques . . . . .                        | 467 |

	PAGE
Strachey's Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib . . . . .	472
Beste's Sermon on Priestly Absolution . . . . .	477
Oxoniensis' Few Facts and Testimonies Touching Ritualism . . . . .	480
Cox's Biblical Expositions . . . . .	482
Roberts's Law and God . . . . .	487
Strivings for the Faith . . . . .	489
Jacox's Scripture Proverbs . . . . .	490
Cox's Pilgrim Psalms . . . . .	490
Lux e Tenebris . . . . .	492
Reid's Natural Science, Religious Creeds and Scripture Truth . . . . .	494
Gibson's Philosophy, Science, and Revelation . . . . .	495
Gilbert's Autobiography and other Memorials . . . . .	497
Strauss's Ulrich von Hutten . . . . .	500
Beardsley's Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D. . . . .	504
The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. John Clowes, M.A. . . . .	506
White's Memorials of Thomas T. Lynch . . . . .	509
D'Anvers' Elementary History of Art . . . . .	510
Gibbs's Arlon Grange, and a Christmas Legend . . . . .	512
Masson's Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and other Essays . . . . .	513
Songs of Two Worlds . . . . .	513
Armstrong's Tragedy of Israel . . . . .	514
Macquoid's Through Normandy. . . . .	517
Gairdner's Houses of Lancaster and York . . . . .	519
Flint's Philosophy of History in Europe . . . . .	520
Cairnes' Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded . . . . .	524
English School Classics . . . . .	527

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- ART. I.—1. *Egypt's Place in Universal History.* By C. C. J. BARON BUNSEN, D.Ph., &c. Translated from the German, by SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D. London: 1867. Vol. V.
2. *Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs, nach Sarkophagen des altägyptischen Reichs im Berliner Museum, herausgegeben.* Von R. LEPSIUS. Berlin: 1867.
3. *Sai an Sinsin, sive Liber Metempsychosis veterum Ægyptiorum.* Edidit HENRICUS BRUGSCH. Berolini: 1851.
4. *Die ägyptische Gräberwelt.* Von HEINRICH BRUGSCH. Leipzig: 1868.

TRUTHS which no man of himself could ever have conceived were known to sages of both East and West long before the mission of Moses. Considering the superior antiquity of Moses before Herodotus, and of most of the Hebrew prophets before the Greek and Latin poets, we might conclude that the younger borrowed from the elder, and that the wiser classics owe some of their wisdom to the Bible, and such a conclusion we consider to be reasonable enough. But, after all, it is undeniable that we now possess written monuments of older date than the oldest of the inspired Scriptures, and that these monuments contain truths which inspired writers had not yet given to the world, but which no man could have known unless they had been revealed to him, directly or indirectly, by God. How is this to be accounted for?

Was there not a primeval revelation from above? Did  
VOL. XLIII. NO. LXXXV. B

not some portions of mankind retain the tradition of a faith transmitted through Noah to the postdiluvian world? And was not that tradition continued down to the giving of the Mosaic law, and thence more fully and authoritatively sent to us by authenticated prophets, and by Christ and the Apostles made known yet more perfectly? We believe that it was so. There were ancient vestiges of a faith in the resurrection and immortality of man, a final judgment, and a future state of reward or punishment; but these were things unseen, and therefore not possible to be known by direct evidence or human testimony; could only be made known at first by Divine teaching, and only such teaching could command entire faith. "Faith cometh by hearing," and men cannot believe what they have not heard on sure authority.

It is, however, just possible that a speculative philosopher might put forth notions of resurrection and a future state. He might, by bare possibility, devise such a process of conjecture concerning the existence of a soul, distinct from the body, and capable of living without the body, as a few Deists of the last century ingeniously imagined for themselves, and, after such a happy conception, he might pursue his fancy without restraint; but, although he had commanded the assent of many thoughtless lovers of what is marvellous, and believers of what is incredible, he would certainly provoke the contradiction of many others, and raise such a controversy on insufficient data as would be likely to issue in general unbelief. We see not any trace of such controversy, but there are signal traces of a widely spread faith in the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, a final judgment to be pronounced on men's actions, and a future state. Recently deciphered monuments, bearing these traces, powerfully stimulate curiosity and invite study. The monuments to which we now refer are chiefly Egyptian and Assyrian. The latter are comparatively few, but are likely to be much increased and very much better known within a very short time, and we shall therefore but glance at them in passing; the former, from Egypt, are now read with comparative ease by a daily increasing number of Egyptian scholars. Amidst much error, and nearly lost in an inextricable agglomeration of absurdities, they nevertheless contain so much of what we can only conceive to be originally revealed truth, that some sceptical critics

fancy them to be in some way the originals of our Sacred Books, and imagine that either we have in the Bible a mere reproduction of truths at first evolved by dint of reasoning, or that the works of our inspired writers are no more than copies of originally heathen legends. The earlier generations of mankind, they may say, knew the doctrine of a future life, and therefore no inspiration was needed for Job, or Jesus, or St. Paul, to teach over again what the elder civilisations of the world believed already. This, however, is forgetting that what was originally known had ceased to be thought of, or was obstinately disbelieved, or was so obscured by fable and falsehood, that a renewed revelation, and nothing less, was required to bring back life and immortality to light. We therefore attach high importance to the evidences of a primeval faith that are interwoven with the remains of old systems of religion, however false. A chief witness of the kind is the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*. When that large collection of mingled myth and tradition is laid side by side with the inspired writings of the Bible, notwithstanding their utter contrariety in all but the little that is common to them both, the fundamental truth that was dimly shadowed forth and sadly disguised in Egypt, appears clear as meridian light in Palestine. The *Book of the Dead*, and a few other books of the same kind, if indeed they be not all fragments of the same, contain unquestionable fragments of the primeval revelation of immortality in which we venture to believe. The very learned Egyptologues whose names are placed at the head of this article, all of them above suspicion of credulity or speculation, have enabled us to read the book. Dr. Lepsius, many years ago, published the Egyptian text, and Dr. Birch gave the world a complete translation of it into English. *The Oldest Texts* of Lepsius comprehends the seventeenth chapter only, but is accompanied with a very comprehensive treatise. The fragment translated by M. Brugsch is also admirably edited, and the whole constitutes a mass of evidence on the subject before us amply sufficient for the information of any inquirer.

With regard to this part of the religion of the ancient Egyptians, Herodotus and Diodorus the Sicilian had long been the chief authorities. Herodotus is the more valuable of the two. He had visited Memphis and Thebes, the capitals of Lower and Upper Egypt, and also the famous

sacerdotal city of Heliopolis, the On of Genesis (xli. 50), the An or Annu of the Egyptians, the Beth-Shemesh of Jeremiah (xliii. 18), the *Ἡλιούπολις*, or City of the Sun, of the Septuagint. He conversed everywhere with the priests, was initiated into their mysteries, acquainted himself with the customs and traditions of the people, and transferred the results of his inquiries and observations to the second and third books of his history, written at least four centuries and a half before the Christian era. It was he who noticed the singular custom of a servant, at the close of a banquet, carrying round the wooden image of a corpse, or mummy, in a coffin, carved and painted to imitate nature, presenting it to each guest in turn, and saying, "Gaze here, and drink, and be merry, for when you die such will you be."\* He does not seem to have taken this for an exhortation to grave reflection, but an incentive to merriment, as when Joseph's brethren drank and were merry with him.† The Grecian guest, considering what the priests told him of the condition of the dead, who would be honourably "justified" at the hour of death, and then received into the company of gods in their world of glory, there to feast in the luxury of a celestial paradise, would understand the invitation to drink and be merry at the sight of a painted corpse as an assurance that, after death, the departed would experience pleasure in a resurrection, or "manifestation to the light," which would speedily take place. Herodotus discloses the meaning of that festal ceremony more distinctly when he relates how the priests told him that the Egyptians had been the first to maintain a belief that the soul of man is immortal, that it enters into the body of an animal, and, after many transmigrations, will be born again in the body of a man.‡ But the real doctrine of the Egyptians, and their very confident expectation of future happiness, was not fully known to ourselves until their ancient and long forgotten language had been discovered, and their hieroglyphics and writing, sacred and popular, was ascertained and deciphered by learned men, many of whom are still alive and active in prosecution of the same study.

But we must not claim absolute priority for the Egyptians as holders of this belief in immortality. Four hundred and fifty years before Christ, the Egyptian priests told

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\* Herod. II. 78.

† Gen. xliii. 84.

‡ Herod. II. 123.



Herodotus that their remote ancestors were the first, thereby intimating that, by that time, there were others who taught the same doctrine, as we know there were. But monuments now existing tell us that, in an age at least equally remote, the same faith in immortality was held by the Chaldeans. The Deluge Tablet, first made known by Mr. George Smith in December 1872, contains a legend which may perhaps be attributed to a writer contemporary with Nimrod, and represents the hero of the deluge, Sisit, as a good man, rewarded with immortality for his piety, after the great gods had destroyed the sinners with a flood . . . turned the bright earth to a waste . . . destroyed all life from the face of the earth, because the world had turned to sin, and all the people were devoted to evil. The corpses of the doers of evil, and of all mankind who had turned to sin, floated like reeds on the waters, and not a man was saved from the deep. But, after all, when the anger of the gods was appeased by sacrifice, this good man who had built the ship wherein was preserved the seed of life,—this man Sisit, and his wife, and the people who were saved with them, were carried away to be like the gods.\* The legend of the descent of Ishtar into the region of the departed, stamped in a brick tablet of apparently equal antiquity with the former, tells that the deceased were believed to be in a state of suffering under the inexorable queen who held them in severe captivity under bonds of darkness in that "house of eternity; the house men enter, but cannot depart from, by which road they go, but cannot return." The dismal territory was entered through seven gates. Inside the first gate, Ishtar was stopped, and the great crown—for she was a queen too—was taken from her head. On entering the second gate, the earrings were taken from her ears. At the third gate the precious stones were taken off from her head. At the fourth the lovely gems were removed from her forehead. At the fifth the girdle was taken off her waist. At the sixth the golden rings were taken off her hands and feet. At the seventh the last garment was taken from her body. There she sat, humbled and forlorn, in an abode of darkness, where their food was earth, and their nourishment clay; where light never broke eternal night; where ghosts

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\* *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.* Vol. II. p. 218, &c. Longmans.

were heard flitting about invisible, like night-birds, and the dust lay undisturbed on gates that never might be opened. This and much more is written on a clay tablet in the British Museum, translated by Mr. Fox Talbot, and revised by Mr. Smith.\* This was penal death, as men understood death to be when Babylon was newly built, and when the great necropolis of Erech, a city founded soon after Babylon, was receiving the mortal remains of people from the most ancient group of cities in the postdiluvian world. Thus early were the horrors of an eternal prison believed to be the impending punishment of man's transgressions, where all the guilty alike would lay prostrate in a second death. There were the sovereign and the slave, the fallen warrior, the discrowned queen, the maiden robbed of her costly garments and sparkling jewels, all despoiled alike, none permitted to carry aught away from the world of the living into the world of the dead.

Yet men were not left in this world to perish without hope. We read from one tablet of an Assyrian offering prayer for his dying brother: "May his soul fly like a bird to a lofty place! May it return to the holy hands of its God!" On another tablet it is imprinted that the gods "approach the body of the sick man. . . . They bring a *khisibta* (jewel?) from their heavenly treasury; they bring a *sisbu* from their lofty storehouse; to the precious *khisibta* they pour forth a hymn. 'That righteous man, let him now depart. May he rise as bright as that *khisibta*! May he soar on high like that *sisbu*! Like pure silver may his figure shine! Like brass may it be radiant! To the sun, greatest of the gods, may it return! And may the sun, greatest of the gods, receive the saved soul into his holy hands!'"† Apart from the polytheism, which already cursed mankind, the sin, no doubt, which brought down the deluge, the fact that one of the first established nations after that event held fast by the belief in a future state of rewards and punishments is what relates to our present subject. We have digressed from Egypt to Assyria, as having priority in respect of time, and for the sake of observing that Egypt is believed to have been peopled from Asia, and derived her knowledge thence, not from the African conti-

\* *Records of the Past, being Translations of Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments.* Edited by Dr. Birch. Bagster. Vol. I. p. 143.

† *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.* Vol. II. p. 29, 31.

ment. In physiognomy, language, and in religion, the peoples differed greatly, as might be expected after the separation of the sons of Noah and their families, with the confusion of tongues. At the same time their agreement in essential articles of belief in relation to the future state warrants the persuasion that before the deluge, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of families, their faith, or so much of the true faith as remained among them, was the same, even as the primeval revelation given to the first men must have been the same.

Returning now to the Egyptians, we at once observe how eminently they were distinguished by careful respect for the bodies of their dead. Cost and skill were lavished on the construction and adorning of their tombs, no less than on their palaces. Some of the greatest works of Egypt were finished in honour of their dead. As if it was possible to make corruptible flesh imperishable, and to frustrate the all-consuming purpose of death, as soon as the last breath was drawn embalmers were employed to prevent putrefaction by steeping the body in nitre, filling the cavities with spices, and swathing it from head to foot in fine linen, smeared with gum. When well dried and hardened, the mummy was laid in a case, usually adorned richly, and then the case was deposited in a marble chest, or sarcophagus, and perhaps that again in another. Thus protected, the body lay without corruption in the pure atmosphere of Egypt, never to decay nor be preyed upon by worm or mould. The design was to preserve the earthly tenement ready to be occupied again by the immortal tenant after passing through the transmigrations of many ages, and the marvellous preservation of thousands of mummies demonstrates that if such reanimation were possible it might have actually taken place. For some of them have lain uninjured for three or four thousand years, or even much longer. The preparation, therefore, was as complete as man could make it. Desiccated corpses have been unswathed and found as hard as iron. Yet the process of mummification has not destroyed the flesh, and Mr. Pettigrew relates that after patiently macerating a piece of mummy in warm water, it recovered the softness and natural appearance of flesh. Freed from the mumifying substance, and exposed to the action of the air, it was smitten with putridity, and after the amazing pause of at least three thousand years between vital activity and utter

dissolution, there came visibly the material fulfilment of the sentence, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." The effort to evade the sentence had been made in blind and uninstructed faith, yet faith so strong in its way, and so sincere, for aught we know to the contrary, that it may now rebuke the unbelief of this generation, even as the penitents of Nineveh might arise in judgment to rebuke the more guilty unbelievers of Jerusalem.

In the museums of Europe may be seen sarcophagi covered with elaborate inscriptions, incised with patient art, the characters clear and legible as when made in the remote ages of Egypt's glory. In the Sloane Museum, for example, there is one said to be the finest known. It is said to be the sarcophagus of Rameses II., older than the Exodus, cut from a block of pure oriental alabaster that rings at the touch, and covered inside and outside with a graphic symbolism of the transmigrations of the departed, hieroglyphic imagery being mingled with sacred writing. It is a grand example of what generally covers the sarcophagi of kings and priests. Similar records were also written in papyrus rolls, which are sometimes laid in folds between the legs of mummies, as if to await perusal when the triumphant soul, with the attendant intellect tested and purified, shall return after mysterious wanderings on the expiration of thousands, or even millions of years, as once they dreamed. The writing, wherever found, consists of sentences, varying alike in number and in purport, very various in the less important wording of the contents, and now spoken of collectively as the *Book of the Dead*. The sections, whether more or fewer, are each headed by a word which is translated "chapter," and, as a received edition of the book from a manuscript at Turin now stands, the number of chapters is 168. But there is an unknown variety of texts, changing with times, and usually becoming more diffuse as time advances. Each text may be supposed to exhibit the doctrine prevailing at the time in the part of Egypt where it was written, while successive editions, found in these nearly imperishable monuments, exhibit the doctrine concerning the dead in a constantly enlarging form. The oldest are therefore the most valuable, as being nearest to the original conception, and least distant from the primeval revelation, so far as that revelation may have been known in Egypt ages before Joseph was sold to Potiphar.

Our authority for this account of comparative antiquity is Dr. Lepsius, who has published what he believes to be a fragment of the oldest text, and translates an inscription on a sarcophagus of Mentuhotep, a king or prince of the eleventh, or earliest Theban dynasty. But although the highest antiquity has been claimed for Thebes, Memphis and Lower Egypt, having been first peopled from Asia, are generally considered to be more ancient, and therefore the tradition of the first Memphite dynasty, if preserved, might have afforded a text more primitive than the oldest known to Lepsius. He also gives a copy of the same seventeenth chapter from another sarcophagus of lesser antiquity, bearing the name of Sebak-aa. In all inscriptions mention is made of ornaments that were laid with the mummy. Lepsius draws attention to a plate of gold with an inscription to the purport following:—

“*Title.*—Chapter of the collar of gold placed on the neck of the deceased.

“*Text.*—Spoken by Osiris Aufank to the Justifier. My father is An. My mother is Isis. I understand. I see. I am one of the understanding ones.

“*Subscription.*—Spoken over the collar of gold on which this chapter is written for him. Laid on the neck of the deceased person on the day of the burial.”

The collar thus inscribed is an amulet laid on the breast or neck of the mummy, and the words thereon were to be spoken by the deceased when he came into the presence of the Justifier, so called, after the burial, and before what is called the uprising at the gate of the other world, and were also pronounced at the burial by the priest, who by that ceremony was supposed to impart to them their magic power. Or if not then by the priest, previously by the owner of the plate, who provided it for himself in his lifetime, in anticipation of the funeral. The name of the person to whom this collar belonged was Aufank, and, as was usual for the deceased to do, Aufank took to himself the name of Osiris. The seventeenth chapter from the *Book of the Dead*, in its older form, from the Sarcophagus of Mentuhotep, set side by side with a later form of the same from the Papyrus of Aufank, will assist the reader to perceive on what principle the enlargement of earlier texts proceeded.

**MENTUHOTEP.**

Mentuhotep, Master of the Palace, ever well pleasing before Rá, speaks in the chapter of the uprising on the day of days in the Lower World.

It becomes the word:—

I am Tum, one Being. I am one. (*iv.*)

I am Rá, First in his dominion.

I am the great God, existing of myself,

the creator of his name, the Lord of all gods,

whom no one among the gods resists.

I was yesterday; I know the morning, Osiris namely.

**AUFANK.**

*The chapter of the awakening of the dead; the uprising, and coming into the Lower World. Being among the attendants on Osiris, refreshed with the food of Unnofre the justified, uprisen in the day of days, living in all existences, where he delights to be at rest from wandering, dwelling in the hall as a living spirit. Osiris Aufank the righteous, the son of Setkem the righteous, among all that are well-pleasing before all the great gods of the West Land, at the time of his funeral procession, and of the festivities during preparation for the earth.*

*It becomes the speech of men, spoken by Aufank the righteous:—*

*I am Tum, as one Being. I am one, as the primary water.*

*I am Rá in his dominion, in the beginning of his reign that he has assumed. What is that? It is Rá in his dominion, in the beginning of his reign. It is the beginning of Rá ruling in Hat-Suten-Kenen, as a being of himself existing; the elevation of Nun which is on high—Am-sesennu who has annihilated the children of rebellion—on high Am-sesennu.*

*I am the great God, existing of myself; that is to say, the water, that is to say, the godlike original water, the father of the gods. [The great God, existing of himself, is Rá, namely, the primary water.]*

*The father of the gods, or also it is Rá, the creator of his name, as Lord of the gods. What is that? It is Rá, the creator of his members, which are become the gods that are like unto Rá. I am he whom no one among the gods resists. What is that? Tum in his disc, or even Rá in his disc, when he shines brightly in the eastern horizon of the heavens.*

*I was yesterday; I know the morning. What is that? It is that yesterday, even Osiris; it is that to-morrow, even Rá. On that day when the adversaries of the*

MENTUHOTEP

There had been made a battle-field of the gods, as I said:—

There is the battle-field of the West-land, namely.

I know the name of this great god that is there.

Praise-of-Rā is his name.

I am Bennu, that great one who is worshipped in On. It is the confirmation of that which is.

What is that? It is Osiris.

It is that which is; that, namely, which is ever, even that which is eternal.

I am Kem in his appearing, by whom both feathers on my head have been appointed to me.

What is that? His both feathers are those of Horus, namely, of the avenger of his father.

His both feathers are

his both uräen\*  
on the breast of his father Tum.

AUFANK.

Lord of the universe (Osiris) shall be annihilated, and he is confirmed by his Son Horus, or also on that day of the confirmation of Osiris through his father Rā . . . *he has made a battlefield of the gods*, as Osiris, Lord of the mountain of the West, commanded.

What is that? *The West-land, namely*, was made ready for the godlike spirits, as Osiris, Lord of the mountain of the West, commanded; or also, the West-land, that is to say, the remotest boundary, was given to Rā, whither every God came to him; for which also he has fought.

*I know the great god that is in him. What is that? It is Osiris, and also Praise-of-Rā is his name; that is to say, Life-of-Rā is his name, by which he engenders with himself.*

*I am Bennu, that great one who dwells in On, I am the confirmation of all that which is.*

*What is that? It is Bennu-Osiris that is in On.*

The confirmation of all that is, his body; or *that which is ever, and that which is eternal*. It is that which is ever; the Day, to wit. It is that which is eternal; the Night.

*I am Kem in his both appearances, by whom both my feathers on my head have been appointed to me.*

*What is that? Kem is Horus, that is to say, the avenger of his father. His appearances are his birth. Both feathers on his head are the attendance of Isis and of Nepthys, which have been placed behind him in their unity as twin sisters. Behold, that is in relation to the placing on his head the both uräen, namely, the mighty great ones on the breast of his father Tum. Or, also, his two eyes are the both feathers on his head.*

\* *Serpents.* In the Egyptian mythology some serpents were good, others evil.

## MENTUHOTEP.

I am in my land. I am come to my dwelling-place. What is that? The horizon, that is, of my father Tum.

## AUFANK.

*I am in the land; I am come to the dwelling-place. What is that? The horizon belongs to his father Tum.*

It is obvious that the older and shorter text in the first column is enlarged on the second by the addition of explanatory words, and in this way the whole mass of funereal sentences was amplified, in course of time, to an indefinite extent, apparently with the intention of making it intelligible to an initiated Egyptian, but with the actual effect of making it more obscure to those who read it now, when the mythology of Egypt seems to be inextricably confused, or, as M. Edouard Naville well says, *inexplorée*.<sup>\*</sup> The gods not only change names and forms at pleasure, but they absolutely lose identity, melt away into one another, and mock every possible relation among themselves. Yet amidst this incessantly tantalising contradiction, there is a constant assertion of the immortality of man, his manifestation to light, or his doom to interminable transmigrations for purgation from sin, and the eventual reunion of the purified soul with the deserted human body—a characteristic delusion of heathenism borrowed by the Jews after the captivity, and revived in a corrupted Christianity. There was always the same aspiration after a state of more perfect happiness, and an ambition of the Egyptians to be clothed with divinity, to assume the very nature of the gods, and even to be identified, one by one, with the gods of their peculiar choice.

From age to age it was persistently believed that the eminently pure and upright man would become at once a renovated human person after death, and an incarnate god. A prevalent idea was that every such living man, having been from eternity a god, had assumed the person whose name he bore, and which name would, after death, be perpetuated in the tomb, while the body would be left behind in the mummy-case, and the Theanthrope, so to call him, would be reabsorbed into his divine existence.

Birth into earthly life was death. This world was darkness. Death itself was manifestation into light. "The day," so called with euphemistic brevity, after the objective and mystical manner of expression which characterises the

<sup>\*</sup> *Introduction aux Textes relatives à la Mythe d'Horus.* Genève et Bâle. 1870.



oldest formulas of the *Book of the Dead*, stands for the day of uprising, of judgment, of justification ; not so much with allusion to the light of the sun-god, shining in the lower world, or to the glorious brightness of the light of heaven, in contradistinction to terrestrial gloom, as to that one long anticipated day of trial in the Hall of Truth, the *dies illa*, the day before all other days which ought to be in every one's thought, and in the unnumbered ages to follow would be in every one's memory. "The justified," disencumbered of his earthly load, in that day enters into life again. He then takes possession of his proper home, and in due time will taste the more perfect pleasures of Elysium. It was requisite, however, that on reaching the portals of the West he should assert his divine dignity, and solemnly present himself to the gods, his fellows, to challenge their open recognition. Therefore he asserted his identity with Rá, the sun, with Osiris, chief god of the dead, and other high divinities, whose names he borrowed in succession, united with his own. But inasmuch as Rá became Osiris when divested of his diurnal brightness, and bearing rule in the lower world, every deceased person had that name prefixed to his own earthly name, and was called "The Osiris."

Osiris, according to this theory, was none other than Rá ; the sun, shorn of his external glory, until clothed with light again. He rose every morning on the Eastern horizon, mounted up to the zenith, and as he rushed on his course, again from the top of heaven seeking the Western bound, he received from morn to even adorations, changing every hour. Entering the portal of the West at sunset, he revisited the lower world, which men think to be dark, and there bore mild sway through the hours of night, until, with sunrise, he rose again in the East. Here, to follow the Egyptian fable, he was begotten anew, and came from the region of spirits into this inferior world. At the dawn of day he is no more than Horus, the child, pictured as a boy, sitting in the lap of the moon-god, Isis. Now that he is Horus, son of Rá, they call him Horus-Rá. Anew he starts upon the circling career of day. So is the oldest of the gods rejuvenate, and by noon grows into maturity again. Again they call him Rá. Rá rushes onward in his might, then he expires at sunset, then again he revives, in the gentler form of Osiris, and reigns the night through in the lower world. This perpetual transformation goes on, as every circle goes, without an end.

Following Lepsius now, in the attempted simplification of this mystery, we note that the life of a good man—an Osiris—is an avatar of the one God under many varieties of name; each member of that Divine unity being, so to speak, detached from the exhaustless body for a season to be restored to it again. The life of a Pharaoh, in his supreme power, partook of the godhead more largely than any other being. He was a god in the form of a man; he bore the most sublime resemblance possible of Rá, or at least of the youthful Horus-Rá. His earthly reign was, or ought to be, a repetition on earth of his brilliant image in the sky. The death of a man so linked with the divinity was but the transit of Rá-Osiris from the supramundane form to the submundane. This twofold being, conscious of an immortal majesty, looked with a lofty complacency on death, and was only careful to prepare an enduring habitation in everlasting marble to receive the body which, from its birth, had been the shrine of a god. He used the utmost art to have that shrine preserved from corruption by embalming, and prepared for it a tomb in rock or pyramid. The precious alabaster, the firm granite, the adamantine porphyry that never would decay, should serve him for coffin, and he trusted that the sanctity of the place where his sacred body was deposited would protect that shrine from desecration.

Leaving the well guarded mummy there, the Pharaoh was taught to believe that when, like the setting sun, he, being justified, reached the lower world, in company with spirits like himself, he, Osiris-Rá, would subdue the strength and rage of the crowd of envious fiends that were collected there to withstand returning gods; that then he should make himself known by his names divine and human, make himself acknowledged as one that is wise, and prove his identity with the God most High. The priests promised him that he would fight royally with the malignant fiends, and vanquish them with godlike might. They assured him that he would stand justified by Thoth, the god of letters, and the judge of the departed against all accusers, and that, being readmitted into the world of delights, he would enjoy that world much after the very worldly manner that we hear Mohammedans expect to enjoy their paradise. Who, now, can wonder at the pride of a Pharaoh?

But if the apotheosis was only to be accomplished after

so stiff a conflict, even a king of Egypt, languishing on his death-bed, might well tremble at the prospect, and regard the end of his earthly life as the most awful period, or crisis, of his existence. Before he could be admitted to the happy life of eternity he would have to be justified by the merit of the life he was leaving, and make good his claim against every accuser. Only when that was done could he boldly walk forward and partake of the material enjoyments prepared for the justified. Being justified, he might receive the choice varieties of meat and drink, and consume them as his due. Then he would ascend into Heaven, leaving earth far below, and be admitted as a pure spirit into the presence of *Rá* and of *Tum*, whose praises the happy gods and demons are ever singing. His wife would be there with him. His son and heir whom they had left behind would come up and offer adoration to himself. Symbolic pictures on the coffins represent the deified Pharaoh in the barge of *Rá*, which, rowed by a crew of gods, is floating in the clear empyreum; and there they are praying to *Rá*, and *Tum*, and *Koper*.

This presupposes a very strict ordeal. Before a man can make his way into that lofty region he must not only be justified from all blame, but crowned as in a triumph. The use of his members, paralysed by death,—by death whose dread reality no fanatical illusions could ever hide,—must be restored to him. Speech to the mouth, pulsation to the heart, motion and firmness to the feet, and skill to the hands. Then the hero shall subdue ferocious beasts, and then shall he receive heavenly endowments. Then the sense of hearing, once lost to him when he left this world, shall be so restored and heightened that he shall enjoy the songs of the blessed, and sing as well as they. This was his resurrection. But how the members of his body were to regain life while they lay in the mummy-cloths, hardened and immovable for long ages on the marble bed, surely they could not conceive. Probably they were taught that the gods would give the good man another body in its stead, and indeed the constant language of the Book we have before us does imply as much. Such conceptions lingered in Egypt in the days of the Apostles, and yet later. It was even then believed that the departed did enjoy the uprising or resurrection minutely described in the *Book of the Dead*, and this may be quite sufficient to account for a saying of St. Paul that certain persons had overthrown

the faith of some, saying that the resurrection was past already.\*

With all its absurdity there is grandeur in this myth. It is too grand, and certainly too elaborate, to have been the invention of any single mind. A poet of lively imagination might possibly have conceived something of the kind, but he would have needed more than human power of persuasion to graft his figment on the public mind, to make his dream the standard of general belief, to make the wealth, the power, the high artistic skill, the heart and soul of an entire nation subservient to his fancy, to elaborate a written faith that should outlast dynasty after dynasty, enduring, as their system did endure, for thousands of years from the foundation of Egypt in the depth of its pre-historic antiquity down to the days of Porphyry when the world was beginning to turn away from heathenism to Christianity; for we know that all this time it did keep hold upon the mind and habits of the Egyptians from the borders of Nubia to the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, and retained its power even while their minds and habits were so often divided, and so intimately disturbed by the intrusion of foreign elements that, notwithstanding an unequalled wealth of monumental record, their history cannot be easily deciphered, their chronology is not likely to be settled, and their mythology remains unexplored. Nothing but an element of truth laying hold upon the conscience antecedent to the mass of error and false worship could have given it persistence. Such an element was the primary doctrine of the unity of God and the immortality of man. This doctrine did not proceed from any single teacher that we hear of, neither was it slowly developed in the course of ages, but existed from the first, and continued to the last, although overlaid and shrouded with an ever-thickening disguise of fable. The fundamental truths were ever there, not wrought out by the persevering study of the priests, nor made up from accumulating legends, nor spelt out by the interpreters of mystic ceremonies, but abiding in spite of the myth, the legend and the mystery. They were essential to the wisdom of Egypt which Moses learned and Iamblicus expounded, and you may strip off the amplification of later

texts as much as you please, go back to the briefest forms of earliest confession, and remove the mass of mythology that followed, and in the residue that is left you will still find the vital and imperishable truth that there is an essential Godhead irrespective of the names of gods, that the soul of man is immortal in spite of his earthly death, and that a momentous futurity awaits him.

This truth, not being the invention of a *vates*, nor yet of traditionary growth, but originating in an ancient source, purest when youngest; gradually corrupted, yet never extinct; such truth can only be regarded as a Divine gift originally revealed from heaven, as much a gift of God as human speech or human conscience. It must have been given to man before Egypt was—imparted to the first of men before mankind wandered away from their Father in Heaven, before the creature made upright had wrought out many inventions. It was as certainly given to man as life was given, when the Creator breathed into him the breath of life, and made him a living soul.

Therefore, when it is said that the immortality of the soul was not known to Moses and the Hebrews, nor to the writers of the Old Testament in general—although the Old Testament contains internal evidence to the contrary—or that it was so faintly received by the Hebrews of the Exodus as not to be thought of at the giving of the Mosaic Law, and that the thought of rewards and punishments in a future state did not influence the Legislator, nor affect the nation, we can now meet the allegation with a confident reply. We can show that the contrary appears in all the monuments of Egypt, contemporaneous with Moses, many ages before his time, and many ages after him. Incidentally, too, we know that this allegation of ignorance is equally discordant with all that bears any relation to the subject in the ancient monuments of Chaldea and Assyria, as well as with the confession of Job and the exultant faith of David.

As to the doctrine of the Divine Unity, which sharply contrasts with the polytheism of Egypt in the *Book of the Dead*, we must remind the reader of the passage we have seen in the seventeenth chapter, as given from the Sarcophagus of Mentuhotep: "*I am Tum, one Being I am one.*" Lepsius translates the Egyptian by, "*Ich bin Tum, ein Wesen (das) ich eines bin.*" So he expresses his perception of the original hieroglyph, and recalls a sentence in the

New Testament, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ΕΝ ἑσμέν. Here we observe that the sentence of the Evangelist and the sentence of the hierophant are precisely parallel, the same grammatical form being chosen by both to express the same mystery of the unity of God. The commentary in the Aufank Papyrus, as quoted by Lepsius, adds, "as primary water," rendered by the learned German, "ich *eines* bin, als urgewässer." Then the Egyptian explainer of the name Tum says that it means, "He that is locked up (out of sight), he that is hidden," was only one. It was the indestructible germ of unity which lay in the primal water, that abyss, the great deep, the הַיְיִם whence all things rose. This, however, represents the esoteric teaching of the priests, not the vulgar notion of "the Gods of Egypt," the polytheistic perception of the matter alone familiar to Pharaoh and to his servants, and communicated to the people by the magicians in their conflict with Moses and Aaron.

Having learned, not only from Greek historians, but from actual monuments of the old Egyptians themselves, that they acknowledged one God, the Father of all, Creator of the world, and believed themselves immortal, and that they and their successors, although retaining these articles of primeval revelation, fell deeper and deeper into practical polytheism with its inseparable folly and depravity, we must not fail to observe how these facts confirm an explicit statement of St. Paul, who wrote not less than 2,500 years after Mentuhotep. The Apostle\* describes the gradual departure of the Gentile world from an original knowledge of essential truth, and the moral degradation consequent. Originally, he tells us, they held the truth, but did not retain God in their knowledge. God had shown unto them that which might be known of Him. The invisible things of Him were clearly seen from the creation of the world. His eternal power and Godhead were clearly understood. They knew God; but, when they knew Him, they glorified Him not as God. They became vain in their imaginations. Their foolish heart was darkened. They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man. They professed themselves to be wise, but became fools. They changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator.

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\* Rom. i. 19—25.

The language of St. Paul does not describe sudden defection, but gradual departure from a known standard of faith in God, from purity in worship, and from the moral restraints of religion. Patient research will certainly lead to demonstrative evidence that when the hieroglyphic pictures and hieratic writing were cut into the marbles which now yield so rich treasure to the Egyptologues, the Egyptians had not sunk so low as they were in the days of the Apostles, but were less unlike the theists to whom he pointedly refers in the former lines of his description. We have not now space to pursue this line of inquiry, and must therefore be content with producing a single indication out of many which continually occur in course of reading, that the progress of departure from a primitive norm of truth might be traced by noting the succession of innovations, the successive invention of new fables, or admission of new tenets, as time advanced. The relation of Osiris to the dead and to the lower world, with the assumption of his name for the deceased, has been just now noted, and this constitutes the principal feature in the Doctrine of the Dead, as this branch of Egyptian mythology may be called. But, "it is remarkable," says Dr. Birch in one of his contributions to the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*,\* "that although the existence of the Osiris myth can be traced as early as the *fourth* dynasty, as shown in the tombs of the period, from the constant adoration paid to Anup, or Anubis, an inferior personage in the same myth, yet no individual, however high in rank, receives that designation till the *fifteenth* dynasty. This shows a distance of about 400 or 420 years between the first appearance of an essential feature of this religion to an important practical application of it, and on the collation of but a few more examples of the kind might be conducted a very useful retrospective chart, with probable estimate of the state of doctrine at the time of the earliest records known." We can conceive that the result of such a review in Egypt would be very satisfactory, but when we read the vain imaginings of those who wrote with advancing license in the *Book of the Dead*, speaking of objects visible, but so unable to understand what they saw that they invested every object with the garb of wildest fable, and so ignorant of humanity and of themselves that they could only boast how

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\* *Z. f. ä. Sprache*, April, 1869.

just they were, and how well-pleasing to the gods ; how they fancied themselves to be divine, no less than members of the Supreme, Omnipotent, All-present, and Eternal One, one with Tum, the root of all existences, and fountain of all the vitality and power in the universe ; one with Rá, the glorious radiance of the Godhead, one with Osiris, eternal too, we acknowledge that, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and perceive how inevitably they fell into the creature-worship that was prevalent in Egypt at the time when they had the Hebrews in captivity. Neither can we be surprised at the ridiculous forms of creature-worship described by a Roman satirist in verses so often quoted that it would be superfluous to quote them now.

After Juvenal, in the first century of our era, came Porphyry in the third. Juvenal had derided the Egyptians for worshipping leeks and other matters, or paying them extravagant reverence equivalent with worship ; but there is some reason to apprehend that the Romans represented them to be more besotted than they really were, even in those latter times, and we do not think that in the age of Moses there was yet any certain trace of Nigritian fetishism. Porphyry attacked their superstitions with argument, indeed, but with his own unfeeling cynicism. He wrote a letter to Anebo, an Egyptian slave, containing hard questions about the religion of Egypt, which poor Anebo had not skill to answer, but Iamblicus, his master, took up the correspondence, and wrote a letter to Porphyry which is still extant. Iamblicus was a philosopher of Chalcis, superstitious enough, but profoundly versed in the subject on which he undertook to treat ; and if the two men may be estimated by their writings, Iamblicus the philosopher was very far superior to Porphyry the sceptic. On examining this work of their apologist, it is to ourselves apparent that in spite of the pitiful trifling of priests and magicians, there yet remained among them a tradition of the truth. Even more than this—if Iamblicus did not overstate their case, there does appear a probability that the establishment of Jews in Egypt from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the subsequent establishment of Christianity, had served to revive the better element in the religion of the country, and create a better understanding of that truth.

Porphyry had begun his letter to Anebo concerning gods and good demons, such gods and demons as we read of on



the marbles and the papyri, with making a gratuitous concession that there are gods. Iamblicus resents the concession. He objects that there is contempt implied in the very thought of making such a concession of what is above doubt. "It is not right," he says, "to speak thus, for there exists in our very being the implanted knowledge of gods, ἡ περὶ θεῶν ἔμφυτος γνῶσις, which, better than all judgment and choice preceding, anticipates reasoning and demonstration. It does not become us to speak of conceding the existence of gods and demons, as if such existence were doubtful, and as if the concession might therefore be withheld, for in this Being we are contained, or rather we ourselves are filled with it, and whatever we are we owe to our knowledge of the gods."\* Here we must remember the doctrine held by some Egyptians, at least, that Tum was the fountain of all being, the parent of all gods, who were no more than emanations from him, and held that the good demons, or souls of justified men, returned into the same fountain of all spiritual existence; and at this point the degeneration of monotheism into pantheism was complete. Of this one God, however, Iamblicus does not cease to speak, either plainly or by implication, and says that the Egyptians "affirm that all things which exist were created, that *He who gave them being is their first Father and Creator, προπάτωρ τε τῶν ἐν γενέσει δημιουργὸν προπάτρουσι*, and acknowledge the existence of a vital power before heaven was.† They say that Mercury, the Egyptian Thoth, taught, and that Bitys the prophet found it written in hieroglyphics, that the way to heaven was the name of God which penetrates through all the world.‡ Divine good they consider to be God, and *human good* to be union with Him, or, if we translate more exactly, *identification with Him*—τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔνωσις.§ The attribution of so great efficacy to the all-penetrating name of this god answers to the fact so conspicuous in the document now under review, that the name itself had power to frank its bearer into the lower world, together with gods and justified persons; and the *henosis* or unification of the good man with the one god, affirmed by Iamblicus, repeats what we read in the *Book of the Dead*.

"The name of 'a god,' or of 'the god,' that is Osiris, annihilates

\* Iamblicus, *de Mysteriorum*, sec. i. cap. 4. † Ibid. viii. 4.

‡ Ibid. viii. 5. § Ibid. x. 8.

or does away with the accusers in the future state. Hence, no doubt, the mystery of prefixing it to the names and titles of the deceased, called Osiris. The deceased was protected by the mystery of the name from the ills which afflicted the dead. The goddess (Nut), painted and invoked on the coffin, was an additional security to her adopted son, the deceased King Mencheres.\*

After this view of the chief points which are suggested by the works before us, it is time to glance over the *Book of the Dead*, as we have it in the lucid translation of Dr. Birch, who puts the cramped and mysterious Egyptian into plain English. The authorship of this *book*, as it is conventionally called, is attributed to Thoth, generally identified with the Hermes of the Greeks. The several fragments, or as much of existing parcels as were then adopted for use, are believed to have been collected into one mass some time in the twenty-sixth dynasty, from B.C. 664 to B.C. 525, or thereabout, and are usually called Hermetic. In all that relates to the state of the departed, as written by a god, the chapters were held to be inspired; they were the rule of faith, and with the rubrics prefixed to them they became the directory for practice. But the earliest appearance of rituals was in the eleventh dynasty. It was then that extracts of these sacred books were inscribed on the inner sides of the sarcophagi, more particularly portions of the seventeenth and other chapters, besides others that are not preserved in the papyrus above-quoted, and which probably had become obsolete at the later period when that papyrus was written.

The soul, this Book taught, dies first when born into this world, and is imprisoned in human form, which becomes to it a living death. But notwithstanding this view of humanity, originally true enough, they paid even an excessive honour to the human person, and at least five principles were held necessary to complete a man, namely:—*Ba*, the soul, represented in hieroglyphic by the figure of a hawk with human head and arms, *Akh* or *Khu*, intelligence; *Ka*, existence, or breath of life; *Khaba*, or shade; *Kha*, or body; and lastly, the *Sah*, or mummy. The soul is not described as created, but the *Ka*, existence, or breath of life, is the especial gift of Tum. The book opens with

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\* Dr. Birch, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, April, 1869, p. 51.

an address of Thoth himself, followed by addresses of the soul, immediately after separation from the body, to the infernal gods. The defunct enumerates his titles to the favour of Osiris, and demands admission into his empire. The choir of glorified souls intervenes, supporting the prayer. The priest on earth speaks in his turn and implores Divine clemency. Then Osiris encourages the defunct to speak to his father and enter freely into Amenti, the Hades of Egypt. Many chapters of less importance follow, relating to the first funeral ceremonies. At last the deceased is admitted into Amenti, and is amazed at the glory of the sun-god whom he sees for the first time there. He chants a hymn of praise, with many invocations. A chapter "Of Escaping out of the Folds of the Great Serpent" tells how he has defied Apophis, the evil one, and escapes from him. Passing through the gate of the West, as the sun Osiris, he has opened all his paths in heaven and earth, he has come from the mummy. The gods and goddesses give way before him.

Thus pass the first and second sections of the Book. The third section contains fanciful speculations on "the Reconstruction of the Deceased." A mouth is to be given him in Amenti, and opened by the faculty of speech. Charms are given him for the production of ideas, and another charm for giving him a name. A heart will be made for him, and the person so reconstructed will rejoice in the amplitude of his powers. Thus rejoicing, he exclaims (chap. 26): "My heart is given to me in the place of hearts, my heart in the place of hearts. I have received my heart, it is at peace within me. For I have not eaten food where Osiris is in the filthy East. Going and returning I have not gone (with indecision). I know what I have eaten, going and stopping (decidedly.) My mouth has been given for me to speak, my legs to walk, my arms to overthrow my adversaries. I open the doors of heaven. I have passed Seb, the lord of the gods. I fly. He has opened my eyes wide. Anup (the god who weighs the souls in judgment) has fashioned my heel. I attach myself to him. I rise as Pasht the (cat-headed) goddess. I have opened heaven. I have done what is ordered in Ptah Ka. I know by my heart. I prevail by my heart. I prevail by my arm. I prevail by my feet. I do what my soul wishes. My soul is not separated by my body from the gates of the West."

Great was the virtue of the 64th chapter, and it is very long. The rubric says:—"If this chapter is known, he has been justified upon earth. In Amenti he does all that the living do. It is the composition of a great god. This chapter was found at Sesennu (Hermopolis), on a brick of burnt clay, painted with real lapis lazuli, under the feet of the great god. It was found in the days of King Ramenkar, the justified.\*

Sixteen chapters relate to the preservation of the body in the sepulchre. Enchantments and amulets are supposed to guard it from violation by the hands of the profane, who would seek to steal away the consecrated heart, or to take away the mind, and to prevent the hungry crocodile from devouring the flesh, protect it from the gnawing worm, the snake, the tortoise, the malignant fiends, and the noisome vermin that swarm in the region of Karneker (the grave).

Nine chapters are provided for recitation by the living, to save the departed from a second death,—the first death being this present life,—from the defilement of evil, destruction in hell, and an eternal overthrow.

Twelve chapters concern the celestial diet, in which there shall be nothing loathsome, impure, or poisonous.

Other twelve chapters are supposed to describe "the Manifestation to Light" of the reconstructed human body, invested with undying powers, and surrounded with manifold defences against mortality. The departed one is assured that he shall come forth as the day, prevail against all enemies, break through the barriers of sepulchral night, and that as the god, after entering the gate of the West at sunset, emerges in the East with returning day, and mounts up into the meridian glory, so shall body and soul, the material and the divine again united, quit the earth, and ascend towards Aahenru, or Heaven.

Still unequal to the conception of so sublime a mystery as the resurrection of the body, though longing after it, and not knowing that flesh and blood cannot enter into the kingdom of God, nor that corruption cannot inherit incorruption, the Egyptian mystagogue tells of metamor-

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\* This rubric was afterwards rendered differently by the same translator. "Let this chapter be known. He is justified from earth to Hades. He makes all the transformations of life. His food is that of a great god. This chapter was found at Hermopolis on a brick of polished brass, written in blue under the feet of that god in the days of the King Mencheres the justified." —*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, June, 1867, p. 55.

phoses of the vile into the glorious, changing men into gods, and clothing the mortals departed in the forms of heavenly beings; the hawk of gold, the aged chief, the lily, the phoenix, the nycticorax, the swallow, the serpent of paradise, the forms of many gods, and the soul of the earth. Then comes a chapter (89) of the visit of the soul to the body in Karneker, while yet the time for final glorification is not come. If this chapter be known to the person deceased, his body is not injured; his soul does not enter into his body again for millions of years. If this chapter is known, his body is not decayed, his soul is not thrust into his body for ever. *He sees his body, he is at peace with his mummy, he is not troubled, his body will not be strangled for ever.*

Fifteen chapters are employed in describing the metamorphoses, or transmigrations. In all this the Egyptian speaks as one who, more than all others, cares for the honour and preservation of his body. Every part of it is sacred, and is under the protection of its own peculiar god. "There is not a limb of him without a god." This elaborate ritual at once confesses and distorts the truth inculcated by inspired writers of Holy Scripture, one of whom says, remonstrating with licentious Gentiles, "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, for ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are His."\*

Twenty-six chapters relate to *The Protection of the Soul*. The first is a chapter (91) "Of not Allowing a Person's Soul to be Sniffed out in Karneker." By virtue of another chapter the person "goes out as the day. His soul is not detained in Karneker." The phraseology—so near as difference of language may permit—is used which we find employed with reference to the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ: *Thou wilt not abandon My soul to Sheól* *לֹא תַעְזֹב נַפְשִׁי לְשֵׁאוֹל* neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption,"†—the *Sheól* of the Hebrew being equivalent with the *Amenti* of the Egyptian. The tomb, or grave, is the Egyptian Karneker, answering to the Hebrew *שֵׁאוֹל*, corruption.

There is a chapter (100) *for Giving Peace to the Soul*,

\* 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.

† Ps. xvi. 10.

to be pronounced as a charm over the body of the deceased, written on a scrap of linen, placed on his knee, or on his flesh, and not to be approached. Some words of it are remarkable: "I am made the second after Isis, the third after Nephthys, I have grown strong by their prayers, I have twined the cord, I have stopped the Apophis (the evil serpent), *I have turned back his feet.*" A serpent with many feet—feet growing by pairs out of the annular ribs of his skeleton—is a prominent figure on some of the old mummy-chests, that of Rameses II., for example, in the Sloane Museum; while other serpents have none, but go on their bellies. This is a fact worth noting, as it may possibly indicate the remembrance, or the tradition, of such a serpent, and if that be substantiated, it will throw light on Gen. iii. 14: "Upon thy belly shalt thou go."

Eight chapters describe the freedom attained by the justified, soul and body being reunited, to go along the roads of Rusta, or plains of Amenti, and of coming out thence, or returning thither.

But the section of the Hall of the Two Truths, or Scales of Justice, is of the highest interest. Until the reader comes to this part of the book, he may reasonably suppose that the Egyptian relied on nothing for happiness beyond the grave except charms or protestations of his own. Here he finds mention of a judgment after death. This being known to the Egyptians when the chapters of this *Book of the Dead* were written, could not have been unknown to Moses during his early education in Egypt, which continued until he was forty years of age. The 125th chapter relates to "*Going to the Hall of the Two Truths, and separating a Person from his Sins when he has been made to see the Faces of the Gods.*" The person to be judged and weighed in the balance by Anup, or Anubis, judge of the dead, appeals to the supreme judge and his assessors.

"Oh ye lords of truth! oh thou great god, lord of truth! I have come to thee, my lord, I have brought myself to see thy blessings. I have known thee. I have known thy name. I have known the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Two Truths, living by catching the wicked, fed off their blood in the day of reckoning words before the Good Being, the justified. Placer of Spirits, Lord of the Truth is thy name.

"Oh ye lords of the truth, let me know ye. I have brought ye truth. Rub ye away my faults. I have not privily done evil against mankind. I have not afflicted persons or men. I have

not told falsehood in the Tribunal of Truth. I have had no acquaintance with evil. I have not done any wicked thing. I have not made the labouring man do more than his task daily. I have not let my name approach to the boat, nor endeavoured to make my name approach to the . . . : nor exceeded what is ordered. . . . I have not been idle. I have not failed. I have not ceased. I have not been weak. I have not done what is hateful to the gods. I have not calumniated the slave to his master. I have not sacrificed. I have not made to weep. I have not murdered. I have not given orders to smite a person privily. I have not committed fraud to men. I have not changed the measures of the country. I have not injured the images of the gods. I have not taken scraps of the bandages of the dead. I have not committed adultery. I have not spat against the priest of the god of my country. I have not thrown down. I have not falsified measures. I have not thrown the weight out of the scale. I have not cheated in the weight of the balance. I have not withheld milk from the mouths of sucklings. I have not hunted wild animals in their pasturages. I have not netted sacred birds. I have not caught the fish which typify them. I have not stopped running water. I have not put out a light at its proper hour. I have not robbed the gods of their proper haunches. I have not stopped a god from his manifestation. I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! Pure is that Phoenix which is in Suten Khen (Bubastis). Because I am the nostril of the lord of the winds, giving life to the good. The day of veiling the eye in Annu (Heliopolis, or On) before the Lord of heaven and earth on the 30th Epiphi. I have seen the filling of the eye in Annu. Let no evil be done to me in the land of truths, because I know the names of the gods who are with thee in the Hall of Truth. Save me from them!"\*

The person who thus presents himself at the seat of judgment next invokes by name the forty-two gods' assessors, protesting that he is innocent of the offences above enumerated, and pleads expressly—"I have no sins, no perversion . . . let me pass the roads of darkness. Let me follow thy servants in the gate, let me come out of Rusta from the Hall of Truth. Let me pass the lintel of the gate."

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\* This day of veiling and unveiling the eye in Heliopolis must refer to the participation of the deceased in the mysteries of Osiris which were represented there and at Bubastis. So says Herodotus (ii. 171): "On this lake around Bubasti it is that the Egyptians represent his sufferings whose name (Osiris) I refrain from mentioning, and *this representation* they call their mysteries. I know well the whole course of the proceedings in their ceremonies, but they shall not pass my lips."

The chapter (155) *Of not letting the Body corrupt* describes the dignity of a frame exempted from corruption, incorruptibility being an attribute of godhead, while all mere creatures are abandoned to corruption. The Osiris, now changed from human to divine, exclaims—

“Hail, my father Osiris! Thy limbs are with thee; thou dost not corrupt; thou dost not turn to worms. Thou dost not putrefy. Thou dost not decay. Thou dost not change into worms. . . . I am! I am! I live! I live! I grow! I grow! I wake in peace. I am not corrupted. I am not suffocated there. I grow tall. My substance is not sent away. My ear does not grow deaf. My head does not separate. My tongue has not been taken away. My eyebrow is not plucked out. No injury is done to my body.”

Some of these ideas are so exactly expressed in Holy Scripture that almost the very sentences are repeated. The God of Abraham, instead of revealing any name, declares His immortality by the mere words, “I am that I am,” and bids Moses say to the Egyptians, “I am” hath sent me unto you. The incarnate Son of God says, “Before Abraham was, I am.” The incorruptibility of the body of the crucified is described in terms recalled to our memory in the chapter now quoted, and we cannot resist the conclusion—not that the sacred writers copied from the *Book of the Dead*, which it is not likely they ever thought of, but—that the whole set of ideas naturally belonging to the subject was suggested by the primal inspiration of truth to man, when the first teachings were communicated by the Creator, and the whole conception came down with the inmost ideas of the mind so long as the tradition of the truth remained. But it was given to men severally and plenarily inspired to deliver the original truth again, divested of every disguise, and disentangled from every perversion. And again, we repeat, that the penetration of these ideas into the whole doctrine of the Egyptians when Moses was in Egypt, and when the Pharaoh who then sat upon the throne was laid in the sarcophagus that may now be seen in London, demonstrates that Moses, learned in all the wisdom of Egypt, could not have been ignorant of a future state, as some say, nor yet unaffected by the consideration of future rewards and punishments. Nor could the Israelites, familiar as they were with the religion of Egypt, have been indifferent to the truth which was



paramount in the land of their birth. On this truth rested the faith of Moses, when he refused the pleasures of sin in the court of Pharaoh.

Allusions to the creation in the 115th chapter, as it is rendered by Mr. Goodwin in a contribution of his to the *Zeitschrift*, have met our eye since writing the present article. "I (*meaning the supreme god Rá*) appeared before the sun." "When the circumference of darkness was opened, I was one among you (*gods*)." "I know how the woman was made from the male."

We must now leave the *Book of the Dead*, and make but brief reference to the *Book of Migration*, edited by Dr. Brugsch, who, we may observe, was once Prussian Consul at Cairo, enjoyed the confidence of the Pasha, and wrote an invaluable history of Egypt, at the Pasha's request, directly gathered from the ancient monuments now standing. Dr. Birch, we are aware, considers this *Book of Migration* to be one of a very extensive mass of writings never yet collected in any one manuscript, but many of them composed on special occasions, and for the use of particular persons. The *Sai an Sinsin* is a laudatory address to the deceased. It consists of fourteen chapters. The authorship is attributed to Isis, who calls him her brother Osiris, and it was probably written by a priest for his friend or patron during his life-time, while the sepulchre, also, was in course of preparation for the reception of his body. The address was well adapted to be sung by the priests at the burial, as Diodorus Siculus says was the custom. The first four sections may serve as a specimen of funeral eulogy, eminently Pagan in its character, as such compositions frequently are in spirit, even with ourselves.

I. "Beginning of the *Book of Migration*, composed by Isis for her brother Osiris, to give life to his soul, to revive his body, to renew his divine members in power, to reunite him to his father Rá (*the Sun*), to make his soul manifest in heaven in the disc of the god Aah (*the Moon*), that his body may shine bright in the star of Orion, among the progeny of the goddess Nupe (*Rhea*), that he may perform his transformation, as is just, in the field of the god Seb (*Saturn*). The divine father, prophet of Ammon-Rá, king of the gods; prophet of the gods, Harsiesi the justified (*deceased blessed*), son of a divine father, prophet of Ammon-Rá, king of the gods, Harsisheshonk the justified, infant of the lady priestess of Ammon, Tentneith the blessed. O thou hidden one! hidden where thou hast the praise of every one in Amenti (*Orcus*,

as *Brugsch* renders it), who livest in power covered with a precious veil, in purity.

II. "Hail! Osiris\*—thou art pure; thy heart is pure; thou art pure before in cleanness; thou art pure behind with the washing of water; thou art pure within by the infusion of nitre (for *embalming*); there is no member of thine unclean. Thou art pure, Osiris—with that infusion which is of the plains of Hatapha, towards the north of the plains of Sahamu. The goddess Sate and the goddess Savan have purified thee in the eighth hour of the night, (and) in the eighth hour of the day, that thou mayest be Osiris—. Thou comest to the tribunal (*Hall of Judgment*), thou art purified from all evil, and from all abomination. Rock of Truth is thy name.

III. "Hail! Osiris—thou comest to the house of glory in great purity; the goddesses of truth made thee exceedingly pure at the great tribunal. Thou hast a grand cleansing at the tribunal. The god Seb (*Saturn*) purified thy members at the tribunal. Thou art fair by looking on Rá, and the god Atune (*the sun what he set*), his conjunction at the place of darkness. Ammon is where thou art, giving thee breath, and the god Ptah (*Vulcan*) bending thy limbs. Thou comest to the horizon with Rá; thy soul is received into the baris† with Osiris; thy soul is divine in the house of Seb, and thou art justified for ever.

IV. "Hail! Osiris—thy name remaineth, thy Sahu (*mummy*) is fresh; thou art not excluded from heaven, (nor) from earth. Thy soul shineth with Rá; thy soul liveth with Ammon (*the Theban Jupiter*). Thy body is renewed with Osiris; thou goest on migration for ever."

The book closes with impassioned commendations of the deceased to all the gods "in the abodes of glory." Always taking for granted that the piety of the person when living, the enchantments of the priests, the power of amulets, and the merit of funeral ceremonies have done all that is necessary to secure his admission into the glory of heaven, the language of adulation is carried to the utmost. It appears again upon the gravestones. *Brugsch* found several; he gives translations of the epitaphs in his *Gräberwelt*, and two of them here follow. The first is probably a fair

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\* This book may be adopted at the funeral of any other person, by the substitution of another first section, to be descriptive of the person, and his parentage, and by supplying the name after Osiris, which this time is Harsiesi, son of Harsieshonk, born of the priestess Teutneith.

† *Bapic*. Herodotus, II. 96, gives this name to a large kind of barge used for conveying burdens on the Nile, and also for similar vessels constructed for state occasions, and for funerals. The same name is given to the barge of Rá, in which the great god is supposed to sail all day in the clear ether.

specimen of many. The deceased bespeaks the good opinion of those who come after him :—

“O ye great men, you prophets, you priests, you temple-singers, and all you men that come millions of years after me; if ever one of you shall deny my name and exhibit his own, so will god do unto him, by making his memory perish on the earth, but if he praises my name that is on this monument, so shall the god of the dead in like manner cause it to come to pass with him.”

The following inscription he copied from a grave in Beni Hassan, where he supposed it had been for about 2,500 years before Christ. After a short historical introduction, in which the deceased enumerates the services he rendered to the neighbourhood where he lived, he proceeds :—

“I have not troubled the son of the poor man, I have not oppressed any widow, I have not disturbed any fisherman, I have not driven away any shepherd; there was no householder whose servant I took for labour; no prisoner languished in my days, no one died of hunger in my time. When there were years of hunger, I had all the fields of my Nomos ploughed, on to the Northern and Southern boundaries. I gave nourishment to its inhabitants and fed them. There was no hungry person in it. I gave the widow equal measure with the married woman. I did not prefer the rich to the poor.”

So at last self-esteem and vanity close the tale of life. All peculiarities of age, country, or sect, seem to be lost, swept off the scene by a single gust of pride. Pride, as universal as death, speaks loud as ever from the tomb, and the Egyptian Pharisee proves himself no less earnest than his brethren in Judea to trumpet his own fame precisely in the place and at the time most unfit for the manifestation of vainglory. The common disease of evil needs the application of a remedy, and all the Christian world, exulting in the possession of a clearer revelation of primitive truth, have reason to be thankful that such a remedy has been provided.

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ART. II.—1. *The Comedies and Tragedies of George Chapman*, now first collected, with Illustrative Notes, and a Memoir of the Author. In Three Volumes. London: John Pearson, York Street, Covent Garden. 1873.

2. *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the Time of Shakespeare*. With Notes. By CHARLES LAMB. New Edition, including the Extracts from the Garrick Plays. London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden. 1854.

It is more than strange that a dramatist of the Elizabethan cycle, with an extra-dramatic reputation such as has clung for two centuries and a half to George Chapman's translation of the works of Homer, should have remained until last year among the inedited\* authors of the most brilliant and most vital epoch of English literature. If not as worthy of the care of that great editor, the late Mr. Dyce, as were Webster and Ford, Chapman was at least as worthy of good editing as many of those whose works passed through Mr. Dyce's hands; and it is, we repeat, strange that we should have to thank the enterprise of Mr. Pearson, well known for sundry other reprints of old books, for the first collected edition of the plays of a man associated as Chapman was with some of his greatest contemporaries, and still currently before the reading world (indeed, too patently present!) in his noble though somewhat un-Homeric version of Homer. It is now sixty-six years since Charles Lamb recorded an opinion of Chapman, which should, in the nature of things, have long ago borne the fruit of a complete edition of his plays from some other hand; for we doubtless owe much in the way of good editions of Elizabethan work to the impetus which Lamb's *Specimens* gave to the study and appreciation of that literature. That book of specimens, delightful in itself, consisted, in the days of its first appear-

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\* Inedited as to complete dramatic works: isolated plays of Chapman have appeared once and again in Collections; and one of them (*Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*) was edited in 1867 by Herr Karl Elze.

ance, of extracts gathered almost wholly from scarce old books. But the authors there represented, and still to this day inedited, are quite a small minority; and we certainly have to thank Lamb's admirable taste in selection, and tact in comment, for much that has since been done. The highest critics still hesitate to dissent from Lamb in any important question of Elizabethan literature, and no one valuing his reputation would think of setting about a serious estimate of any one of those dramatists without first instructing himself as to how that most discerning, devoted, and distinguished of dramatic critics thought concerning the particular playwright in question. A note of Lamb's generally has more critical weight in its concentrated truth than is to be found in many pages of ordinary criticism; and although he does not say very much about George Chapman, he says quite enough to justify what we have already stated, and, in the eyes of some writers, a great deal more. He deemed the few pages of selections which he made from Chapman's plays enough to give an idea of that "full and heightened style" which Webster makes characteristic of Chapman; and he records it as his deliberate opinion that "of all English play-writers, Chapman perhaps approaches nearest to Shakespeare in the descriptive and didactic, in passages which are less purely dramatic."

We have been the more careful to give the exact words of Lamb on this subject, because the editor of the reprint on which the present article is based has taken equal care to suppress, apparently for the purposes of an effective and consequential opening to his preliminary dissertation, the very important qualifying phrases which follow the name of Shakespeare.\* The editor thus makes Lamb guilty of the grand and utterly incredible blunder of ranking Chapman absolutely next to Shakespeare! He says in the first paragraph of his "Memoir:"—

"It is the recorded opinion of Charles Lamb that of all the dramatists of that great age, Chapman approached the nearest to Shakespeare."—*Chapman's Dramatic Works*, Vol. I. p. 5.

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\* We would willingly regard this as a merely careless blunder, rather than as a gross perversion of the truth as uttered by a truth-speaking man. Our readers will know better how to regard it when they have followed us to the close.

We have seen that no such thing was the recorded opinion of Lamb; and we could name other dramatists ranked "nearest Shakespeare" on much more important grounds than description and the didactic. But in order that our readers may know exactly how Lamb regarded Chapman on other grounds, we must quote the rest of the note appended by the great critic to his extracts. He proceeds as follows:—

"Dramatic imitation was not his talent. He could not go out of himself, as Shakespeare could shift at pleasure, to inform and animate other existences, but in himself he had an eye to perceive and a soul to embrace all forms. He would have made a great epic poet, if, indeed, he has not abundantly shown himself to be one; for his Homer is not so properly a translation as the stories of Achilles and Ulysses re-written. The earnestness and passion which he has put into every part of these poems would be incredible to a reader of mere modern translations. His almost Greek zeal for the honour of his heroes is only paralleled by that fierce spirit of Hebrew bigotry, with which Milton, as if personating one of the zealots of the old law, clothed himself when he sat down to paint the acts of Samson against the uncircumcised. The great obstacle to Chapman's translations being read, is their unconquerable quaintness. He pours out in the same breath the most just and natural, and the most violent and forced expressions. He seems to grasp whatever words come first to hand during the impetus of inspiration, as if all other must be inadequate to the Divine meaning. But passion (the all in all in poetry) is everywhere present, raising the low, dignifying the mean, and putting sense into the absurd. He makes his readers glow, weep, tremble, take any affection which he pleases, be moved by words, or, in spite of them, be disgusted, and overcome their disgust. I have often thought that the vulgar misconception of Shakespeare, as of a wild irregular genius, 'in whom great faults are compensated by great beauties,' would be really true, applied to Chapman. But there is no scale by which to balance such disproportionate subjects as the faults and beauties of a great genius. To set off the former with any fairness against the latter, the pain which they give us should be in some proportion to the pleasure which we receive from the other. As these transport us to the highest heaven, those should steep us in agonies infernal." —Bohn's Edition of Lamb's *Specimens*, pp. 87, 88.

The finer qualities of Chapman are admirably summed up in this paragraph: and, as regards that part of the man's work in which he would seem to have taken the greatest delight (his translations), we are well pleased

to leave our readers in undisturbed possession of the view taken by Lamb. There is one point, however, that requires some enlargement,—a point included in the words “Dramatic imitation was not his talent,” and “He could not go out of himself, as Shakespeare could shift at pleasure, to inform and animate other existences.” There is no reason to suppose that Lamb used these words in the absolute sense in which they might be understood; and indeed the use of the word “talent” has so far changed in the last half century, that we should almost be justified in substituting “forte.” That Chapman had “dramatic talent,” as we now understand the word, is certain, and was doubtless just as certain to Lamb; but that his dramatic power was less than that of several lesser men than Shakespeare is equally certain; and probably that was what Lamb meant. Also, that he could not go out of himself *as Shakespeare could*, might be said of Marlowe, Webster, Ford, and the rest; and yet Chapman and these could all go out of themselves in their degree, Chapman less than most; but still Chapman, too, in his degree; and if Lamb had meant otherwise than this, he could not have admitted Chapman to the guild of dramatists at all.

It is no small measure of genius that one credits a man with in finding such high qualities as Lamb found in what was obviously the less important division of a life's work; and we feel sure that any reader who examines for himself, carefully, that less important division, consisting of the fifteen plays now before us in a collected form for the first time, will rise with an estimate of the author's greatness fully justifying all that has been said by the admirers of Chapman, from Webster to Keats.

The essence of dramatic genius is to be able to “go out of” oneself; and to say of any one dramatist, be he who he may, that he could not do this as Shakespeare did, is simply to try him by a standard under which no man, born of a woman, can do other than fail; but to say that he could not go out of himself would be equivalent to denying him the title of dramatist altogether. Therefore, we do not say this of Chapman, whom we regard as a very considerable dramatist; and we shall endeavour to show that, though he falls short of Shakespeare, nay, of Webster, of Ford, and of Marlowe, it is not for want of deep sympathy—for, after all, the dramatic power of self-elimination is the deepest sympathy, sublimed and refined ten times in the fire—not

for want of sympathy, but for want of knowledge of men and women. A careful examination of all that is known about Chapman has led us to the conclusion that his vast classic learning and voluminous occupation, operating in an organisation not of the very highest order, shut him out from the observation of the human world—that he was, like many another of the most erudite authors, a recluse. His best characters do not lack vitality; but they do lack variety; and we feel as certain as if we had George Chapman face to face with us, that the fiery, over-bearing, impetuous man he so often depicted under various guises was no portrait of himself, but a strictly limited conception of what humanity would be under certain conditions.

So little is known of Chapman's life that it is impossible to say when, or under what impulse, his various dramas were produced. The dates of publication form no guide whatever; and all we can say positively of their chronology is, that they were printed at various times, from the year 1598, when, according to the evidence of his portrait in the *Homer*, he was thirty-nine years old, up to the year 1654, when he had been dead twenty years. Certainly the two comedies printed in 1598 and 1599 have every appearance of being youthful works, especially on our hypothesis that it was want of knowledge of humanity, and not want of power to realise what he knew, that made Chapman's characters so monotonous. The two comedies in question are *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* and *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, which, like the rest of the series, are rich in poetic passages, but which, as pictures of life, are as dreary and as untrue as anything can well be. The events of these two plays, if they can be called events, are of the coarsest and most brutal character, the amusement turning mainly on the inconveniences arising from indulgence of animal passions in both sexes. It seems to be thought a fine joke that a man should be a cuckold and a woman a trull, that an old man should make himself ridiculous for lust's sake, and that an old woman should dote on a young husband; it is also a most important element in the amusement that the women generally are little better than animals; and this vile conception of female humanity runs through most of Chapman's works. Now, there is no civilised epoch in which this view of womankind is currently adopted; and when it does occur, it is generally as the conception of a base man, or as the



tradition of a young man received from a base man. Chapman was certainly not a base man, by a very long way; and therefore we have no doubt that the vile women of his comedies are traditionary, and the product of earlier years, when he was absolutely ignorant on the subject of women, and nearly so on that of men. Whether he ever attained to any wide knowledge of womankind, we much doubt: it is not known, even, whether he was ever married; but, if the internal evidence of his works goes for anything, we should say certainly not; and, for the enlarged (though still small) conception of female character found in what seem to be his maturer dramas, we should say that widened knowledge of tradition would account amply. In a word, he would seem to have started with a schoolboy misknowledge of women, and ended with a book knowledge of them.

But whatever his conceptions, and however he got them, we maintain that, from the first, even in these two comedies, he *did* "go out of himself, and inform them" sufficiently to leave them vital and vivid in their naked perverted bestiality,—that he conceived them with energy, and endowed them, in the main, not with his own thoughts and sentiments, but with the thoughts and sentiments that he deemed, in the narrowness of his knowledge, proper to them.

If we thought these two comedies the work of a man of nearly forty years old, we could not easily pardon their rotten and rank misrepresentation; but as both are stated on the title-pages to have been "sundry times publicly acted," we are pleased to believe that they had been many years in manuscript before it was found expedient to print them; and one might pardon them as the work of a young man who had all his knowledge of the world to get, and who wrote under the influence of a popular taste that was decidedly gross—a taste that led to still greater faults than Chapman's in the works of far greater men. There is another reason in favour of their being very young works, namely, the utter ignorance they display of dramatic construction. Chapman never attained to the highest proficiency in that respect; but there are wide technical differences between these comedies and his best tragedies, and even between them and his *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, published in 1631, but stated by the author to have been written long before, *not* for the stage. Together with these

two early comedies, there are two more which we should deem unworthy of the author's riper years, both on moral and on technical grounds, and which, indeed, have only such value as attaches to occasional snatches of poetry, and the author's "full and heightened style." These are *Monsieur d'Olive* and *May Day*, the former published in 1606, after it had been "sundry times acted by Her Majesty's children at the Blackfriars," the latter published five years afterwards, also having been "divers times acted at the Blackfriars." These two are certainly a little more ingenious and vigorous than the other two, but only a little; and neither of them is nearly so ingeniously contrived or so spiritedly set forward as the comedy of *All Fools*, published in 1605, and having in its title-page less of a world-worn air—more of the air of a new work. *All Fools* is merely described as "presented" (not sundry or divers times) "at the Blackfriars, and lately before his Majesty;" and it is quite a good enough play for Chapman to have written, in a sarcastic mood, when he was getting towards fifty years old. It is neither clumsy, like the other four, nor grossly misrepresentative of human nature, but deals with some of the foibles of both old and young with a light hand enough.

But although Chapman seems to have divided\* his attention, as far as dramatic work is concerned, evenly between the comic and the tragic muse, comedy was far less appropriate to his staid and classic genius than tragedy was; and the only two of his comedies that will rank, in our opinion, with the tragedies, are not purely comic. These are *The Gentleman Usher* and *The Widow's Tears*. The first of these was published in 1606: it is not said to have been acted at all, and we should assume it to be a work of about that period in Chapman's career. It is really interesting, poetically conceived, and not undramatic. There is something of a noble charm about the heroine, Margaret, who is courted by the old Duke Alphonso, but who loves and is beloved by Alphonso's son, Vincentio. The following dialogue between the young couple, when Vincentio warns Margaret that their fathers will force her into this marriage she abhors, is charmingly fresh:—

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\* It is remarkable that, of the fifteen plays preserved to us, seven are called comedies, seven tragedies, the odd one being neither, but a mask.

*Mar.*—That shall they never do ; may not we now  
Our contract make, and marry before heaven ?  
Are not the laws of God and nature, more  
Than formal laws of men ? are outward rites  
More virtuous than the very substance is  
Of holy nuptials solemnised within ?  
Or shall laws made to curb the common world,  
That would not be contained in form without them,  
Hurt them that are a law unto themselves ?  
My princely love, 'tis not a priest shall let us :  
But since the eternal acts of our pure souls,  
Knit us with God, the soul of all the world,  
He shall be priest to us, and with such rites  
As we can here devise, we will express,  
And strongly ratify our hearts' true vows,  
Which no external violence shall dissolve.

*Vin.*—This is our only mean t' enjoy each other :  
And, my dear life, I will devise a form  
To execute the substance of our minds,  
In honoured nuptials. First then hide your face  
With this your spotless white and virgin veil :  
Now this my scarf I'll knit about your arm,  
As you shall knit this other end on mine ;  
And as I knit it, here I vow by heaven,  
By the most sweet imaginary joys,  
Of untried nuptials ; by love's ushering fire,  
Fore-melting beauty, and love's flame itself,  
As this is soft and pliant to your arm  
In a circumferent flexure, so will I  
Be tender of your welfare and your will,  
As of mine own, as of my life and soul,  
In all things, and for ever ; only you  
Shall have this care in fulness, only you  
Of all dames shall be mine, and only you  
I'll court, command and joy in, till I die.

*Mar.*—With like conceit on your arm this I tie,  
And here in sight of heaven, by it I swear  
By my love to you, which commands my life,  
By the dear price of such a constant husband,  
As you have vowed to be : and by the joy  
I shall embrace, by all means to requite you :  
I'll be as apt to govern as this silk,  
As private as my face is to this veil,  
And as far from offence, as this from blackness.  
I will be courted of no man but you ;  
In, and for you shall be my joys and woes :  
If you be sick, I will be sick, though well :

If you be well, I will be well, though sick :  
 Yourself alone my complete world shall be,  
 Even from this hour, to all eternity.

"*Vin.*—It is enough, and binds as much as marriage."

Vol. I. pp. 305—7.

After this sweet scene, in which one cannot but remark the lady's fantastic and somewhat shaky reasoning, and her readiness to accept a verdict in accordance with her wishes, the play becomes tragi-comic. The friend of Vincentio is plotted against and wounded almost to death. Vincentio himself is in great danger of his life, and Margaret, being hotly pressed by her father to marry the Duke, destroys her beauty by applying some virulent ointment to her face. Of course all comes well at last, through the skill of a physician ; but the tragic element introduced into the work lifts it far above the earlier comedies, and gives the poet occasion for a great deal of fine writing.

*The Widow's Tears* was published in 1612 ; and it is stated in the title-page that it "*was often presented in the Black and White Friars,*" as if it were already a thing of the past. Of this we are bound to confess that, horribly libellous on female humanity as it is, and outrageously gross as is the plot, it is in our opinion one of Chapman's ablest and best-constructed works. Here the knowledge of human nature is eminently traditional, the story being none other than the horrible tale of the Widow of Ephesus ; but here we have tradition dealt with, not by a puerile hand, but with the strong grasp of a man whose life was mainly devoted to the study and resuscitation of the antique. The mere fact that the tale came from the classic world would probably commend it to Chapman ; and he seems to have devoted the best power that was in him to transplanting and vitalising, in contemporary English soil, the outrageous satire of the original legend. In this case he does not palter and snicker over female frailty as in the earlier comedies ; but, taking the beastly story just as he found it, he never stops to correct or soften it by a natural standard, but renders it vivid and circumstantial with all the coarse brutality of which the Elizabethan stage was capable. There is no single occasion on which one is impelled to smile throughout this comedy ; and in the crowning scene of the self-supposed widow's iniquitous levity, wherein the "comedy" may be presumed to be at

its height, the horror of the situation becomes tragic. The work is really a satirical extravaganza ; but the satire is pointless because unmerited ; and the subject altogether unworthy of the handling. The only possible justification for such a work were the ignorance we have all along presumed, and the poet's supposition that his satire was aimed at something real. Certainly if the women of his day were really what Chapman assumes them to be in his comedies, there was plenty of scope for a didactic crusade against them, and ample possibility of doing good by showing up vice in such colours as are used in *The Widow's Tears*. But we know well that women were not then, or ever in civilised times, answerable to such a tribunal as Chapman summons them before ; and that the kind of immorality with which they are charged has ever been, except in extremely rare instances, a gross fiction invented by base members of our own grosser sex, and founded on their own experience of animal nature.

The most solid and connected division of the dramatic work Chapman has left us is the series of tragedies based on contemporary French history, and affording a careful picture of French Court life at that time. Whether the picture is as true as it is careful, may perhaps be doubted ; but we are disposed, on the whole, to credit it with a fair amount of veracity. The historical characters in these pieces are well drawn, though they owe, like the personages of the comedies, too much to preconceived notions and second-hand conceptions. They are, however, more life-like than the persons of the comedies, and have, over those, the great advantage that you cannot predict with certainty what they are going to do. What Chapman's characters will say, you never can foresee for a moment ahead ; for the meanest of them say at times such astonishingly fine things that, regarding them from a dramatic point of view, the reader stands aghast. Thus, when a "Sixth Citizen," in the stormy senate-scene of *Cæsar and Pompey*, says to Cato :—

"Be bold in all thy will ; for being just,  
Thou may'st defy the gods,"

Cato very naturally remarks, "Said like a god !" Only one just as naturally wonders how the citizen got educated to speak so god-like. This kind of thing constantly recurs in Chapman ; but there is less of it in the French plays

than elsewhere, presumably because the life depicted in them was close enough to the author to ensure the accounts of it, on which he founded, being pretty correct. Of these plays there are four, *Bussy d'Ambois* and *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* being the history of one political coil, and *Byron's Conspiracy* and *Byron's Tragedy* being the history of another. Bussy, in the first of these four plays, is a man of very considerable native nobility, but fiery and impetuous, like all Chapman's heroes. Clermont, his brother, the hero of *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, is a nobler character still, and in our opinion more subtly drawn, and with finer chords in his being. Byron, with the like impetuosity, is a purely self-seeking character. The characteristics most strongly emphasized in Bussy d'Ambois are his blunt straightforwardness of speech and fiery directness of aim, tinged at times with a moroseness of manner far beyond what mere truth-telling and plain-dealing require. Lifted out of poverty by Monsieur, the King's brother, as an eligible tool in his plots against the King's life, Bussy sees through his patron from the first; nor does he scruple to let his patron know this. At the end of the third act Monsieur invites Bussy to give a free opinion of him, whereon he makes a speech in which Chapman seems to have combined dramatic propriety with historic criticism; for we have no doubt that the author's own opinion of the despicable character in question is given in the following passage:—

“ I think you are (at worst)

No devil, since y' are like to be no king;  
 Of which, with any friend of yours I'll lay  
 This poor stilladoe here, 'gainst all the stars,  
 Ay, and 'gainst all your treacheries, which are more;  
 That you did never good; but to do ill;  
 But ill of all sorts, free and for itself:  
 That (like a murdering piece, making lanes in armies  
 The first man of a rank, the whole rank falling)  
 If you have wrong'd one man, you are so far  
 From making him amends, that all his race,  
 Friends and associates fall into your chase:  
 That y' are for perjuries the very prince  
 Of all intelligencers; and your voice  
 Is like an Eastern wind, that where it flies,  
 Knits nets of caterpillars, with which you catch  
 The prime of all the fruits the kingdom yields:  
 That your political head is the curst fount

Of all the violence, rapine, cruelty,  
 Tyranny and atheism flowing through the realm.  
 That y' ave a tongue so scandalous, 'twill cut  
 A perfect crystal, and a breath that will  
 Kill to that wall a spider; you will jest  
 With God, and your soul to the devil tender  
 For lust; kiss horror, and with death engender.  
 That your foul body is a Lernean fen  
 Of all the maladies breeding in all men.  
 That you are utterly without a soul:  
 And (for your life) the thread of that was spun  
 When Clotho slept, and let her breathing rock  
 Fall in the dirt; and Lachesis still draws it,  
 Dipping her twisting fingers in a bowl  
 Defil'd, and crown'd with virtues forced soul.  
 And lastly (which I must for gratitude  
 Ever remember) that of all my height  
 And dearest life, you are the only spring,  
 Only in royal hope to kill the king."—Vol. II. pp. 59, 60.

This plain-speaking is the more unfortunate for Bussy d'Ambois, inasmuch as, leaving Monsieur in no shadow of doubt as to what his creature thinks about him and his plots, it also leaves him no scruples, even of a selfish character, as to the advisableness of taking an early opportunity to get Bussy out of the way. He has further reasons for hating d'Ambois: they are both suitors to the Countess Montsurry, d'Ambois being the favoured one; and Chapman shows a much more accurate conception of life in bringing about the tragic close by means of an illicit *amour*, than he does in the several *quasi*-comic situations evolved with much levity from the illicit *amours* of his comedies. Adultery in this set of French plays seems to be assumed, seriously, as almost a matter of course; and we fear that the assumption is a great deal too near the truth as applied to the corrupt life of the French Court at the time treated. The treatment, however, whether minutely accurate or not, is true to the higher principles of tragic art; and the Nemesis dogs the heels of iniquity as unfalteringly here as in all great art. It is simply because of its tragic propriety that the reader endures the remorseless scene wherein the wronged Count Montsurry, having discovered his wife's faithlessness, stabs her arms and breast, and puts her to other tortures. In the subsequent entrapping and killing of d'Ambois there is nothing of this kind: he dies like a bold man who has merited death;

and if he is not wholly noble, because of certain spots, he is yet so far nobler than those who plot his death, that one sees the necessity of a second tragedy, following on the heels of the first.

There appear to have been contemporary critics who carped at *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, on account of the modifications of actual circumstance which Chapman, in common with all great artists, allowed himself; for, in dedicating to the "right virtuous and truly noble knight, Sir Thomas Howard," this complementary tragedy, we find him insisting on the fact that it not only contains "excitation to heroic life," but is true to artistic principles. He asks who "worth the respecting" will require "authentic truth of either person or action" in a poem, "whose subject is not truth, but things like truth? Poor envious souls," he says, "they are that cavil at truth's want in these natural fictions: material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary; being the soul, limbs, and limits of an authentic tragedy." Notwithstanding its characteristic pedantry, this *dictum* is perfectly true, and we take it as rightly referring to the whole work. Even in those passages wherein the truth of d'Ambois to his mistress, the Countess Tamyra, might claim too much indulgence from the reader, the impending tragedy is ever present,—a supernatural element, even, being called in to aid the effect. There is an incantation scene, in which Bussy inquires of a spirit as to the future, obtaining a promise of future aid; and on a later occasion, wanting to know how Tamyra fares after the discovery of the intrigue, he soliloquises thus:—

"Never had my set brain such need of spirit,  
T'instruct and cheer it; now then, I will claim  
Performance of his free and gentle vow,  
T'appear in greater light; and make more plain  
His rugged oracle: I long to know  
How my dear mistress fares, and be inform'd  
What hand she now holds on the troubled blood  
Of her incensed lord. Methought the spirit,  
When he had utter'd his perplex'd presage,  
Threw his changed countenance headlong into clouds;  
His forehead bent, as he would hide his face:  
He knock'd his chin against his darken'd breast,  
And struck a churlish silence through his powers.—  
Terror of Darkness: O thou king of Flames,



That with Thy music-footed horse dost strike  
The clear light out of crystal, on dark earth,  
And hurl'st instructive fire about the world ;  
Wake, wake the drowsy and enchanted night,  
That sleeps with dead eyes in this heavy riddle :  
Or thou, great prince of Shades, where never sun  
Sticks his far-darted beams ; whose eyes are made  
To see in darkness, and see ever best  
Where sense is blindest ; open now the heart  
Of thy abashed oracle, that, for fear  
Of some ill it includes, would fain lie hid ;  
And rise thou with it in thy greater light."

Vol. II. pp. 85, 86.

Concerning this Lamb has the following note :—

"This calling upon Light and Darkness for information, but above all, the description of the spirit—'Threw his changed countenance headlong into cloud'—is tremendous, to the curdling of the blood. I know nothing in poetry like it."

In *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, the poet deals with the historic episode of the murder of the Duc de Guise, who has figured in the former play as one of Bussy's murderers ; but the main current of the second play is the course of Clermont d'Ambois in carrying on the blood-feud for his brother. The Count Montsurry, whose feline ferocity was exhibited in the torturing of a woman, appears again, appropriately, as a craven coward. He will not meet Clermont, and barricades himself in his house against the chance of receiving a written challenge. Tamyra, however, who is as "falsely true" to the murdered Bussy as he had been to her, has become reconciled to her husband, apparently with the sole object of revenge. She it is who betrays her husband, not to the hand of a murderer, but to the necessity of meeting Clermont in fair fight. Of course Montsurry is slain, and it is refreshing to find Chapman allowing him a few shreds of real manhood in his death ; for it is true enough that death approaching brings out what is good in a man with an infallible hand. The retribution of this scene is finely balanced, and we do not think the ferocity of a desperate French woman one whit overdrawn in the readiness of Tamyra to murder her hateful husband when he lies down to die like a dog rather than fight out the coil he has involved himself in. Indeed, we should say the women of this piece are particularly

true to the French female character, when roused to that blood-thirstiness that is peculiarly their own; for Bussy's sister Charlotte is far more eager for the *vendetta* than Clermont is, insomuch that her husband says of her:—

“ For so on needles' points  
My wife's heart stands with haste of the revenge;  
Being (as you know) full of her brother's fire,  
That she imagines I neglect my vow;  
Keeps off her kind embraces, and still asks  
When, when will this revenge come? when perform'd  
Will this dull vow be? And I vow to heaven  
So sternly, and so past her sex she urges  
My vow's performance; that I almost fear  
To see her, when I have awhile been absent,  
Not shewing her, before I speak, the blood  
She so much thirsts for, freckling hands and face.”

. Vol. II. pp. 106—7.

These ladies enforce very strongly the modern saying—  
“ What a terrible nation the French would be if it consisted wholly of French women !”

Clermont himself is rather disappointing as a creation. When he finds the Guise is dead he determines, with a fine devotion, to follow him, and accordingly kills himself. This may have been characteristic, but we never can see the nobility of those Roman principles which Chapman, as a devoted classic, was certain to admire, and which, indeed, he has a strong leaning to in his treatment of Cato (in *Cæsar and Pompey*); though we must do him the justice to say that he lets his characters in that tragedy argue out the question of suicide fairly enough.

The remaining hero in the cycle of French plays, the historical Charles Duke of Byron, Marshal of France, is perhaps the most satisfactory of the three: he does not disappoint us in his fall, because he bears about him from the first the marks of that spiritual distemper, ambition, that was bound to be his ruin. Though not amiable altogether, this character is, in some senses, admirable, as imperfect humanity often is. There is a free and noble grandeur of carriage with him, and his weaknesses depend, in a great measure, on the shifting and turbulent character of the age and land in which his feet are set. Having come forward and plucked France out of fearful straits by his intrepid daring and clearness of head, he expects too much for his personal share of the advantages

which a truly great man would have been glad to see accrue for their own sake and the general good. Something of the vigour of this character may be seen from the speech he makes when, in the thick of a conspiracy, he goes disguised to consult an astrologer, and is told that the "figure" he produces is that of a man who will lose his head!

"O death! how far off hast thou kill'd! how soon  
 A man may know too much, though never nothing!  
 Spite of the stars, and all astrology,  
 I will not lose my head: or if I do,  
 A hundred thousand heads shall off before.  
 I am a nobler substance than the stars,  
 And shall the baser overrule the better?  
 Or are they better, since they are the bigger?  
 I have a will, and faculties of choice  
 To do, or not to do: and reason why,  
 I do, or not do this: the stars have none,  
 They know not why they shine, more than this taper,  
 Nor how they work, nor what: I'll change my course,  
 I'll piecemeal pull the frame of all my thoughts,  
 And cast my will into another mould:  
 And where are all your *Caput Algols* then?  
 Your planets all, being underneath the earth,  
 At my nativity: what can they do?  
 Malignant in aspects? in bloody houses?  
 Wild fire consume them; one poor cup of wine,  
 More than I use, that my weak brain will bear,  
 Shall make them drunk and reel out of their spheres,  
 For any certain act they can enforce.  
 O that mine arms were wings, that I might fly,  
 And pluck out of their hearts my destiny!  
 I'll wear those golden spurs upon my heels,  
 And kick at fate; be free all worthy spirits,  
 And stretch yourselves, for greatness and for height:  
 Untruss your slaveries, you have height enough,  
 Beneath this steep heaven to use all your reaches,  
 'Tis too far off, to let you, or respect you.  
 Give me a spirit that on this life's rough sea,  
 Loves t' have his sails fill'd with a lusty wind,  
 Even till his sail-yards tremble, his masts crack,  
 And his rapt ship run on her side so low  
 That she drinks water, and her keel ploughs air:  
 There is no danger to a man that knows  
 What life and death is: there's not any law,  
 Exceeds his knowledge; neither is it lawful

That he should stoop to any other law.  
 He goes before them, and commands them all,  
 That to himself is a law rational."—Vol. II. pp. 227, 228.

But this is a vigour clearly in need of noble balance and just direction, and just the kind of strained psychic force to be best available for pointing such a moral as Chapman indicates in his prologue. He says grandly, after describing the situation of France and the achievement of Byron:—

"He touched heaven with his lance, nor yet was touched  
 With hellish treachery."

Here the sense becomes somewhat obscure, but the outcome is that, although he was "his country's love," he still thirsted, and had recourse to "hellish treachery," compared to a spring—

"Of which empoisoned spring, when policy drinks,  
 He bursts in growing great; and rising, sinks:  
 Which now behold in our conspirator,  
 And see in his revolt, how honour's flood  
 Ebbs into air, when men are great, not good."

Vol. II. p. 186.

The great fault in all these four plays is the ruling fault of Chapman's dramatic art,—the tendency to supply the place of real knowledge of the world with didactic excursions. These are extremely fine as abstract poetry, but when overdone, as in the present case, they necessarily tend to falsify or impoverish the general aspect of the work, and obstruct the dramatic current. Still, we maintain that, with all faults of construction and flaws of conception, these plays are not written with that constant inward gaze implied in the accusation that the author "could not go out of himself;" but with an outward gaze, keen and correct enough up to the limits of the somewhat narrow circle of tradition whereby the author's vision was circumscribed.

We have yet to speak specially of two tragedies by Chapman which, from the dates of publication, should be judged to be the most mature of his dramatic works; and to either of which, though of less individual importance than the whole French cycle of plays, must be awarded a higher place as a work of art than can be awarded to any one of those. *The Tragedy of Alphonso, Emperor of*

*Germany*, and *Revenge for Honour*, were both first published in 1654, as we have already remarked, twenty years after Chapman's death. The former, to judge from the title-page, had acquired a considerable popularity; for we read there the words, "as it hath been very often acted (with great applause) at the private house in Blackfriars, by his late Majesty's servants;" words the most important of which we do not see used in reference to any of the plays published in the author's lifetime. Certainly this popularity—whether it was purely posthumous, as is most frequently the case with anything good, or whether the author enjoyed somewhat of it during his life-time—was well deserved. We may reasonably hope that the play had been acted and applauded before the worthy man closed his labours and took his rest; and for that matter, the same hope may extend to *Revenge for Honour*, concerning which we are not even told in the title-page whether it was ever acted or not. Both these plays are greatly in advance of all the others in purely artistic qualities, and no whit behind any of them in nobility of thought. In the *Alphonsus* we have real dramatic pathos, as distinguished from the lyric pathos abundant enough in Chapman's verse; and in *Revenge for Honour* there is high tragedy, and a masterly treatment of a very difficult plot. In both these plays, too, one remarks a comparative freedom from those faults we have dwelt upon in discussing the rest of the author's dramatic works.

*Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, tells the story of a villain of the first water, profoundly studied and conceived, and subtly executed, and not of one villain only; for there is another character as villainous as the Emperor himself, or nearly so. The Emperor is a Spaniard in difficult occupation of the Imperial German throne; and one thread of the drama is the desperate political plotting and counter-plotting of this leading man and of the seven Electors of the German Empire,—in which also are concerned Richard, Duke of Cornwall, an aspirant to the Imperial throne, and Prince Edward of England. But there are private plottings most mercilessly involved in this main thread of the action. Hedewick, the daughter of the Duke of Saxony, who is one of the seven Electors, marries Prince Edward; and the black-hearted Emperor, partly to serve his ends and partly from sheer villainy, so arranges matters that, although the young couple are torn apart on the very day of the marriage,

the bride becomes the mother of a child which she believes to be Prince Edward's and which Prince Edward knows to be someone else's. This is arranged through the agency of the other villain we have alluded to,—the page Alexander. This infamous young wretch is the son of the Emperor's secretary, murdered in the first act by the Emperor's own hand, as knowing too much; and with a subtlety that is truly admirable from a dramatic point of view, the mind of Alexander is wrought to the belief that the Empress Isabella was the author of his father's death, and that certain of the Emperor's enemies were concerned in it. Alexander becomes transformed into an instrument of unscrupulous revenge; and among the most original and abominable of his deeds of vengeance is his personation of Prince Edward on the night of the marriage. The Princess Hedewick is drawn with great tenderness and delicacy: her broken English and scraps of German-English are extremely touching; and by enlisting our sympathies with her thoroughly at the outset, the dramatist renders the tragic *dénouement* tenfold more tragic. The outraged Duke of Saxony, on the Prince's repeated denial of fatherhood to Hedewick's child, dashes out the infant's brains, and kills his daughter before the Prince's eyes; and it is only after the principal author of this misery has at length fallen a victim to his subtle tool Alexander that the truth is made apparent. The last scene in the Emperor's life is a tremendous conception. He has determined on the death of his wife Isabella, and her nephew Prince Edward; but at the end his own fate hangs on a doubtful contest of troops. Determined not to be foiled in the matter of these two deaths, he sits grimly with two daggers in his hands, and with the two intended victims bound, in order that he may despatch them instantly with his own hands if his troops lose the day. Hearing from Alexander that the day is lost, he loses nerve, confesses the murder of the page's father, and requests to be despatched before the conquerors are upon him. Alexander binds him to carry out this request, and then tells him that he has been deceived,—that the Imperial troops have won, not lost, and that he only said the contrary to secure the immediate death of the Empress and Prince. The matching of this devilish Emperor with a monster as devilish in cunning and cruelty as himself, and mainly of his own shaping, is masterly in the highest degree; and the remorseless

retribution of the following dialogue is worthy of Webster :—

" Art thou not mad to think on this deceit ?  
I'll make thee madder, with tormenting thee.  
I tell thee arch-thief, villain, murderer,  
Thy forces have obtained the victory,  
Victory leads thy foes in captive bands ;  
This victory hath crown'd thee emperor,  
Only myself have vanquished victory,  
And triumph in the victor's overthrow.

*Alphon.*—O Alexander, spare thy prince's life.

*Alex.*—Even now thou didst entreat the contrary.

*Alphon.*—Think what I am that beg my life of thee.

*Alex.*—Think what he was whom thou hast doom'd to death.

But lest the princes do surprise us here  
Before I have perform'd my strange revenge,  
I will be sudden in the execution.

*Alphon.*—I will accept any condition.

*Alex.*—Then in the presence of the Emperess,  
The captive Prince of England, and myself,  
Forswear the joys of heaven, the sight of God,  
Thy soul's salvation, and thy Saviour Christ,  
Dammning thy soul to endless pains of hell.  
Do this or die upon my rapier's point.

*Emp.*—Sweet lord and husband, spit in's face.

Die like a man, and live not like a devil.

*Alex.*—What ? will thou save thy life, and damn thy soul ?

*Alphon.*—O hold thy hand, Alphonsus doth renounce—

*Edward.*—Aunt stop your ears, hear not this blasphemy.

*Emp.*—Sweet husband, think that Christ did die for thee.

*Alphon.*—Alphonsus doth renounce the joys of heaven,

The sight of angels and his Saviour's blood,  
And gives his soul unto the devil's power.

*Alex.*—Thus will I make delivery of the deed,

Die and be damn'd, now am I satisfied."

Vol. III. pp. 276, 277.

Herr Karl Elze's edition of this tragedy, published at Leipzig in 1867, contains an admirable discussion of the probable sources of Chapman's minute knowledge of German life and the German tongue as indicated throughout the work. He concludes that Chapman had a *collaborateur* to help him out in the German colouring ; and we are certainly disposed to doubt whether Chapman had ever travelled sufficiently to get the requisite knowledge at first-hand.

*Revenge for Honour* represents Eastern life ; and in this we should not find it necessary to assume either collaboration or travel on account of any minuteness of local detail ; though one assumption or the other is absolutely necessary in the case of the *Alphonsus*. Ambition and love are the two prime movers in the action of *Revenge for Honour* ; and these being much the same passions all over the world, and in all ages, there was no need for local colour. The characterisation in this play is graphic and defined in a high degree, the personages having a marked and separate individuality far more than it is usual to find in Chapman's dramas. The plot is most ingenious and the execution of it extremely dexterous ; and it has the pleasant merit that at two critical issues, without any abruptness of treatment, the current of events turns in a manner not easy to foresee. One of these issues is the escape of Abilqualit from a diabolical trap laid for his life ; and the other is his death by the hand of his mistress after he has triumphed over his foes, and succeeded to the throne of his father, Almanzor, Caliph of Arabia, in the face of the greatest imaginable coil of difficulties. This last is a piece of high tragedy : Abilqualit has got himself into dire straits through an unconquerable passion for Caropia, the wife of Mura ; she has at last given herself up to him ; but in the whirlpool of treachery and violence that brings Abilqualit to the surface in the end, Caropia is killed ; and her last act is to stab Abilqualit, confessing that she only yielded to him for ambition's sake, and could not brook another woman's sharing the throne with him. This conclusion makes one doubt whether Mr. Pearson's editor, who talks about the "yielding softness of Caropia," has even read this play. Commend us to such "yielding softness," able to execute with so firm a hand so deadly a "revenge for honour !"

Being concerned with Chapman as a dramatist, we have been regarding his plays mainly from the simply dramatic point of view ; but in the case of an author so justly in high repute for reflective and purely poetic qualities, we should fail in justice if we did not attempt to cull for our readers some few passages of poetic beauty and sententious utterance. As we have spoken somewhat harshly of the early comedies we are glad to draw upon them for such a passage as the following pretty speech in *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* :—



"But come, sweet love, if thou wilt come with me  
We two will live amongst the shadowy groves,  
And we will sit like shepherds on a hill,  
And with our heavenly voices 'tice the trees,  
To echo sweetly to our celestial tunes.  
Else will I angle in the running brooks,  
Seasoning our toils with kisses on the banks;  
Sometime I'll dive into the murmuring springs,  
And fetch thee stones to hang about thy neck,  
Which, by thy splendour, will be turn'd to pearl;  
Say, fair Asia, wilt thou walk with me?"

Vol. I. p. 40.

With equal pleasure we gather from among the rank conceptions of character in *An Humorous Day's Mirth* such a reflection as the following, uttered by a reputed idiot:—

"Quid Dei potes videri, magnum in rebus humanis  
Quæ eterni omnes,' to thy 'usque notas sic omnibus magna tutor,'  
What can seem strange to him on earthly things,  
To whom the whole course of eternity  
And the round compass of the world is known?  
A speech divine, but yet I marvel much  
How it should spring from thee, Mark Cicero,  
That sold for glory the sweet peace of life,  
And made a torment of rich nature's work,  
Wearing thyself by watchful candle-light  
When all the smiths and weavers were at rest."—*Ib.* p. 75.

In these same plays are many admirable remarks on various subjects; and indeed they share the common virtue of the author's works, that the more you read them the more you find to admire in them.

In *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* is an æsthetic discussion from which we take a scrap on poetic speech, and another on the contemporary theatre:—

"Worthiest poets  
Shun common and plebeian forms of speech,  
Every illiberal and affected phrase,  
To clothe their matter; and together tie  
Matter and form with art and decency."

"Men thither come to laugh and feed fool-fat,  
Check at all goodness there as being profaned;  
When wheresoever goodness comes, she makes  
The place still sacred, though with other feet  
Never so much 'tis scandalled and polluted."—Vol. II. p. 113.

Through the presence of Cato, *Cæsar and Pompey* is rich in wisdom; but not always in a condensed form: occasionally we get there such aphoristic lines as—

“The greatest clerks are not the wisest men,”

conveying a great deal in a small space; but this tragedy is not so fruitful in quotable passages as many others. One of the most fruitful is *Byron's Tragedy*, in which King Henry utters some fine things, as for instance the couplet—

“Trust that deceives ourselves is treachery,  
And truth that truth conceals an open lie.”

Vol. II. p. 288.

But the King is outdone by the Duke de Byron in weight of utterance, especially as the tragedy draws towards its close, and the Duke is in the state admirably described thus:—

“Fury hath armed his thoughts so thick with thorns,  
That rest can have no entry.”—*Ib.* p. 295.

In this state of mind his ponderous rhetoric rises to a great height. He opens a speech on his impeachment with the daring figure—

“O all ye virtuous powers, in earth and heaven,  
That have not put on *hellish flesh and blood* ;”—*Ib.* p. 301—

and on learning what lord has betrayed him to the King, he breaks out with—

“A Lord intelligencer? hangman-like,  
Thrust him from human fellowship, to the desert  
Blow him with curses; shall your justice call  
Treachery her father? Would you wish her weigh  
My valour with the hiss of such a viper.”—*Ib.* p. 302.

A little further on his speech takes a sublimity peculiar to Chapman; and the figure of the tied vengeance in the following lines is tremendous:—

“When king's wills pass; the stars wink, and the sun  
Suffers eclipse: rude thunder yields to them  
His horrid wings: sits smooth as glass engazed,  
And lightning sticks 'twixt heaven and earth amas'd:  
Men's faiths are shaken; and the pit of truth  
O'erflows with darkness, in which justice sits

And keeps her vengeance tied to make it fierce ;  
And when it comes, th' encreased horrors show,  
Heavens plague is sure, though full of state, and slow."  
—*Ib.* p. 307.

We must, however, leave the pleasant process of culling fine things to devote a few pages, in conclusion, to Mr. Pearson's editor,—a task by no means pleasant, as we do not find he has carried out in any respectable measure even the revision of the proofs.

The correction of obvious errors, which he professes to have made, of course deprives the collection of the special value attaching to *fac-simile* reprints; and unless this system of correction be very thoroughly carried out, it had much better be left altogether on one side. Our impression of this series of Chapman's plays is that a very little less correcting of the texts, and an additional amount of care in correcting the press, would have resulted in a veritable *verbatim* reprint; and with that we should have been thoroughly satisfied. With the volumes as they stand, we are not altogether satisfied; because, although we give Mr. Pearson full credit for the spirit of enterprise he has shown in reprinting this and other capital sets of volumes, in an extremely antiquated and appropriate style, such as can only be acceptable to the limited higher class of readers, still we have grave doubts as to the manner in which his intentions have been carried out by the person employed to write the memoir and edit the text. The editor of such texts as Chapman's, even if merely reprinted *verbatim*, should be a man of some considerable intelligence; but we should imagine that some of the best printing-houses must employ "readers" who are amply qualified for such a task. The editor of a revised text of Chapman, on the other hand, should be a man of a very high intelligence—far above the highest printer's-reader standard; but even that standard, we regret to think, would be too high to try Mr. Pearson's editor by. The number of obvious clerical blunders which he has left in these volumes is enough to shake one's faith in the *bona fides* of his professions as to his editorial work. He says he has corrected obvious errors; but when we find throughout the three volumes, as we do, innumerable repetitions of words, substitutions of commas for periods, and *vice versa*, we begin to doubt whether these are not errors of

carelessness in the reproduction. At all events, such errors as these are only excusable on the plea of *fac-simile* reproduction; and, so far as the editor's culpability is concerned, it matters but little whether he has omitted to correct them as errors in the original texts, or let them creep into the reprint through want of watchfulness.

It would be a tedious business, and indeed almost impracticable, to compare the reprint with the original quartos, all of which are scarce, and some altogether beyond the reach of ordinary mortals. Printing in England, at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, was notoriously slovenly and incorrect to the last degree; but supposing the number of blunders in these three volumes to be about equal to the number in a set of the quartos, we must assume that Chapman was rather worse served by the printers than most of the dramatists of his day, or else that he was himself a very bad corrector of the press. There is little doubt that he was in the habit of correcting proofs of his plays, as he complains, concerning his *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, of "the unexpected haste of the printer, which he never let me know, and never sending me a proof, till he had past those speeches; I had no reason to imagine he could have been so forward." How he would have dealt with the proof, in matters of spelling, punctuation, and mere typographical correctness, we are not in a position to judge with certainty; but we suspect he is himself chargeable with a good deal of the inaccuracy of his texts. Probably if he had proofs sent to him, the printer of those days relied on him somewhat; and, to judge from the frequent looseness of his style, he was not a scrupulously accurate person. We should suppose, from the elaborately antiquated appearance of these reprints, that great care was taken as to the main features of the material get-up, whatever be the quality of the compositors' and reader's work; and we should deem it safe to assume that, when a page is here set up in lines, like verse, it was so set up in the quarto, when it is here set up in paragraphs, like prose, the quarto was the authority for that also. Now it is remarkable that some of the plays are full of passages, mainly poetic and divisible into iambic lines, but set up in paragraphs, while others are full of pure prose passages, divided into lines, each commencing with a capital letter. This would seem to argue an entire

want of nicety in details, such as one associates with great carelessness ; and, indeed, it corresponds with the curious fashion Chapman has, in common with many other Elizabethan dramatists, of lapsing now into prose pure and simple, now into semi-rhythmic prose, and now into prosaic irregular verse. The paragraph opening the "pleasant comedie, entituled" *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, is full of poetic expression, and divisible into lines, most of which are admirable ones, though some are shaky enough to illustrate what we have just said. Set in lines, the paragraph, which we give in the orthography and punctuation of the original,\* as a specimen, runs thus:—

" Yet hath the morning sprinkled throwt the clowdes,  
 But halfe her tincture and the soyle of night  
 Sticke stil upon the bosome of the ayre :  
 Yet sleepe doth rest my love for Natures debt  
 And through her windowe, and this dim twee-light,  
 Her maide, nor any waking I can see.  
 This is the holy Greene, my wifes close walke,  
 To which not any but herselfe alone  
 Hath any key, onely that I have clapt  
 Her key in waxe, and made this counterfeite,  
 To the which I steal accesse to worke this rare  
 & politike device : Faire is my wife  
 And yong and delicate, although too religious  
 In the purest sorte, but pure religion being  
 But mental stuffe, and sence, indeed, al for it selfe,  
 Is to be doubted, that when an object comes  
 Fit to her humour she wil intercept  
 Religious letters sent unto her minde,  
 And yeeld unto the motion of her bloud,  
 Heere have I brought then two rich agots for her,  
 Graven with two poses of mine own devising,  
 For Poets Ile not trust, nor friends, nor any."

Vol. I. p. 51.

It is only after the twelfth line that there is any question as between prose and verse : the rhythmic quality of the first twelve lines is extremely high ; but when the dotard, who has uttered thus far poetically, begins his stupid drivel about his wife's religion, he lapses towards prose. We doubt whether this was intentional art on the part of

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\* It will be noticed that we have not retained the obsolete spelling and punctuation throughout our extracts.

Chapman, but rather suspect he fell into one of his dozes on the borderland between verse and prose; for the passage is prosy more by its feebleness and dryness than by its quality of rhythm; and, indeed, some of the noblest fiery passages in *Bussy d'Ambois* have lines in them quite as rough as—

“And young and delicate, although too religious,”

OR—

“Is to be doubted, that when an object comes;”

and Chapman also frequently introduces into his finer speeches and dialogue Alexandrines as distinct as—

“But mental stuffe, and sence, indeed, al for it selfe,”

though they are seldom hard and prosy like that, unless the matter is hard and prosy. It is to be noticed here that even the metaphor of intercepting “religious letters sent unto her minde,” by which he leads back to poetic style, is, in itself, of a prosaic though ingenious character.

Our present concern, however, for the moment, is more with Chapman's editor than with himself; and we must not digress further into criticism on his style and method. Our readers will understand that we have not undertaken the task of collating this reprint with all the quartos; but in reading the plays we have noted down the numerous instances in which there are obvious blunders, which, even if they are in the quartos, should, on the plan professed by the editor, have been corrected. We have already hinted that we do not credit the quartos with these blunders at all; and, in order that we might have something more than mere surmise to go upon, we have been at the pains of collating one of the original editions with Mr. Pearson's reprint. The one we have chosen for this purpose is the *Cæsar and Pompey*; and we must premise that, in our copy of the reprint, that play is rather less thickly marked as to blunders than most of them are. However, in the course of the five acts (sixty-eight pages), we had noted no less than eighteen errors,\* of a most careless character, and

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\* We give chapter and verse, as follows:—*Cæsar and Pompey* is in Vol. II. (1) P. 130, l. 4, a period wrongly put at the end of the line. (2) P. 134, l. 38, “tten” for “then.” (3) P. 141, l. 8, “O Villaine” for “A Villaine.” (4) P. 141, l. 82, “then” for “then.” (5) P. 145, l. 15, “Thou thou,” for “Though thou.” (6) P. 149, l. 13, “Vit.” for “Vib.” (7) P. 149, l. 28, “Cas.” for “Cas.” (8) P. 155, l. 25, “mfagl'd” for “mingl'd.” (9) P. 164, l. 6, “Cnth.” for “Anth.” (10) P. 164, l. 82, “O blest even” for

not one of which appears, on reference, in the quarto. This yields an average, for the whole work, of nearly a hundred errors per volume of between three and four hundred pages! We should recommend Mr. Pearson to change his editor as soon as possible, if he intends to go on with this valuable series of reprints, as we sincerely hope he does. If all of the quartos are of much the same character as the *Cæsar and Pompey*,—and we see no reason to doubt this, looking at the general style of language and printing in that day,—they are by no means easy things to edit, even on the principle of correcting obvious clerical blunders. But an editor who makes at least as many fresh blunders as he removes old ones, is some few degrees worse than useless.

The passage quoted at page 57 is, judging from the *Cæsar and Pompey*, a fair sample of Chapman's text. It will be admitted that modern orthography and punctuation would render it much more widely acceptable, and that a well-edited text is, thus, still a desideratum. Let us hope that, now so noble a poet is once fairly launched before the intellectual classes, he will find among them an editor who will carry him further.

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"A blest even." (11) P. 165, l. 8, "sowles" for "*fowles*." (12) P. 176, l. 19, "sull" for "full." (13) P. 178, l. 28, "beleese" for "beleefe." (14) P. 180, l. 10, "sarre" for "farre." (15) P. 185, l. 31, "to" for "so." (16) P. 185, l. 33, "Arch" for "Ach." (17) P. 187, l. 31, "at" for "Cat." (18) P. 191, l. 3, "Cor." for "Por." Not one of these blunders is chargeable on the quarto, as we have already stated. We do not say these are all the errors in the reprint: there may be many more; but these eighteen we have marked in reading. The catalogue of them will not interest most of our readers, but it is a "voucher," and will serve as a table of errata for anyone who happens to have the volumes, and who cares to correct that play.

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- ART. III.—1. *The Traveller's Guide in Sweden.* ADOLF BONNIER. Stockholm. 1871.  
 2. *Histoire de Suède.* GEYER. Paris. 1844.  
 3. *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.* 1871.

THE tourist who has exhausted the well-worn tracks of Continental travel, may relieve the monotony of his holiday experiences by turning his steps to Sweden, where he will find charming scenery, easy locomotion, kindly people, a delicious summer climate, and—under our breath let us say it—moderate hotel bills.

At the present time, Sweden is a much cheaper country to travel in than Norway. It is true the scenery is not so grand, but it has a peculiar charm of its own; and all the most remarkable points of interest are easily accessible to the ordinary traveller. To those who are ambitious of touring adventures, the wilder parts of Dalecarlia and the extreme north of Sweden will offer plenty of opportunity for "roughing it."

Before touching on the writer's impressions during a recent tour in the country, there is something to be said of the history and political position of Sweden in times past. Unless we try to rearrange the chess-board of Europe and watch the game that was played by the political pieces in the seventeenth century, we shall hardly realise with accuracy the influence of Sweden when she was the foremost defender of the political as well as the religious result of the great Reformation. During the Thirty Years' War Sweden possessed the undoubted supremacy in Northern Europe. In his new edition of *Whitelock's Memorials*, Mr. Reeve says, "Well would it have been for Europe if Sweden had retained the position to which her greatest sovereign and minister had raised her, and if the insane audacity of Charles XII. had not sunk before the barbarous but creative genius of Peter the Great."

Whitelock, it will be remembered, was ambassador from the Commonwealth of England to Queen Christina of Sweden. This embassy, the political results of which were conceived and calculated by Cromwell himself, "laid the basis," says Mr. Reeve, "of that close amity between Sweden and this country which has seldom been interrupted and



never but to our mutual injury. But though the power of Britain has increased in that interval and the power of Sweden has declined, many of the same considerations and inducements exist in equal or in greater force at this moment to lead the statesmen of England to give their best support to the Crown of Sweden and to desire that Sweden should regain that ascendancy in the Baltic which she so gloriously acquired and exercised in the seventeenth century."

The prominent position of Sweden at that period was the more remarkable, when we reflect how late the country was in taking her place in Christendom. Paganism lingered in Scandinavia longer than in any other country of Western Europe; it was not till the tenth century that the Kings of Upsala (the chief temple of the old gods) embraced Christianity, calling themselves henceforth Kings of Sweden. Even two centuries later than this, the belief in Odin and Thor lingered in the minds of a superstitious peasantry, isolated from European progress by geographical position and surrounded by the sterner aspects of nature. Even now the name of Odin is not entirely lost; he is regarded as a demon, and angry people consign their friends to his protection, as the devil is invoked elsewhere. Geyer, in his account of Sweden, says that "there are districts where the peasants still leave a bundle of hay for Odin's horses."

The Church of Rome has ever wisely temporised with popular prejudice, and the monks, during the early days of Christianity in Sweden, interfered as little as possible with the customs of the people. Christian celebrations were engrafted on heathen festivals. At Jul-blot, as Christmas is still called in adherence to its ancient name, many observances that have their root in Paganism are even now preserved. The recollections of Yggdrasil, the great ash-tree which represented the universe in the early Scandinavian mythology, are interwoven in a most remarkable manner in some of the mediæval traditions relating to the tree of the Cross. The Dalecarlia St. John's Day is identical with the season when they held high festival in honour of Balder.

In christenings and burials many old Pagan rites have left their trace in the tenacious superstitions of the people. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Scandinavian mythology was the power which they attributed to Runes or Norse letters. Besides Odin, who was repre-

sented as the master of Runes, the poets and prophets were supposed to possess the secret and the power of Runes.

Some of the Runic characters resemble the Roman alphabet; but Frederic Von Schlegel thinks that the Phœnicians in all probability visited the coasts of the Baltic, and, carrying the art of writing to these northern regions, gave a common origin to their letters.

Grimm supposes that *runes* is derived from *runen* (i.e. to make a slight incision or scratch). There were "runes of victory," "storm runes," "herb runes," and "mind runes." When the ignorant people found that ideas were communicated through these runes they attributed to them a mysterious influence; and, as "knowledge is power," they supposed that the initiated were enabled to cast Runic spells over their enemies. The willow wands on which these mysterious characters were inscribed were anciently used in the performance of magic ceremonies, but in later days came to be employed for noting the succession of time—a sort of rude almanac which is still in vogue. These notched sticks, moreover, were used in keeping ordinary accounts between families and the persons from whom they received their daily supplies. The same things, formerly in common use with us, are called tallies. It is Swift who says:—

"From his rug the skew'r he takes,  
And on the stick ten equal notches makes,  
With just resentment flings it on the ground;  
There, take my tally for ten thousand pound."

The changes which have come over popular customs and superstitions, as ignorance and the mysteries of the unknown are cleared away, remind one of the lines of the Swedish poet Tegnér, who says:—

"The old will not for ever last,  
Nor can custom's worn-out codes  
Be again renewed for aye;  
That must perish which corrodes,  
And the *new* must rise like day  
From the ruins of the past."

Modern researches into the folk-lore of Scandinavia have revealed the mythological origin of many of our nursery tales, such as *Jack the Giant Killer*, *Cinderella*, *Puss in Boots*, &c. Trolldom, or witchcraft, is regarded as a potent spell even now. When a child is born, care is taken to keep fire

burning in the room till it is baptized, or the "troll" will exchange it for another. The northern side of the churchyard is spoken of as "the black north," the abode of evil. At Christmas the floor is strewed with sprigs of juniper, which emit a very pleasant odour; and in a propitiatory spirit, when the Jul lights are lighted, a tankard is set apart, called *angla öl*, or angel's ale. Games, too, are played which are said to represent sacrificial dances.

There is a curious superstition amongst the people connected with their conversion to Christianity, which is, that those of their ancestors who have died heathens are supposed to be doomed to *serve* till the day of judgment, and they remain as an invisible presence in the house. Every household has its *Tomte Gubbe*, or "little old man," who is a friendly sort of fellow. He loves cleanliness and thriftiness, and if these excellent qualities are not observed he is supposed to be very angry, and the house will not prosper in consequence. The inmates must be kind to all the animals; he is as good as a "Prevention of Cruelty Society," and punishes those who are not merciful to their beasts. At Christmas, if the shoes of all the household are laid together at bedtime, the "little old man" will take care that there is unanimity in the family through the coming year.

One of the earliest benefits resulting to Sweden from the introduction of Christianity was that the peasants, incited by the priesthood, laboured at making roads and bridges. They were taught that it was a means of working out their salvation, and it was not uncommon for a son to build a bridge for the benefit of his deceased father's soul.

The quarrel which was rife in the Middle Ages between the nobles and the peasants throughout Western Europe was the cause of much intestine commotion in Sweden. Magnus the First, who came to the throne in 1275—a man in advance of his times—showed great wisdom and firmness in putting down the oppressive conduct of the nobles. The Kings of Sweden have generally been on the side of the people, against the nobility and the hierarchy. Birger Jarl, the founder of Stockholm, succeeded Magnus, and enacted many excellent laws for the protection of the weak against the strong. Women, who had hitherto been the victims of rapacity and oppression were specially protected by his wise and humane legislation. The old chronicle says that when he died "the women of Sweden wailed

and bemoaned his decease." It is a remarkable fact that the Swedes were four centuries in advance of us in acknowledging the great moral truth, that slavery is a crime against humanity. Thorkill, the minister of Birger Jarl, passed a law against the sale of slaves, on the ground "That it was in the highest degree criminal for Christians to sell men whom Christ had redeemed with His blood."

The darkest pages of Sweden's history are those connected with Denmark. The dissensions in Scandinavia in the fourteenth century were arrested by the defeat of the Swedes, and the union of the three kingdoms was effected under the sovereignty of the Danish Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, as she was called. The well-known treaty of Calmar (a compact resulting from her ambitious diplomacy) weighed heavily upon Sweden for more than a century, impeding the natural development of a people who specially demanded independence.

Whatever modern enthusiasts, like Grundtvig, may say of the "Trefoil," as the Pan-Scandinavians delight to call the three kingdoms, history shows us little else but antagonism among these northern people. Certain it is that Sweden's prosperity dates from the time when she shook herself free from the tyrannous grasp of Denmark.

This event was hastened by the "Bloodbad" (blood-bath) of Stockholm—a crime which stands in the judgment roll of history side by side with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. This crime was nothing less than a general assassination of Swedish nobles, under circumstances of peculiar treachery, by order of Christian II. of Denmark. It is said that six hundred persons fell victims to the monster's cruelty. The father of Gustavus Vasa—a name indissolubly connected with Swedish history—was slain on this occasion, and it was to avenge both public and private wrongs that his heroic son came forward as the liberator of his country. There are few more romantic stories than the narrative of the long wanderings and hair-breadth escapes of the younger Vasa. His high birth and early promise of personal distinction, even while a youth, had rendered him an object of jealousy to the Danish Court. He was detained in a sort of honourable imprisonment; but on hearing that the Danes made a boast that "They would kill all the richest nobles of Sweden and marry their widows," he resolved to effect his escape and return to aid his country. There is a quaint description in the old

chronicles of how he got safe to Lubeck disguised as a cattle-drover, and remained there eight months, to the great perplexity of the good merchants, who, for a long time, were uncertain whether to deliver him up to Denmark, or to give him material help to prosecute the national struggle for independence. Nils Brönn, the burgo-master, was his friend, and he pointed out to his colleagues that the Danish monarchs had already curtailed the commerce and power of the Hanse towns, and that this brave knight might help to set bounds to these encroachments.

Accordingly Gustavus was honourably despatched to Sweden, supplied with money and munitions of war. The fortress of Stockholm was in the hands of the Swedes, and, like Calmar, both places were defended by noble ladies, the widows of the late governors. Kristina Gyllenstjerna, who held Stockholm, gladly welcomed Gustavus, but the want of unanimity amongst the townsfolk prevented him from successfully aiding the cause of liberation. He just managed to escape the general massacre of the "Bloodbad," which followed his arrival in the capital, and, with some other nobles who had been outlawed by the brutal Christian, fled for safety to the forests of Dalecarlia, or Delarne, as it really is called by the Swedes.

This wild, but most picturesque district, with its vast forests, its green valleys, and innumerable lakes, is inhabited by a bold, independent, and loyal race; their character, like their costume, has remained unchanged to this day. They made it their boast "that Dalecarlia could send 20,000 white-coated men who would live on bread and water, and when that failed, on the bark of trees pounded."

It was amongst these people that Gustavus, having cut off his flowing locks and assumed the garb of a peasant, sought a refuge till the evil time should be overpast. The Dalesmen, like all Swedes, are well up in the history of their country, and they delight to point out each spot where their great hero had sought shelter and hospitality during his perilous sojourn amongst them, when his steps were tracked by the brutal foe who sought his life at every turn. Thrice he was saved by woman's wit. It was the wife of Larsson, whose homestead was on lake Siljan, who huddled him into the cellar and rolled an ale-tub over the trap-door, when the Danish spies appeared on the threshold. It was his hostess at Ornas who saved him from the

treachery of her husband. The window of the house is still shown from which she let him down by means of that long narrow towelling they use in Sweden. She had provided a sledge, and, guided by the bright starlight of the clear night, he sped over the frozen lake Runn, and found shelter with a trusty friend on the other side. Gustavus was obliged to be constantly changing his quarters like a hunted beast of the field. On one occasion the Danish soldiers actually entered a cottage in the hamlet of Isala, where he was. The wife of Sven Elfsson, the owner, was engaged at the time in baking, and seeing how matters stood, she turned to Gustavus and gave him a smart whack across the back with a bread shovel, saying, "Why do you stand there, you lout, gaping at strangers? Be off with you to the barn and thrash." Gustavus took the hint, and assuming the gait of a boorish fellow, made good his retreat.

We all know how he succeeded at length in rousing the whole country to throw off the yoke of their enemies, and in 1523 the Danes were finally driven out of Sweden. At a meeting of the States the Liberator was elected King, and thus was inaugurated a new era of the highest importance to the country.

Gustavus Vasa took the most efficacious means of supporting the new edifice of his power when he adopted the Reformation. The wealth and tyrannical conduct of the Romish clergy had long been extremely offensive to the Swedes—a people peculiarly addicted to free institutions. When their leader accepted the doctrines of Luther, and as a practical result abolished two-thirds of the Church revenues, he did that which was exceedingly popular with the large majority, the strength of whose religious convictions was equalled, if not exceeded, by their hatred of the Romish priesthood.

Schiller says of Vasa that "he rescued Sweden from vassalage—reformed it by wise laws, and introduced, for the first time, this newly organised State into the field of European politics." He goes on to say, "What this great prince had merely sketched in rude outline, was filled up by Gustavus Adolphus, his still greater grandson."

It is said that when Charles IX., an honest-intentioned man, was in a desponding state of mind over his difficult and manifold enterprises, he would place his hand on the head of Gustavus Adolphus, then a mere child, and say, "Ille faciet." Never was a prophecy better fulfilled!

The commencement of the seventeenth century beheld the terrible tragedy of the "Thirty Years' War," in which Sweden was destined to play the important part. It was in 1628 that Protestant Europe invited Gustavus Adolphus to become the leader of the coalition formed to oppose Austria's scheme for restoring the Papal supremacy in Europe.

"Throughout that contest," remarks Mr. Reeve, "England had borne no part in it worthy of herself or of the great cause which was at stake. It was Sweden which had played the glorious part of champion and leader of the Protestant cause, and which sent forth the heroic Gustavus and the politic Oxenstiern to vindicate the rights of the Protestant States."

It was long after Gustavus had found a hero's death at Lutzen that Oxenstiern, in 1648, directed from Stockholm the preliminary negotiation which led to the Peace of Westphalia. That treaty put an end to years of warfare, which, statistics prove, had caused the waste and destruction in Germany of three-quarters of her population, and eighty per cent. of live stock. "Two hundred years after the war," says Freytag, "Germany had not recovered her losses."

The son of Oxenstiern was one of the envoys who signed the treaty. Writing to his father, he expressed diffidence in conducting such important diplomatic affairs, owing to his youth and inexperience. To this the sagacious old minister made the answer, so often quoted since, "You do not know, my son, with how little wisdom mankind are governed."

By the Peace of Westphalia, Sweden obtained the German duchies of Bremen, Verden, Hither Pomerania, a part of Further Pomerania, and Wismar, with a seat in the German Diet.

Whitelock, ambassador from the Commonwealth of England, was present at Stockholm when Queen Christina abdicated the throne in 1654. His description of the scene is most graphic, and his account of his perilous journeyings and strange adventures in Sweden makes a most amusing book of historical travel, not easily matched for its racy humour. There is a story of how he fell out with the Mayor of Köping, who denied assistance to Whitelock's people on their journey, and "gave ill language of the English Parliament, saying that they had killed their

king, and were a company of tailors and cobblers." Whitelock haughtily demanded satisfaction, and the civic functionary was soon obliged to eat his words with many humble speeches. At Court, Whitelock asserted his claim to precedence against all comers, even in the sight of the Queen; she observed the passage of arms, and smilingly remarked, "You do well to make them know themselves and you the better." This little incident took place at the audience which the Queen gave to the envoy of the Czar of Muscovy. Amongst the assemblage "who marvelled at the uncouth appearance and barbarous manners of this savage emissary, none could have surmised that less than a century would transfer the supremacy of the North from the descendants of the immortal Gustavus to the despotic power which had not yet emerged from the Russian Steppes."

The influence and advantage which the country derived from the "Thirty Years' War" were almost entirely lost to her by the mad ambition of Charles XII. "When his splendid army," says Geyer, "was finally destroyed at Pultowa, in 1709, the glorious period of Swedish history ends, and henceforth she sunk into a second-rate power."

When the direct line of the House of Vasa ended, the House of Holstein was elected by the States, and had the merit of producing one good king, Gustavus III. Like his contemporary, Joseph II. of Austria, whom he resembled in many particulars, he was a sincere reformer, and a man of enlightened views. He succeeded in bringing about a bloodless revolution, and established a new constitution. He abolished the practice of torture, reformed the administration of justice, cleared the army and navy of many corruptions, and greatly encouraged the arts of peace and commerce.

Following up the advantages he had acquired by the revolution, Gustavus aimed a decisive blow against the prerogatives of the nobles, and at the last Diet he assisted at he proclaimed the "Union and Safety Act." It was shortly after this that he was assassinated at a masked ball in the Opera House, leaving his work of reformation to be accomplished by the reigning dynasty.

For several years after 1792, when Gustavus fell, Sweden had much trouble with her kings; his son and successor was dismissed for involving the country in wars which caused the loss of Sweden's two finest provinces, Finland



and Pomerania. The exhaustive wars in which the country had been engaged had drained her physical resources, and it is calculated that in the first decade of this century Sweden did not possess three millions of inhabitants, and in this estimate Finland was included. The present population is estimated at nearly four millions and a half.

The loss of Finland was a dreadful blow to Sweden, for it has left her capital peculiarly exposed to foreign invasion.

In a recent article\* "On the Present Condition of Norway," Mr. Gosse says, "Christiania is destined to become the foremost city of Scandinavia. It possesses advantages that Stockholm has lost. When that city rose into influence it lay in the gulf of Bothnia, with its provinces before and behind it. But the seizure of Finland has left Stockholm at the mercy of a Russian fleet."

Crippled as Sweden was in the reign of Charles XIII., yet she was enabled to throw her weight into the scale at a very critical moment in the affairs of Europe.

Sweden had joined the coalition against Napoleon, and Marshal Bernadotte, who found himself in the opposition ranks to his former leader, has, by some, been accused of ingratitude; but considering that he had been elected Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810, his duty was clearly to his adopted country. He it was who led 60,000 men to the aid of Blücher on the eve of Leipsic, thereby greatly contributing to the success of the allies, and the subsequent emancipation of Germany.

This led to important results in Scandinavia. Denmark was obliged to concede to the Crown Prince, in the treaty of Kiel, 1814, all that she had hitherto refused. Sweden thereby received Norway as an independent free kingdom, in return for her possessions in Pomerania and for the island of Rügen. The Norwegians elected Charles XIII. as their king, and henceforth Norway and Sweden have been under one crown.

Notwithstanding the martial character of its founder, the dynasty of Bernadotte has happily given to Sweden half a century of peace, and in consequence her resources have been largely developed, and her material prosperity has steadily advanced. The country was formerly necessitated to import considerable quantities of corn and cattle;

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\* *Fraser's Magazine*, February 1874.

but so much has the system of agriculture improved, that both these articles now form important items in the yearly list of exports. Old chronicles record that in the thirteenth century Sweden exported corn and cattle to England, Holland, and other countries; but the vicissitudes of war had so decimated the population, that they were inadequate to the culture of the soil, and from 1650 till 1819 had to import annually great quantities of corn.

Out of the 3,000,000 people who are devoted to agriculture, about 250,000 are owners of the land they cultivate. This division of property has given rise to numerous credit associations of landholders to supply the loan of capital to small proprietors. The general credit bank for landholders, founded in 1861, and to which the Government has furnished a relief in money amounting to eight millions Rds., was created with the view of negotiating the loans requisite to the operations of the above-named associations. The annual production of all sorts of corn is 100,000,000 of cubic feet: chiefly rye, barley, and oats, the wheat crops not exceeding 4 per cent. of the whole. Potatoes, beans, flax, hemp, hops, tobacco, rape, beetroot, &c., are cultivated to a limited extent.

The farms are generally small throughout Sweden; the average of arable land is about 28 acres to each holding. As the farmhouses and buildings are almost invariably of timber, they are very picturesque. The isolated position of these homesteads has made the people very skilful and independent. The farmer is often such a good mechanic that his house, mill, agricultural implements, and furniture, even including the primitive clock, is his own handiwork. In Dalecarlia the peasants rival the inhabitants of the Black Forest with their clock-making; in summer they migrate to Stockholm to sell their wares, which are sent all over the country. In the north the hay-fields have a curious appearance, for the mown hay, instead of being gathered into hay-cocks, is thrown across a sort of clothes-horse, where it is left to dry. Another thing that appears curious to the stranger is that up in the northern parts of Sweden every building, including the church, has two or more high ladders permanently attached to the roof; one on one side, one on the other. This is a custom legally enforced, for the greater facility of reaching the roof to extinguish fires. Disastrous fires are very frequent in these wooden villages. The town of Gefle—the most

important port in the Gulf of Bothnia—was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1869.

The breed of domestic cattle has been greatly improved in Sweden of late years, but this is owing to the enlightened conduct of the Government, for the Swedish peasant has an inveterate aversion to novelties. Upwards of 500 horses are bred annually in the studs belonging to Government, and there are fourteen model dairy farms under the same auspices.

A few years will probably make enormous changes in Sweden. Vast tracts of country are being opened up by railway and steamboat, and brought into direct communication with the ports of the Baltic and the North Sea.

There is a proverb which was supposed to have been prevalent in very early times in Asia, which says, "He who would grow rich must go to the North." Many English, and especially several Scotchmen, seem likely to realise the truth of this saying, for the indomitable Briton may be found in all parts of the country, as managers of the great saw mills, iron factories, and other works. In a recent number of the journal called *Iron*, this fact is mentioned, and in speaking of Swedish tar, the writer says :—

"At the present time England is indebted to Sweden for many useful products which we cannot well do without. As the demand in this country has increase of late years for the articles in which Sweden, with its vast natural wealth, abounds, so the commerce of that nation has most materially expanded, and has indeed experienced a development which is alike a source of satisfaction and astonishment. One of the foremost products of Sweden which has given rise to a considerable trade in this country is tar. Comparatively speaking, this is quite a new branch of business—that is to say, it has only been carried to its present magnitude and extent during the past few years. The imports of tar into Hull and London from Stockholm and Gothenburg now amount to very large totals, the Stockholm tar, according to general opinion, being of the very best quality that can be procured."

In fact it realises four shillings a barrel more than any other. The vast forests of fir and pine, unequalled by any other country, offer an incomparable opportunity for the supply of the product.

Hitherto they have had a most careless way of felling timber; they saw off the tree at about four feet from the ground, utterly regardless of the waste of two or three feet

of excellent timber. You may drive for miles through woods that have been treated in this way; but Government has begun to exercise a wise control in all matters referring to the management of the woods.

The forests of Sweden cover four-sevenths of the whole surface of the country. The fir and pine are the prevailing trees, but the birch is also largely present, forming a most beautiful variety, with its bright green leaves and silvery bark, to the masses of dark "needle wood" which fringe the lakes and cover the hill-sides. The birch is a most useful tree, not only for building purposes and for furniture, but the outer bark, which is easily stripped off in spring, is used for thatching houses, making baskets, and even soling shoes.

At the Scandinavian Exhibition in 1872, which took place at Copenhagen, we saw several specimens of the portable timber houses, which, it seems, are likely to be largely imported into England, now that the cost of building has so much increased with us. We understand that several gentlemen in Devonshire have tried these wooden structures, and have found them answer extremely well, both as regards comfort and economy. It is a well-known fact that timber houses are warmer in winter and cooler in summer than any other kind of dwelling. Possibly the time will come when houses are no longer the inevitable fixtures they are at present, but will be set up on the Welsh sands or Devonshire moors for the autumn, or even erected for a year or two in the neighbourhood of good schools, to suit the temporary requirements of the owner and his family.

Norway and Sweden send us ready-made window frames, doors, and joists; and the trade, which is largely increasing, is to our mutual advantage, for the labour-market is still much cheaper than with us. Great manufactories of lucifer matches have been established, especially at Jonköping, where the refuse of the timber working is utilised for the matches and match-boxes. This industry, together with a large paper manufactory on the lake Munks, has so increased the town of Jonköping of late years, that its sudden growth is almost parallel to some of the American towns that we hear of in the "far West."

It is hardly possible, without a personal knowledge of Sweden, to realise the "opening up" of the country which has resulted from the improvements in modern locomotion.

At present there is not much more than a thousand miles of railway completed; but the water communication is the great feature of Swedish travelling. Two-thirds of the mileage of railroad is under Government, the rest is in the hands of private companies. There has been some difficulty about the payment of dividends on the long lines, which have had great engineering expenses; but some of the short lines pay very well; the one between the port of Gaffe and the mining town of Falun, in Dalecarlia, pays 18 per cent. to the original shareholders.

There are in Sweden no less than two hundred passenger steamers, which navigate the Baltic, or keep up the internal communication between different parts of the country.

The canalisation of the rivers has been carried out with singular boldness and ingenuity. The traveller may be fairly surprised to find that the plucky little steamer, in which he has taken his berth for a day and a night, is undaunted by up-hill or down-hill, and surmounts all difficulties of level by means of a series of locks.

We made our first experience of this system of travelling on our return journey from Dalecarlia. From Gustav, on the lake Runn, we had driven some eight hours across a wild but beautiful country. For the most part it was little more than a tract through forests, skirting innumerable lakes, and passing through a luxuriant wilderness of exquisite wild flowers, whose sweet scent made the air perfectly delicious. It was a drive never to be forgotten, affording such a variety of charming scenery and such quaint experiences of travel. At the post-houses (the only dwellings we saw) we had to wait for the horses to be caught, but they were law-respecting animals, and in all their actions showed a sense of the newly-enacted regulations which facilitate travelling in the remotest parts of Sweden. One of our companions had the honour and glory of driving himself and the luggage in a cariole; but part of the way the writer and another friend were in a sort of dilapidated drosky, and a pair of horses that had for driver a diminutive boy, apparently about six or seven years old; he climbed with some difficulty into his seat. His presence was, we imagine, rather a compliment to the travellers than a necessity to the horses, for they went their way with remarkable sagacity, and on arriving at Smedjebacken the vehicles returned home with their one driver, the second horse and carriage following behind.

We slept at Smedjebacken, a neat little town, which has its local railway, its furnaces, and fabrics, an oasis of civilisation in the wilds. This place has been brought within twenty-four hours of direct steam communication with Stockholm, by means of the canalisation of the river Kolbäck. Six steamers are employed in this traffic. The *cuisine* on board these passenger boats is excellent. The traveller must be very difficult to please who cannot enjoy slices of cold boiled bear, reindeer tongue, dried salmon with eggs, besides delicious wild strawberries and cream for dessert, and Svenska punch at discretion, or indiscretion, if he does not know its strength. He can be regaled with these, and many other delicacies, on deck, while gliding past all the diverse combinations of wood and water which make up the picture.

At one time you are in a wide expanse of lake, whose receding shores stretch away under the shadows of the Dalecarlian mountains, or you find yourself in a channel so narrow that the trees, on either side, meet overhead, and form a continuous archway of greenery. It was, in passing through an avenue of foliage like this, that we suddenly found ourselves on the verge of what appeared a precipice, or abrupt hill-side. Below us, like a map, were the woods and fields, with scattered homesteads, and far away the silvery line of the canal threading its course through the green meadows. That our steamer should go bodily down this declivity to the nether world, seemed unlike the "habits of the animal," but it was very soon an accomplished fact.

A succession of gigantic steps, or, more strictly speaking, of nine locks, let us down into the plain. At the bottom of this Titanic staircase, the canal turns abruptly at right angles, which adds to the peculiarity of construction. More than an hour is occupied in the descent, and after the novice has made the experience of one lock, he generally goes on shore. These interludes, which occur several times during the day, are a very agreeable change in the monotony of travelling. On this occasion it gave us an opportunity of visiting a fine waterfall, where, in natural course, the river tumbles over the precipice with a bound of noisy, gleeful liberty, its white sheets of foam breaking into a cloud of feathery spray. This wild play of waters, embanked by the luxuriant vegetation and undergrowth of the old forest trees, whose gnarled roots cling round the

grey moss-covered stones, is in curious contrast to the sister stream, which is forced through straight banks and granite buttresses, and whose pent-up waters await the opening of the sluice doors at the engineer's bidding.

The most remarkable canal in Sweden is the far-famed Trollhättan, which attracts the attention of all tourists in that country. Many persons go to Stockholm *via* Gothenburg and the Trollhättan canal; our advice, however, would be to make the approach to Stockholm by the Baltic, and to do the return journey to England *via* Gothenburg and Hull. As early as the seventeenth century it was felt that a water communication between the Baltic and the North Sea was of the utmost political importance; for the Danes have always had the key of the Baltic, and can command the entrance in case of hostilities.

The great engineering difficulty which presented itself was the difference of the level of the Gotha river at the Trollhättan falls. After many abortive efforts, in which the names of Gustav I., Charles IX., and Charles XII. were associated, we come to the end of the eighteenth century, when surveys were taken of the country between Lake Wessern and the Baltic, by Thunberg, and later a company undertook the construction of the Trollhättan canal, after the plan of the engineer, Eric Nordevall. A channel for the water was made by blasting the solid rock for a distance of three English miles. This part of the undertaking was opened in 1800. It was not, however, till 1832 that the two seas were completely connected. There is now a continuous water-way from the Baltic to the North Sea, consisting of seven portions of canals, which link together the great lake system of central Sweden. The entire distance is 370 English miles, but the canals only comprise 50 miles, the rest being natural water-ways.

At Trollhättan there are nine locks, giving a descent of 120 feet; the highest point of elevation obtained by the canal is 808 feet above the level of the sea. The construction of Nordevall was soon found inadequate for the traffic, and the history of the Gotha canal, as it now exists, dates from the beginning of the present century.

In 1808 Baron von Platen, who was at the head of the undertaking, called in the aid of Telford, the well-known English engineer, and they marked out almost the same line that had originally been suggested by Thunberg. In 1822 the West Gotha canal was opened; but the complete

line of communication was not finished for ten years, not, indeed, till the distinguished head of the undertaking had been laid in his grave. The last resting-place of Admiral Von Platen is near Motala, on the south bank of the canal, and is always pointed out to the traveller who makes a first acquaintance with this beautiful locality. The town of Motala is a place of rising importance, in consequence of the iron foundries and manufactories established here. An Englishman of the name of Fraser first established works here, in connection with the making of the great canal. It has now become the Birmingham of Sweden, and the Government are using strenuous efforts to rival the superior cutlery of England by pecuniary aids to the home manufacture, and by specially assisting the education of artisans.

If Sweden comes to us now for technical teaching in certain arts and manufactures, we were formerly indebted to her for the lead she took in her School of Mines, where foreigners sought the best instruction in metallurgy and mineralogy. The people generally are well cared for in respect to primary education. Though education is not compulsory, yet it is regarded as a *conditio sine qua non*, and you would rarely meet with any one who was ignorant of reading and writing. There are upwards of five thousand primary schools, which is in good proportion to the population. Some of these schools are ambulatory, to meet the requirements of the sparse population in the more northerly parts of the country.

Sweden has two universities—Upsala and Lund. Both places date from a remote Pagan antiquity, and are full of interest to the archæologist. The existing universities were founded in the fifteenth century. Lund has an interesting library, and contains, amongst other curiosities, the oldest original Danish record existing. The historical museum is remarkable for its collection of Swedish antiquities. The modern town of the sister university is distant three miles from Old Upsala, or “The Lofty Halls,” where the worship of Odin so long held sway. Three remarkable tumuli, sixty feet in height, lie near the ancient granite church (itself supposed to contain a portion of the pagan temple)—in fact, the whole ground teems with lesser tumuli, which excavations have proved to be burying places. Living is very cheap at Upsala, and the place is remarkably healthy. There are about 1,200 students,



very few of whom are foreigners ; for though the educational advantages are great, the language is a serious drawback to any other nationality. In Sweden, University degrees are obligatory to all who enter the clerical, medical, or legal professions.

A free academy has recently been founded in Stockholm, but the institutions for technical education have long been an example to other countries. The Academy of Sciences combines geological and mineralogical collections, which are said to be the richest in the world. In connection with this institution is the Observatory, and an excellent library of 35,000 volumes. There is, besides, the Technological Institute and the chemical laboratory at the Carolin Institute, for practical teaching. Several other Swedish towns, besides the capital, have schools for forestry and agriculture, and, notably at Gothenburg, Chalmer's School of Art and Industry.

The hospitals and other charitable institutions are amongst the finest and most conspicuous public buildings in Stockholm and its suburbs. There is an extremely well-arranged Deaconesses' Institution, where the pupils can return when out of a situation, and, indeed, are provided for for life. It is supported by voluntary contributions, and the following anecdote is told of Jenny Lind in connection with the place. "How is the charity supported?" asked the great singer, when going over the institution. "By voluntary contributions." "And what is the state of its funds now?" "Very low," was the reply, "for we have to pay two thousand dollars" (about £100) "in a fortnight, and we have not the money." "You shall have it from me to-morrow," replied Jenny Lind.

Before enlarging upon the many points of interest and novelty that strike the traveller on his first visit to the Swedish capital, we would say something of the journey thither from England. Every stranger should approach Stockholm from the Baltic, if he desires to view rightly the "Venice of the North."

The best way of reaching Sweden, judging from personal experience, and assuming that the tourist is not pressed for time, is certainly *via* Hamburg and Lubeck. We left London one of the early days of July, by the steamer which goes direct to Hamburg. The average voyage is forty hours, but we had a favourable run, and accomplished it in thirty-six hours. If you intend staying six weeks or two

months in the north, it is well not to be later than the early part of July. Hamburg to Lubeck is a short railway journey of two or three hours, and a stay of one day, at least, may be profitably made at the quaint old Hanse town, whose mediæval aspect is, perhaps, better preserved than that of any other place in Europe.

At Lubeck you take steamer for Stockholm, arriving there, if all is well, in forty-eight hours. The arrangements on board these Swedish boats are extremely comfortable. The deck is provided with an awning and plenty of seats, growing creepers and flowering plants ornament the saloon, and cleanliness of the most perfect kind pervades the whole, so that the voyage, if you have good weather, is really a pleasure trip. We found the Baltic a perfect summer sea; the weather was glorious. The sun set in great splendour; and long after the more brilliant lines of colouring had passed away, we stayed on deck to enjoy the beauty of the lingering twilight. At Calmar, the only place where the vessel stops *en route*, we had our first sight of Sweden. The Castle, and the old portions of the fortified town around it, are picturesque objects, and remain as fitting memorials of the troubles they have passed through. No less than eleven times has the "key of Sweden" been besieged by jealous neighbours.

It was Sunday night when our steamer touched the pier. All the town seemed to have turned out to look at us. The women were well-dressed in bright colours, but at the same time were remarkably neat and trim in appearance. They nearly all wore handkerchiefs on their heads: those who wore black headgear were domestic servants; this distinctive badge is compulsory nearly everywhere in Sweden. Every girl carried a big bouquet, and their faces were mostly pretty enough to match with the fresh flowers. There seemed almost as many dogs as men—high class dogs, of the deerhound type, who busied themselves very much with all that was going on. It was a pleasant, merry crowd; they cheered us heartily when we left. Sweden is a country for kindly greetings, as we observed later. If friends meet each other in the street, they bow three times, and after a hearty hand-shake, tap each on the shoulder with peculiar friendliness. When your steamer passes a group of people, whether on lawn or wharf, you are sure to have a cheer as token of "God

speed." These primitive people have not yet had their souls vexed by a ceaseless invasion of tourists.

There is a great peculiarity about the coast scenery of Sweden ; it is not deeply indented with fiords, like Norway, but it has a fringe of rocky islets, extending from the Sound of Calmar to the far end of the Gulf of Bothnia. These islets are so numerous that no map can represent them. It is a common saying that the country has two coasts, an inner and an outer one, and when storms lash the Baltic into foam, the waters within the rocky fringe are smooth. It is perfectly marvellous how vessels make their way through this labyrinth ; there are special pilots, and if a fog comes on, there is nothing to be done but to wait ; progress would simply be impossible. This rocky fringe is called skärgård, or reef defence, and there are light boats, built specially for navigating this singular maze of islands. For a considerable distance the scene is desolate enough ; the rocks are utterly barren, and the only sign of life is a lonely pilot's house, built on one of the larger islets, solitary, treeless, and forlorn, except for the sea-birds who whirl round in their airy circles.

As the steamer approaches within about five hours of its destination, the aspect of barren desolation changes like magic, and you enter a perfect fairyland of beauty. The islets are clothed with vegetation ; they are mostly large and very varied in form ; large enough for groups of trees and green meadows. Miniature fiords and bays intersect these floating groves, and produce the most fantastic combinations of wood and water. Added to this, the grey rocks are sometimes piled up in such a manner that they resemble ruined castles and obliterated forts. The channels through which we passed were occasionally so narrow, that one seemed almost able to touch land on either side. The weeping birch grows in profusion here, and its graceful branches hang as a canopy over a profusion of sweet-scented wild flowers.

Approaching still nearer to the capital, signs of human occupation become more frequent. Pretty wooden cottages and villas are dotted about upon the larger islands. Terraced gardens and well-kept lawns, bordered with bright flowers, are seen at every turn in the tortuous windings which the steamer makes amongst the islands. On market days it is very picturesque to see the boats, laden with fruit, vegetables, and other necessities of life, rowing in a

sort of procession among the islands. Each house sends out its boat to the ambulatory market, and the waters are soon alive with eager buyers and sellers. Before passing under the sentinel forts of Stockholm, you have a view of Djurgården, or Deer Park, the most picturesque park possessed by any European capital.

It is dreadful treason, of course, to the Queen of the Adriatic, the adored mistress of poets and painters, to say that her northern rival is the fairer of the two, but there are people who hold this opinion, and the writer is one of them. Venice is a city of *souvenirs*—the world regards her through an historic vista—whereas Stockholm is seen by “the light of common day;” and though not boasting the ornate architecture of the Italian city, yet she possesses many picturesque advantages peculiarly her own. The Royal Palace is a vast erection, built on the highest of the three islands of Stockholm; it was completed in 1753, from the designs of Count Tessin. It appeared to us too angular and barrack-like, but it has the warm approval of most professional critics. The National Museum is a handsome building, and contains some interesting collections. On the exterior are marble statues of some of Sweden’s worthies, namely, Tessin, Sergel, Linnæus, Wallin, and Berzelius. The gem of the art collection is the statue of the “Sleeping Endymion,” a specimen of the finest period of Greek art; it was found in 1750, in the ruins of Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli. The Swedish sculptors, Byström, Fogelberg, and Sergel, are well represented; but some of Byström’s best works are to be seen in the church of St. Nicholas, one of the oldest in Stockholm. The most interesting, however, of the churches, is the Kiddarholms, the burying-place of their kings. The sarcophagus of Gustavus Adolphus bears the simple and appropriate inscription: “*Moriens triumphavit.*” As the church is now only regarded as a royal mausoleum, there are no regular services. The Romish ceremonial has been a good deal preserved in the Swedish ritual, such as the embroidered vestments of the clergy, the decorations of the churches, and the use of the wafer at the Lord’s Supper. They retain the name of High Mass for the principal service of the Sabbath or Holy Day.

Religious liberty was no accompaniment of the Reformation in Sweden. In consequence of a reactionary movement towards Popery, a law was passed in 1600, imposing

confiscation of goods and banishment on every Swede who renounced the Lutheran doctrines. This unjust law has since been applied with great severity to Protestant separatists. In 1713 and in 1726 conventicle laws were passed which made it a crime to hold a private religious meeting. Even in this century, as late as the decade of 1840 to 1850, something like eleven hundred persons were subjected to fine and imprisonment, solely for the exercise of private judgment in religious worship. In 1856, King Oscar opened the Diet with the following appeal to the common-sense of the law-makers. He said, "Toleration founded on individual immovable conviction and respect for the religious faith of others, belongs to the essence of the Protestant Church, and ought to obtain among a people whose heroic king, Gustavus Adolphus, by brilliant victories and by the sacrifice of his life, laid the foundation for freedom of thought throughout Central Europe. Those laws, therefore, which hinder religious liberty and freedom of worship ought to be abolished." A Bill for the furtherance of reform in religious matters was placed before the Diet, but public opinion was not ripe for the change, and the question fell to the ground. It was not till 1870, and then in opposition to many of the clergy, that unrestrained religious liberty was proclaimed !

To return to our description of the outward aspect of Stockholm. Moralists have said that it is a pleasure-loving city ; be that as it may, outward decorum and propriety are most strictly observed. Immense good has been done by the laws recently enacted for the repression of drunkenness—a vice which had terrible sway formerly in Sweden. The sale of tea, coffee, and other harmless drinks is systematically encouraged, while the sale of intoxicating liquors is subject to the strictest supervision. We believe it has been the most successful instance known of a paternal government making people sober by Act of Parliament.

In summer Stockholm is full of bustle and gaiety. The port is alive with ships ; trading vessels from all parts of the world, and generally one or two English yachts, with their smart fittings glistening in the sun. In the evening all the world goes to drink coffee and eat ices at a charming little *café* called the Strömparterre. It is quite in the centre of the town, below Norrbro. There is a plantation of trees, and a garden bright with flowers close to the water's edge. From this spot the steamboat omnibuses

depart and arrive from the suburbs. These fidgety little vessels are a great feature in Stockholm; they are very unlike the hearse-like gondolas of Venice, for they are all noise, life, and animation. In five minutes, and for as many oere (farthings), you are transported to Hasselbacken, in the Deer Park, an excellent garden *restaurant*, where it is the fashion to have supper some time between 8 and 10 o'clock, listening to the strains of an excellent band, and enjoying the exquisite twilight, in the still, soft air, with the thermometer only a degree or two below seventy. Nowhere is the summer so enjoyable as in the north. It is true the heat is intense during the day, but the long light of the evenings gives you such opportunities for enjoying the out-of-door existence, which is the order of the day here.

The Swedes are certainly very fond of animals; dogs, cats, and birds frequent the open air *restaurants* as if they paid their reckoning like anyone else. The birds are not abashed by the dogs; there is a sort of happy family feeling amongst them. The sparrows assemble in flocks to pick up the crumbs; their audacity is amazing. On one occasion we were reading a newspaper, and had pushed our plate slightly away from us; on looking round the paper, which had been held up before our face, we found three sparrows, sitting like Pliny's doves, on the edge of the plate, helping themselves to the *débris* of the luncheon. So far from "their tameness being shocking to me," we should rejoice to see the "small birds" on these friendly terms with us in England. The Swedes are remarkably fond of all the feathered tribe. At Christmas it is customary for each house in the country to have a high pole raised above the roof, with a sheaf of unthrashed grain for the sparrows and small birds, that "all creatures may rejoice at that holy season." Coleridge's lines naturally occur to one—

"He prayeth well who loveth well  
Both man, and bird, and beast;  
He prayeth best who loveth best  
All things both great and small."

The Swedish *savants* are very courteous to strangers, as we found by experience, and one or two letters of introduction will serve to pass you on from Stockholm to Upsala, or elsewhere. One of our party intended crossing from

the Gulf of Bothnia to Trondhjem in Norway, and as it is rather an unaccustomed route for tourists, he wanted more particulars than the guide-books afforded, but some of the learned professors at the Academy of Science gave us all the assistance we required, and were most kind in lending geological and other maps. The distance from Sundsvall to Trondhjem is 350 English miles; about midway you come upon Lake Storjón, famous for its magnificent scenery. Here lakes, rivers, and cataracts are intermingled with belts of dark forest, green meadows, and pleasant villages, and in the background rises the isolated mountain of Areskutan with its mantle of eternal snow. In the immediate neighbourhood some extensive copper mines have recently been opened. Not far, we understand, from here is Tännforsen, the finest cataract in Sweden. A river forty feet in breadth falls perpendicularly a distance of ninety feet between black masses of broken rocks, after which the waters are gathered into the tranquil lake of Tänn.

The naturalist and the sportsman will both find plenty to interest and occupy them in these northern parts of Sweden. Mr. Lloyd, an English gentleman, who has lived in the country for many years, has written upon the *Field Sports of the North*, and other books of "Scandinavian adventure," which are invaluable to anyone who intends to fish the rivers, shoot the capercali, or hunt the larger game, such as wolves and bears.

The wild beasts are called the *lands plaga*, literally land plague; and to give an idea of the destruction caused by them, it may be mentioned that in the year 1827 the returns showed the destruction of cattle by wild beasts to be a loss of £15,000 of our money. Since then the Government have inaugurated great hunting matches, consisting of from five to six hundred people. These skulls, or hunts, are generally announced after Divine service, and they assemble to the sound of drums and bugles, which serve to animate the hunters. Though wolves are numerous, they do not often molest human beings; though some years ago, in the vicinity of Gefle, one voracious beast was said to have killed twenty men and wounded many more before he was himself destroyed. "Bears will sometimes spring upon a horse," says Mr. Lloyd, "and the steed may be seen with his strange rider careering the forest." The Swedish fox has the reputation of great cunning: he avoids

depredations in the neighbourhood of his breeding place, and goes to a distant parish for his supply of ducks and fowls: moreover, he is up to all sorts of funny tricks, such as drawing out a fishing net and catching the fish out of the toils of the meshes.

The lakes and rivers of Sweden swarm with aquatic birds—the mallard, teal, gull, tern, the golden plover, &c. The capercali takes the first place amongst Scandinavian game birds. To be a successful sportsman you require to know the habits of these birds, as they are very difficult to approach. The capercali has sometimes been known to attack people, and the belief is, amongst the common folk, that the bird is *possessed*. In the wooded parts of Sweden they are pretty common. In the winter they roost in the snow, burrowing horizontally.

Fishing is very good in Sweden, particularly in the north. Luleå is a favourite place with anglers; the fishing is perfectly free; and, besides salmon, there are plenty of trout and grayling of 8 to 9 lbs. weight. The Wenern and Wettern lakes afford good fishing, so do the Dalecarlian rivers. In the northern parts there are few preserves, and sport is free, except the necessary restrictions as to time. In Murray's *Handbook of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden*, it is mentioned that at Quickjock, near Luleå, "one hundred ptarmigan, besides willow grouse and hares, have been known to fall to a single gun."

There are, during the summer and autumn, well-appointed steamers that go from Stockholm to Haparanda, at the upper end of the Gulf of Bothnia. The time occupied in going is about six days, but it is not so much a voyage as a pleasant cruise, always amongst islets and fiords. Besides the novelty of life, and the wild grandeur of the scenery in these high latitudes, the special object of the tourists is to see the midnight sun, which can be accomplished by going to Ava Saxa, just within the Arctic circle. "The inn has good accommodation," says Murray; "the place can be reached in one day from Haparanda, and the road runs through beautiful scenery."

The writer had not time for this expedition to the far north. We went by the Haparanda steamer as far as Gefle, with the object of going thence to Falun, and making a tour in Dalecarlia. A voyage of fifteen hours from Stockholm landed us at Gefle, a busy ship-building town of nearly 12,000 inhabitants. We saw a small fleet of English



ships lading timber—in fact the harbour was the scene of extraordinary activity; the town itself was in course of rebuilding, after a recent conflagration.

Other interests, however, besides those of trade and commerce come to mind here. At Löffsgrund, near Gefle, is the celebrated stone which has been marked by geologists for the purpose of recording that remarkable alteration of level which is taking place in the northern part of Scandinavia. At the beginning of the last century, Celsius gave it as his opinion that the waters of the Baltic and the Northern Ocean were subsiding; he reasoned from the fact that towns formerly sea-ports were then far inland. Linnæus adopted the same opinion; but as these views are inconsistent with the laws of equilibrium, they came to be regarded with discredit. In the early part of this century the question was tested by grooves being chiselled in the rocks and marked with the date of the year. Playfair was the first to suggest the true solution of the phenomenon, attributing it to an upward movement of the land. Leopold Von Buck confirmed this opinion by close personal observation. "He also conceived that Sweden may rise more in the northern than in the southern part." Later observers have come to the same conclusion. In 1821 the old rock marks were carefully examined by Swedish geologists. Sir Charles Lyell, who had formerly been sceptical, visited the Gulf of Bothnia in 1884, and convinced himself of the truth of the phenomenon. He marked the stone at Löffsgrund two feet seven inches below the mark of 1781; and Mr. Robert Chambers, visiting the same spot in 1849, found the level again seven inches lower. The elevation of the land could therefore be calculated at upwards of three feet in 118 years. In the southernmost extremity of Sweden an opposite movement is apparent, and there is evidence of a gradual subsidence of the land. Linnæus measured and marked a stone at Trelleborg in Scania, and eighty-seven years afterwards it was found to be a hundred feet nearer the water line.

Ancient geographers averred that Scandinavia was an island, and the raised beaches which are found far inland prove the *extension* of the sea, but Sir Charles Lyell considers that the Baltic was separated then as now from the Northern Ocean, because the Baltic fossils are distinguishable from the oceanic deposits (and these deposits belong to the former), showing that the waters had not com-

mingled. Enormous changes have undoubtedly taken place in these regions.

Mr. James Geikie, in his recently published work on *The Great Ice Age*, says :—

“ In Scandinavia generally the evidence in favour of arctic conditions having formerly prevailed is overwhelming. . . . The Gulf of Bothnia appears to have been brimmed with ice, which pressed up against, and even in some places overflowed the lofty Norwegian frontier, through the valleys of which it found its way into the North Sea. . . . How far south the Scandinavian ice-sheet extended we cannot tell. We know that it not only filled the Gulf of Bothnia, but occupied the whole area of the Baltic Sea, overflowing the Aland Isles, Gothland, Bornholm, and Denmark. . . This ice-sheet strewed the plains of Denmark, Holland, and North Germany with fragments of rock broken from the mountains of Norway and Sweden.”—Pp. 875, 881.

It is supposed that great alterations of climate have occurred in Scandinavia; the Swedish geologists, Nathorsk, Törnebohm, and Helmström all concur in believing that there is distinct evidence of an interglacial period. There is great activity at present amongst the scientific men of Sweden, and good work is being done. Linnæus was the founder and first president of the Academy of Stockholm, and amongst the names of European reputation who are connected with this institution, and who are now living, we may mention Lovén the zoologist. He beat Darwin in the last election of a corresponding member for the Institute of France in the zoological section. There are also Andersson, the botanist, and Nordenskiöld, Kjerulf and Otto Torell, geologists. At the University of Lund, they have Nilson, the celebrated archæologist and geologist. At Upsala, Lillejeborg, the zoologist, is the worthy successor to the chair of Linnæus. By the way, the Swedes are rather surprised at us for calling their great naturalist by the Latinised form of his name. His name was Linné, and after he was ennobled he used the signature of Von Linné, and all his later and greatest works bear this designation on the title-page. Moreover, the name of our Linnean Society does *not* follow the Latinised form.

Even the friendship and protection of so great a man as Celsius, the founder of natural history in Sweden, did not preserve Linnæus from encountering bitter jealousies at Upsala, in the early part of his career. He retired to Falun for awhile, and practised there as a physician.

More than once the Swedish Court has sought refuge in Falun, but for quite other reasons. This curious town, on the side of the great copper mountain, is always more or less enveloped in the fumes arising from the smelting works. Though these fumes are destructive to vegetation, they are an excellent preservative against pestilence, cholera, and other epidemics. It was, therefore, to escape the pestilence at Stockholm that the Court sought safety in this place.

While on the subject of disinfectants, it is interesting to remark that in all the marshy districts of Sweden, nature has abundantly supplied an antidote to malaria, for the ground teems with peculiarly odorous flowers and herbs. The common people, who are generally nature's pupils, have learnt this lesson, and it is a fact that they employ sweet-smelling herbs as disinfectants to a greater extent in Sweden than in any other country. The church floor, for instance, is freshly strewn on Sunday morning with chopped fragments of the aromatic fir, which dissipates that peculiar mortuary smell often attached to old churches. Birthdays and other domestic fêtes are celebrated by strewing the fir on the pathway leading to the house. This very likely is a relic of some Pagan custom. Housewives employ the branches of a very powerfully scented herb (the botanical name of which, unfortunately, we do not know) for keeping the back parts of the dwelling sweet and fresh; and it is wonderfully efficacious under circumstances of most primitive arrangements. The markets are full of all kinds of sweet-smelling herbs and flowers. The country people bring them in, either growing in pots, or, the larger sort, in great bundles, to be hung up about the house.

In a recent number\* of the *British Medical Journal* there is an interesting article on "Flowers and Fevers." The writer refers specially to the observations of Professor Mantegazza on the action of essences and flowers in the production of ozone. It is proved that there is great hygienic utility in the cultivation of sweet-smelling flowers, from the fact of their developing such large quantities of ozone, which acts as a corrective to injurious emanations of decaying matter. The very general use that is made in Sweden of these natural disinfectants may be a useful

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\* March 29, 1878.

lesson to ourselves. "It is satisfactory to find, by the light of science, that our predilection for the beautiful, whether in colour, taste, or odour, has its origin in a true and natural instinct."

There is a romantic story told in connection with the old mines of Falun that we can hardly omit. In 1719 the body of a miner was found in a disused shaft; the body was singularly well preserved, and it looked as if life had but lately departed, though other evidence proved that it had long lain there. When the poor fellow was brought to the bank, no one knew him amongst all the crowd who gathered round, until a very aged woman caught sight of the well-defined features, and recognised her long lost lover, one Matthias Israelson, who had been lost in the mines as long ago as 1670. It is said that the poor old woman threw her arms round the youthful body of her lover and expired, overcome by the excess of her emotions. Some one has written a poem on this touching episode; it would be a fitting subject for the pencil of an artist, especially one who knew the place, with its strange weird surroundings. The mine is at the bottom of an enormous crater-like opening, the result of centuries of toil; and, looking down from above, the miners at their work look like pigmies, though, in truth, there are not such stalwart men in all Sweden as the Falunites, and there is a saying, "woe betide the person who attempts to naggle with them."

There is historical evidence of the working of these mines for upwards of six hundred years. They were worked in the time of Birger Jarl, by the Lubeckers, and there is every reason to believe that they were known many centuries earlier. For a long time the mines produced upwards of 3,000 tons of copper annually. It was called "The treasury of Sweden;" but the yield has greatly diminished of late years. The whole of Sweden now only produces 2,000 tons, and a great deal of this comes from Atvidaberg. The Swedish ore is very poor, only yielding 4 per cent., and even less, but the copper is much esteemed, on account of the absence of arsenic and antimony.

The lead mines of Sweden are at Sala and Kongsberg, but are not of great value. The iron is the most important mineral product of the country. In the introduction to the French edition of Dr. Percy's great work on "Metallurgy," MM. Petitgand and Ronna observe (page 152):—

"La Suède est le pays classique de l'industrie du fer, non par

l'excès de sa production, mais par sa qualité supérieure. Les procédés introduits dès 1648, par Louis de Geer, à l'aide des ouvriers qu'il avait fait venir du pays wallon, ont assuré aux fers suédois la réputation méritée dont ils ont continué à jouir jusqu'à nos jours."

The most celebrated iron mines are Dannemora, Taberg, Nora, and Phillipstadt. These latter places are all in the province of Wermland, the most beautiful part of Sweden. This district is very agreeable for travelling, on account of the excellence of the steamboats and the modern hotels. The Dannemora mines, well worth a visit, are accessible from Upsala, and may be taken *en route* to or from Dalecarlia; only here the tourist must be prepared for some rough travelling. These mines furnish annually 12,000 to 15,000 tons of mineral, yielding 30 to 70 per cent. of iron. To give an idea of the export of Swedish iron to Great Britain alone, we may mention that in 1860 pig-iron, to the amount of 6,131 tons, and bar iron, to the important figure of 49,556 tons, was bought by us. Probably the later returns would be still more considerable.

Sweden owes a great deal to Swedenborg for initiating great improvements in the reduction of iron ores. Many of his plans have been superseded by modern inventions, but before he became a religious mystic he was the best practical chemist of his time. He held for many years the appointment of Assessor to the College of Mines. His principal work on science was the *Regnum Minerale*, printed at Leipsic in 1734.

Two Swedish chemists, Swab and Gahn, were the first to obtain metallic antimony and metallic manganese, substances much used now in manufactures. We understand that a work has just been published at Stockholm, under Government auspices, entitled *The Resources of Sweden*. We should imagine it would supply useful information for special inquirers.

Notwithstanding the development of the natural resources of the country, and the extension of commerce, there has been a great increase of emigration of late years. In *Harper's Magazine*,\* an American publication, there occurs the following remarks in reference to Swedish settlers:—

"The Swedes form excellent and most desirable citizens in the United States, but on first arriving they are suspecting and doubt-

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\* March, 1871.

ing ; they give a great deal of trouble, for they dislike being questioned, and even refuse any information in reply. They generally go to Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota, where they find a climate not unlike their own, and soon become settled down as thrifty farmers. In 1869 upwards of 28,000 Swedish immigrants arrived in the United States, and of these it is safe to say that ninety per cent. go out West as agriculturists."

The same Lubeckers who are said to have worked the mines of Falun were remarkable for their church architects ; one Anders, called "the tower raiser," built twenty-two churches in Sweden of Lubeck workmanship. The Ecclesiologist will find many objects of interest, such as the cathedral of Upsala, Strengnas, Lund, and Westeras. M. Mandelgren, a Swedish artist, has made and published a collection of drawings of ecclesiastical antiquities. These include some of the ruined churches of Wisby, in Gothland, that curious old town, which is so frequently mentioned in mediæval chronicles. Before the Norman conquest of England, it was a great commercial emporium, and was, indeed, the parent city of the Hanseatic League. Mr. Fergusson, in his *Handbook of Architecture*, says :—

"During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a great portion of the Eastern trade, which had previously been carried through Egypt or Constantinople, was directed to a northern line of communication, owing to the disturbed state of the East. At this time a very considerable trade passed through Russia, and centred in Novgorod. Thence it passed down the Baltic to Gottland, apparently chosen for its island position, and its capital, Wisby, became the emporium of the West."

The "supreme maritime law of Wisby" has been adopted as the foundation for similar legislation in many countries. Its present aspect, gives the traveller the impression of a ruined city of the ancient world. So numerous were the nationalities that traded in the island, that there were a great variety of churches. Olaus Magnus says that amongst the foreigners who came thither may be reckoned "Gothi, Suedi, Russi, Prussi, Angli, Scoti, Flandri, Galli, Vandali, Saxones, and Hispani."

The old wall, thirty feet high, is entire, as are nearly all the forty-five towers. The Church of the Holy Ghost, built in 1046, is very curious ; it is a small octagonal structure, with a round massive Saxon arch for the main entrance, the windows and arches being in the same style.

In another of the old churches, the pointed Norman and the round Saxon are found together. Ancient tombstones, with Runic characters, are debased to modern uses, and fragments of these precious memorials of a time long past may be found in the pavements and staircases of existing houses. The population, which was once supposed to have numbered over 50,000, has now dwindled down to something like 4,000; in fact, the inhabitants of the whole island of Gothland do not much exceed the numbers who formerly dwelt within the walls of the town of Wisby.

In no part of Scandinavia has the old folk-lore been so well preserved as in this island of the Baltic. Here, amongst a simple and isolated people, the usages, the superstitions, and the legends of ancient days, linger on to our own time, showing how traditional thoughts and sentiments may bridge over from past to present.

Many of the ballads which the Swedish historian Geyer has been at pains to collect are here orally preserved, such as the pathetic story of "Axel and Walborg," and those strange questionings of fate, known as "Riddle Rimes." In Dr. Prior's introduction to his translation of *Ancient Danish Ballads* (page 46), he says :—

"I should be doing injustice to these northern nations if I did not add that in the whole vast collection of Danish, Swedish, and other Scandinavian ballads, there is not to my knowledge one of a demoralising tendency."

William Howitt, in his *Literature of Northern Europe*, has somewhere said :—

"In the Scandinavian ballads 'Little Kerstin' is the universal favourite. She is the model of woman in her beauty and her perfect goodness of heart. She is often unfortunate, but never revengeful; constantly injured, but always forgiving. She is a creature of sweetest life and boundless affection. She may be drawn from the line of morality, but she is never vicious."

One of Sweden's latest poets is King Carl XV., who died, alas! too early for his country and his fame, in the autumn of 1872. He published two volumes of poetry, *En Samling Dikter* and *Smärre Dikter*, which prove that he was, within certain limits, a true poet, and a writer, who, under severer discipline of life, might have produced better and more thorough work. A critique and some fragmentary transla-

tions of these poems appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*.\* We venture to transcribe a few lines from one of the poems—the *Vikingasaga*—as given in the above:—

‘ Mid the ancient pine-tree forests,  
Far in Norland, home of warriors,  
Linger yet old saga mem’ries  
Treasured from the Asa days :  
Deeds of valour by the poets  
Were embalmed in song that chaunted  
High the praise of heroes dwelling  
In sea-girded Swithiod.  
Everywhere were found in Nature  
Spirits fitted to interpret  
Saga tales of Sweden’s childhood.”

The translator has well observed that—

“ Were additional evidence requisite to prove the loyal and loving zeal with which the Bernadotte dynasty has ever striven to identify itself with all that is distinctively Scandinavian, and distinctively Swedish in particular, it would be found in these poems, the chief of which rest upon a thorough northern basis, and are supremely redolent in every page of Scandinavian thought and feeling.”

King Carl was a painter as well as a poet ; when we visited the palace at Stockholm, a few days only before his lamented death, there stood in the picture gallery an unfinished painting of his, on the easel, just where the master’s hand had left it. The subject was one of those forest-bordered lakes of Dalecarlia, with its lateral green valley and distant waterfall, seen at the hour when the soft after-glow of evening comes over earth and sky, in all the magic sweetness of the northern twilight.

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\* January, 1878.



ART. IV.—1. *On the Preparatory Arrangements which will be Necessary for Efficient Observation of the Transits of Venus in the Years 1874 and 1882.* By GEORGE BIDDLE AIRY, Astronomer Royal. *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. XXIX.

2. *The Universe and the Coming Transits.* By R. A. PROCTOR, B.A. Longmans Green and Co. London. 1874. Pp. 233—303.

WHEN the present issue of the *London Quarterly Review* is in the hands of its readers, some eighty stations on the surface of the globe will be occupied under exceptional circumstances by some of the most accomplished men of science which our age has produced. Many of the stations they will occupy are but little known, and almost inaccessible, being as inhospitable as they are uninviting. The parties these distinguished men will lead, as well as many of the leaders themselves, have been in all cases months, and in some instances years, in preparing themselves for their peculiar work. They are taking with them some exquisitely finished instruments, specially devised for their purpose, and of a nature never before employed; and others of a less special character, constructed for their particular use, and manufactured with the utmost delicacy possible to modern art and science. These groups of *savants* will represent nearly every civilised nation of importance on the face of the globe; and what they are doing will involve a probable outlay of not less than £250,000. It is not uninteresting or without importance, then, to inquire what the work is they are really engaged in, and to what issues it will lead.

The event itself will occur on December the 9th of this year, and is simply a transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun: an astronomical event wanting certainly in every incident which we call imposing; and yet, doubtless, the largest and most important celestial occurrence of the nineteenth century. Our knowledge of the absolute dimensions of the universe can never be closely approximated until we are absolutely certain of the real distance in miles between the earth and the sun; and with this are involved many collateral problems, such as the

rapidity of the flight of light waves through space. It is true that, so far as the solar system is concerned, we know the *relative* distances of one body from another; we know that if the distance of one body from the sun be so great, the distance of the next must bear a certain proportion to it. For Kepler's three laws of planetary motion are necessary consequences of the great law of gravitation. The first two of these laws deals with each planet by itself, and would hold good if there were but one such body revolving round the sun. But the third law establishes an essential relation between all the bodies in the solar system. It declares that "The squares of the times of revolution of the planets round the sun are proportional to the cubes of the major axes." If, then, we know the time of revolution of the planets, we may deduce their major axes, and, as a consequence, their mean distances from the sun. It is clear, then, that if we know the *absolute* value of the mean distance of any one of the planets from the sun, we know absolutely the mean distances of all the rest. But this is what we do *not* know. We are yet only approximately acquainted with even the earth's distance from the sun, and therefore our knowledge of the true scale of the solar system is, doubtless, materially at fault. To measure a distance is to compare it with a magnitude with which we have a familiar acquaintance; we get a clear idea of a mile by comparing it with a yard; we measure distances on the earth by miles. But our largest limits of absolute measurement are reached when we have measured the furthest distances upon the earth.

Thus any measured arc of the earth's surface may become a standard of absolute measurement of the sun's distance if a method of comparison can be devised. Various modes of obtaining such an absolute measurement have been suggested and employed from the time of Aristarchus of Samos until now. But since the enunciation of the laws of planetary bodies by Kepler, the solution of this problem has been considered to have the first and largest claim upon the attention of the astronomer.

There are several methods, more or less accurate, open to the modern investigator, by means of which this question may be dealt with. It is well known that an object looked at by the same observer from two different positions is apparently "displaced"—seen in a different direction. The absolute distance of a church tower far away from us

may be discovered readily by selecting a *base line* bearing a sufficiently large proportion to the apparent distance of the tower and employing a theodolite to measure the angle made by the line of sight with the tower, at the each end of the base line; we thus get a triangle of which one side and two angles are known quantities; and therefore the whole triangle, and consequently the distance of the tower, are known with an accuracy dependent upon the exactness with which the base line and angles are measured, and, to a collateral extent also, upon the skill of the observer and the perfection of his instruments. Now, with a celestial object sufficiently near in relation to the available base line afforded by the earth, its absolute distance might be measured in precisely the same way. This has been done in relation to the moon. The distance between any two points on the earth's surface lying six thousand miles apart, the latitude and longitude of which have been ascertained, is known with precision to within the tenth of a mile. Indeed, the polar diameter of the earth is ascertained certainly to within thirty miles. Now, with this knowledge, if any two places on the earth's surface be taken, sufficiently wide apart to give a good proportional base line, the actual displacement of the moon as seen from these two stations may, by competent instruments, be measured; for the background of stars forms a dial, as it were, by which the angular displacement may be estimated and compared. But the distance of the moon from the earth is only about thirty of the earth's diameters. Hence, although surrounded with difficulties, it has been accomplished. But this method cannot be directly applied to the sun, for, in the first place, from the extreme brilliance of the sun, no observation of his displacement can be made; for there is no background of landmarks to which to refer our measures: all is invisible but its own light, hence a minute shift could not be seen. And next, from the far greater distance of the sun, the problem is hundreds of times more difficult: nay, impossible. An obelisk five miles distant from an observer would suffer no apparent displacement from the ends of a base-line only two feet distant. Yet that is the proportion existing between the largest accessible base-line on earth and the distance of the sun. Directly then, the problem seems insoluble. But the astronomer is here assisted in his difficulty by his knowledge of the law associating the distances

of all the planets from the sun. For if one of the planets comes within a distance of the earth, making its parallax large enough to be accurately measured, then we could determine its actual distance, which would at once give the absolute distances of all, and so give us a key to a positive determination of the scale upon which the universe is built.

Now, Venus and Mars are the two planets that come nearest to the earth. But Venus under ordinary circumstances is not available for the purpose here discussed, excepting during the rare occurrence of a transit of the planet across the sun's disc; for the orbit of Venus being within that of the earth, she only comes to conjunction with the earth at the same time as she is in the immediate neighbourhood of the sun; so that it is as impossible to measure the direct parallax as it is that of the sun; her illuminated half being turned away from us. But Mars at certain periods comes comparatively near to the earth. His orbit is immediately outside that of the earth. Now, the orbit of Mars is so eccentric that between his greatest distance and his least distance from the sun there is 27,000,000 miles; and every fifteen years Mars is at his shortest distance from the sun at the same time that the earth is at its greatest distance; and the two planets are on the same side of the sun, and, therefore, instead of being, as they sometimes are, removed 256,000,000 miles from each other, they are not more than 35,000,000 miles apart. Thus, then, the problem of the sun's distance, roughly speaking, is reduced in the proportion of 85 to 90. For, in the case of this planet, the stars form a background of index points, and two observers at opposite parts of the earth, with competent ability and accurate and suitable instruments, can measure respectively the apparent distance of Mars from a given star, and therefore the arc on the heavens as estimated from the earth passed over by the planet's displacement. This gives the angle, and we know the base-line; the distance, therefore, can be deduced by suitable calculation. This was, in fact, the first accurate method employed for finding the distance of the sun. And the present Astronomer Royal has made this method still more serviceable by simplification. He has pointed out that observers at different stations are not absolutely necessary to its accuracy; but that still more satisfactory estimates of the planet's distance may be

taken by the same observer, in the same observatory, by carefully noting how far the diurnal rotation of the earth, by shifting the place of any fixed station, affected the position of the planet in relation to a fixed star, thus accomplishing the same result. This method was employed in 1862, giving a solar parallax of 8.9 seconds, corresponding to a distance of 91,400,000 miles. Another method of great theoretical value by which the problem has been attacked is due entirely to modern astronomers. It is dependent on the motions of the moon. Laplace had marked, amongst other perturbations of the moon, one which depended on its distance from the sun. When the moon is on the side of the earth nearest the sun, by the operation of the law of gravitation it must be attracted to the sun more powerfully than when it is on the side of its orbit opposite to the earth, that is, farthest from the sun. The result is that the sun's attraction pulls the moon away from the earth when she is nearest him, more than he pulls the earth away from the moon when the latter is farthest from him. It will thus be seen that the accuracy of any lunar theory must depend upon an accurate knowledge in miles of the distance of the sun from the earth; for, until the magnitude of his attraction (dependent on his distance) can be given, the observed place, and the calculated place of the moon, must differ. Now, this difference has actually been detected by Hansen, whose new tables of the moon enabled him to detect such a difference between the theoretical and the real places of the moon as to calculate from the difference of attractive force or perturbation a solar parallax of 8.916 seconds, corresponding to a distance of 91,520,000 miles. Thus, by comparing observation with analysis, a remarkable approximation to the truth has been reached. But a method that may eventually prove even of greater value, has been suggested and worked out by Leverrier. It is dependent upon certain periodical inequalities in the sun's apparent motion in the heavens. These arise from the fact that the moon travels once in a lunar month in her orbit, *not* around the centre of the earth, but around the centre of gravity of the earth and moon; and around this centre of gravity the earth also travels once in a lunar month. This centre is influenced by the sun's attraction. The amount of disturbance is extremely minute; but the number of observations has been and will be enormous:

and the real result is that the earth's motion in longitude is not equable; beside the variation in velocity due to the figure of the earth's orbit, there is an alternate advance and retrogression within the limits of a lunation. By working up an immense number of observations of the sun, made at all the chief observatories, Leverrier, slightly corrected by Mr. Stone, the present Astronomer Royal at the Cape of Good Hope, deduced a solar parallax of 8.9 seconds, giving for the sun's distance 91,759,000 miles.

Again, light moves through space at an extremely rapid and yet measurable rate. Now it is well known that the satellites of Jupiter are so placed in relation to their primary, that, as observed from the earth, frequent eclipses take place. That is to say, the satellites on passing behind the planet pass into his shadow, and for a time are lost to us. If any one of these be observed, as for example the first or nearest, we know at the outset the period of its revolution with the utmost accuracy. But by observation it is shown that these periods are not constant: that is to say, that the period separating any two immersions or emersions taken at different times is not of necessity equal. But it has been further found that the inequality is regular—that the time of the satellites' revolution gets shorter as the earth gets nearer to Jupiter, and longer as the earth gets further away from him. But the difference between our nearest position to the huge planet and our most distant one is the entire diameter of the earth. Hence, since light takes a sensible time to propagate itself through space, the apparent difference of time taken in the revolution of Jupiter's inner satellite when the earth is differently placed in relation to Jupiter, is due to the difference of distance over which the light of the immersed or emerged satellite has to travel in order to reach us. Now it has been found that it requires 16m. 30s. for light to travel across this interval (the earth's orbit), which gives 8m. 15s. for the distance of the sun to the earth, and as light is known to travel at the rate of 186,000 miles per second, this gives a distance for the sun of about 91,000,000 miles.

For the same purpose the aberration of the stars consequent on the earth's orbital motion has been employed as a test of solar distance. For in fact the consequence of the earth's annual revolution is the apparent motion of each star, when closely observed, in a small ellipse around its true place. This arises from the fact that the motion

of the earth in space bears an appreciable relation to the motion of light; and, therefore, to overtake this the telescope has to be inclined forward a measurable fraction in the direction in which the earth is moving, and equally sensibly in the opposite direction when the earth is moving in a contrary direction. The measure of this inclination of the instrument being accurately taken, and the rapidity of light known, the velocity of the earth in her orbit is easily found for a given fraction, and therefore for the whole of her orbit; and from this a parallax of 8.86 secs. has been deduced, making the sun's distance 92,100,000 miles.

While finally the refined and brilliant experiments of MM. Fizeau and Foucault have led to an approximation of the actual rapidity with which light waves are transmitted through space, which can scarcely at present be exceeded. Using an arrangement of rapidly revolving wheels and mirrors by which the rapidity of wave transmission in a beam of light could be measured, they made a series of carefully controlled experiments, and upon these based their calculations, from which they infer for the sun a horizontal parallax of 8.942 seconds, giving a distance of the sun from the earth of 91,400,000 miles.

It will be seen that the whole of this remarkable series of methods of investigating the most important practical problem in astronomy are independent of each other, and are based upon independent observation and experiment. Hence the striking approximation of results they afford is one of the most marked testimonies to the accuracy of modern scientific methods; for as they all point to a distance somewhere within 92 millions of miles. But each of these methods is encompassed by a certain difficulty or assumption peculiar to itself, which materially detracts singly from its absolute value, and therefore it is solely the remarkable agreement between all these various methods taken together that gives them their real importance. But the significance of these results was greatly enhanced by the fact that they showed so large a discrepancy with the received value of the sun's distance, which was actually 95,274,000 miles; and this was based upon the observations of the transit of Venus in 1769. It is true in these observations no definite principle was adopted, and in consequence, at the time, the mathematicians, basing their calculations on these observations alone, made the solar parallax vary between 9.2 secs. and 7.5 secs.,

equivalent respectively to distances of 87,890,780 miles and 108,984,560 miles. But during the years 1822-1824 Encke, the great German astronomer and mathematician, reconsidered the whole series of transit observations made in 1761 and 1769; he carefully examined all the conditions indicated in nearly 300 observations, and discovered, as he believed, the sources of erroneous interpretation; and by recalculation deduced for the sun's parallax, as shown by the former transit, 8.49 secs. and for the latter 8.60 secs., and by combining these he obtained the value 8.577 secs., which for so many years was the accepted value, amounting to something over 95 millions of miles.

This difference of result, then, as shown by the several modern methods on the one hand, and Encke's calculations of the transits on the other, led Mr. Stone, then at the Greenwich Observatory, to go once more over the entire recorded observations of the transits which had been calculated by Encke, to discover, if possible, what error might have escaped the German astronomer. As is well known to students of the question, and as we shall see further on, the dark body of the planet on entering upon the brilliant disc of the sun is distorted, and appears to be stretched from the edge of the sun for some seconds into a pear-shape; and finally the "ligature" joining the sun's limb and the planet breaks, leaving a clear space between the two. Mr. Stone found that some of the observers did, and some did not, fix their observations from the appearance of the fine band or juncture; and that to this the real source of error in Encke's calculation was to be attributed. And by grouping the observations on this principle, he found that his calculations founded on them gave for the parallax of the sun 8.91 secs., equal to a distance of 91,780,000 miles, and this with a probable error of  $0^{\circ}30' = 300,000$  miles.

This remarkable result was of the utmost value: for of the completeness and accuracy of the work there could be no question; so far as it could be, it was exhaustive; and the results brought the distance of the sun, as shown by the method of transit, into striking harmony with the results as shown by other means. And since the discovery of this error involved the examination of a dimension about equal to a human hair examined 125 feet away, its value as an index to the accuracy of modern methods may be seen. Plainly, then, nothing further could be hoped for on



this question unless some new opportunity for increased accuracy in observation should be afforded. This is precisely what the astronomer has in the approaching transits of 1874 and 1882. It is with the former of these that we are now practically concerned.

The orbit of Venus is within that of the earth. If the orbits of the earth and Venus were in the same plane there would be a transit of the latter every time it arrived at inferior conjunction with the sun. But their orbits are inclined about  $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and it is, therefore, only at long intervals that these transits occur. The earth takes 365.256 days to revolve in its orbit; Venus takes 224.7 days. But owing to the angle of the orbit of Venus with that of the earth, she passes above or below the earth's path, and no transit ensues. But when Venus passes between the earth and the sun, at the time that it is near the position in which her orbit crosses that of the earth, she will be seen to pass between us and the sun; that is across the sun's disc as a black body. Besides this their motions are such in relation to each other that if the transit do not happen when the planet is exactly at, or very near, the nodes of the orbits, the transit will recur in eight years. But should the former transit take place so as to cross the centre of the sun's disc, this does not happen. So that, with occasional exceptions, the intervals are 8,  $121\frac{1}{2}$ , 8,  $105\frac{1}{2}$ , 8,  $121\frac{1}{2}$ , &c. years; and hence their importance when they occur.

The first astronomer who really saw the value of these occurrences was James Gregory, a mathematician of considerable eminence, who lived in the seventeenth century, and who, in his *Optica Promota*, says: "*Hoc problema pulcherrimum habet usum, sed forsan laboriosum, in observationibus Veneris vel Mercurii particulam solis obscurantis; ex talibus enim solis parallaxis investigari poterit.*"

But it is undoubtedly to the illustrious Halley that we are indebted for its practical application and actual employment. Before this, however, a transit of the planet had been predicted by Kepler, in 1631, but the calculation was in error, and consequently it occurred during the night of the last day on which Kepler and others looked for it; that is to say when the sun was below the horizon in Europe, where it was looked for, in consequence, in vain. Kepler had announced this as the only transit that would occur during the seventeenth century; but on the principle now well understood, the phenomenon recurred in 1689,

and was observed under circumstances that will make it memorable for centuries in the history of observational astronomy. This transit was unknown to any save two young Englishmen, Jeremiah Horrocks and William Crabtree, who observed it—the one at Hoole, near Preston, and the other at Manchester. Horrocks was, without question, a genius of the very highest order. He was born near Liverpool in 1619, in comparative poverty. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and became a curate at Hoole. In 1633 he first turned his great mathematical powers in the direction of astronomy; and although in those days there was no branch either of mathematical or physical science taught at Cambridge, he tells us that he could imagine “nothing nobler than to contemplate the manifold wisdom of the Creator amid so great a profusion of works; and to behold. . . the celestial motions, the eclipses of the sun and moon, and other phenomena of the same kind, no longer with the unmeaning gaze of vulgar admiration, but with a desire to *know their causes* . . . by a closer inspection of their mechanism.” The result was that he became for the short time he lived a profound astronomer; and, by his wonderful grasp and interpretation of a large difficulty in the lunar theory, he afforded important aid to Newton in the detail of a portion of the first book of his *Principia*. Horrocks was led to infer that a transit would happen in 1639 by a comparison of the tables of Venus calculated by Kepler with those of Lansberg; the former showed that, at conjunction, Venus would be a little below the sun; the latter indicated that she would just touch the western limit. He therefore made calculations for himself, and found that a transit would occur on the 24th November O.S. This was on a Sunday, and he continued to observe the image of the sun from its rising until the hour appointed for service in church; nothing, however, had yet appeared. He felt, nevertheless, bound to attend to his solemn duties, for he says, “*ad majora quæ utique ob hæc parerga negligi non decuit*,” thus displaying an evident mental struggle between his duties to science and the claims of religion. At the risk of losing so precious an opportunity, he attended to the latter. At three o’clock he was once more at liberty, and on turning his telescope to the sun and receiving the image on paper in a darkened room, he saw, with evident ecstasy, the planet projected on

the disc of the sun ; and he exclaims : " Oh, most gratifying spectacle ! The object of so many earnest wishes ; I perceived a new spot of unusual magnitude, and of a perfectly round form, that had just wholly entered upon the left limb of the sun, so that the margins of the sun and the spot coincided with each other, forming the angle of contact."

His observation of the transit could only extend to about half an hour, from the fact that the sun set ; and therefore, so far as his own work was concerned, little practical result issued save the expression of an opinion as to the proportional diameters of the sun and the planet ; which he thought to be as 30 to  $1\frac{1}{4}$ . But this observation has been of the very highest value in correcting the tables of Venus, and so assisting in future work.

At Broughton, near Manchester, where Crabtree was observing, the sky was overcast until a few moments before sunset, when he also saw the object of his desire, and a diagram was made by him of the planet's position in transit, which corresponded precisely with that of Horrocks. It is to be regretted that both these remarkable men died at an extremely early age. Horrocks died suddenly in the year 1640, and Crabtree is believed to have perished in the civil war which shortly after ensued. It is to the credit of our generation that an effort is being made to raise a monument to Horrocks in Westminster Abbey, and few in the rôle of science will better deserve such a position than this youthful author of *Venus in Sole Visa*.

It was not, however, until 1677 that the real value of transits of Venus as means of determining the sun's parallax was distinctly pointed out by the illustrious Halley. How far he may have been indebted to the suggestion given in the *Optica Promota* does not appear ; certain it is that the merit of reducing the method to practice lies with him. The principle of procedure is not difficult of explanation. If we know what angle is subtended by any known distance on the earth at the distance of the sun, we can find the sun's actual distance in miles. The relative distances of the earth, Venus, and the sun are known accurately. Let E and V (fig. 1) represent the orbits of the earth and Venus respectively—the arrows showing the direction of their motion. But the motion of Venus is faster than that of the earth ; she completes her revolution round the sun in 224 days, while the earth only does the same in 365 days ; so that Venus overtakes the

earth in her path. The resulting phenomena are precisely the same as if the earth passed through the shadow of Venus in the opposite direction. At 1 (fig. 1), seen along the line of sight 1 *a*, the first external contact of Venus with the sun would be visible; at 2 Venus will appear wholly upon the sun's disc, which is what is called first internal contact; at 3 she will be seen in mid-passage; at 4, seen along the line 4 *b*, the phase of last internal contact will be manifest; and at 5 the last external contact will occur; completing the transit. Now what Halley did was to find a station or stations on the earth so situated that the ingress of the planet upon the sun would be seen sooner than at any other; that is, where "accelerated ingress" would be realised by the observers, and where the egress would also be retarded, or seen later than any other place. In the same manner stations were to be found where ingress would be retarded and egress accelerated. The object of this is that, the observers being as far to the north and as far to the south as possible, the greatest displacement of Venus should be secured; or, in other words, the chords drawn by the planet across the sun, as seen from the two stations, would be as unlike each other in length as possible; for the difference between the observed *times of transit* at the two stations being the quantity which indicates the amount of separation, any possible error is reduced as the distance of the two lines is increased. Now this apparent displacement, expressed in angular measure, gives the parallax angle subtended by the distance between the two stations; from which, by means of the known ratio between the earth and Venus from the sun, the corresponding angle at the sun, and therefore the distance, can be found. Why the transit can be seen to be accelerated and retarded is dependent upon the fact that observers at northern stations will see Venus lower down or further south upon the sun's face, causing it to appear to traverse the disc nearer the centre, making the line of passage longer than the path of the planet as seen from the southern stations, which project Venus higher up, and so make her chord of passage shorter. While again, the rotation of the earth carries the observing station further to the east as the planet passes off the solar disc, thus appearing to shift Venus to the west, so accelerating egress. Just as a boat on a river passing a warehouse, does so to a fixed observer in a certain time, but if

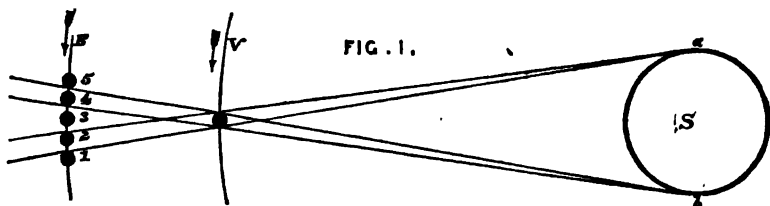


FIG. 1.

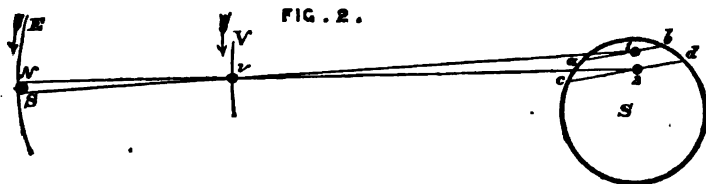


FIG. 2.

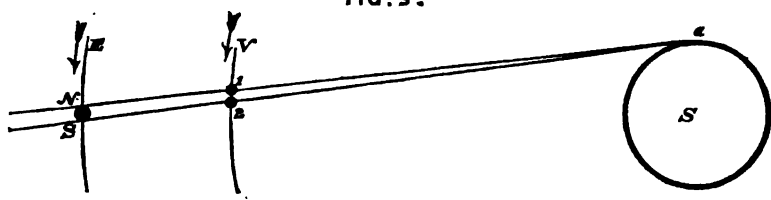


FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.





the observer himself move in the same direction, the time of the passage is lengthened; or if he move in an opposite direction, the time of passage is shortened; so by the careful selection of stations on the earth acceleration and retardation may be secured. In fig. 2,  $E$  is the orbit of the earth;  $V$  that of Venus;  $S$  is the sun. The line  $Nv2$  represents the line of sight from a northern station. The line  $sv1$  shows the same from a southern station. The chord  $ab$  is the path of Venus as seen from the southern station; and the chord  $cd$  shows the path of the planet as seen from the northern. The purpose of the astronomer is to separate these lines of passage as far as possible. Now we know accurately the relative distance of Venus from the earth and the sun. We know, too, that Venus moves over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  seconds of arc in a minute; then, by noting the exact duration of the passage of the planet across the sun's face at both stations, it is easy to find the length of the chords  $ab$ ,  $cd$ , and therefore, by suitable calculations, the distance which separates them. For this gives the value of the angle included between the lines  $v1$ ,  $v2$ , which is equal to the angle  $NvS$ . But we know the distance  $NS$ , therefore we can mathematically obtain the value of  $NV$ . This gives the distance of Venus from the earth for the given time, from which the mean distance may be obtained, and, by the application of Kepler's law, the actual distance from the sun. This, stripped of mathematical complications, is the method of Halley, by which, if the time of contact can be observed with no greater error than a second of time, the sun's parallax can be ascertained within  $\cdot 02$  of a second of arc.

Now, in Halley's application of this method, he only used it in a limited manner. By his mode of employing it the two observing stations had to be chosen, so that during the transit one would move to the east and the other to the west; while it was also necessary that Venus should pass very close to the centre of the sun. But as now employed these conditions are not necessary, and therefore there is a distinction made by some astronomers between this general application of the method whose principle Halley laid down, and his own particular application of it, as mistakenly made, in 1761. And this broader application of the principle is called the *Method of Durations*. How far this is justified it is extremely difficult to discover; for clearly Halley was capable of giving his method the

applications to new conditions of which it was susceptible, as well as more recent workers. The fact that he did not live to realise the need of its modification is scarcely reason enough to dissociate his name from the principle which he laid down, when it has received such modification.

But there is another method of great importance which the astronomer may employ. For it we are indebted to Delisle, a French astronomer of eminence. This method, nevertheless, has much practical difficulty surrounding it, although beautifully simple in theory. Let N S (fig. 8) be the earth, V the orbit of Venus, and S the sun. When Venus reaches the part of her orbit marked 1, the observer on the northern part of the earth would see her just half way on the solar limb; but by the time Venus has reached 2, another observer in the south will see her in precisely the same position. Now let the exact times of contact be observed at both stations. Let the stations be so placed that the difference of time in observation is twenty-one minutes. A portion of this must be corrected for acceleration, &c., the remainder will be the measure of the angle drawn from *a* to N S; and since Venus passes over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  seconds in one minute, and the distance N S is known, the distance between 1 and 2 may be readily calculated; because it bears the same proportion to N S that the distance of the earth from the sun bears to that of Venus from the sun. We know the time it takes for Venus to accomplish a complete revolution, and we have now (hypothetically) found the actual amount of distance in miles gone over in an accurately measured time. We can therefore measure the whole circumference of Venus' orbit in miles, and consequently, by Kepler's third law, its actual distance from the sun. With equal accuracy observations of egress may be made.

What is common to both these methods is that the wider apart the observing stations are the greater will be the prospect of exactness. But in Delisle's method it is absolutely essential to success that the *local* time should be known with the utmost accuracy; which, in fact, means that the precise longitude of the observing station shall be known. This is known well enough at Greenwich, or the Cape of Good Hope, or even the Mauritius, but it has no truth in relation to such places as Kerguelen's Island or the Sandwich Islands. But if the longitude be not accurately known the absolute difference of the times of contact at



the two stations compared cannot be known ; and therefore the most delicate and perfect observation of the phenomena of transit will be simply thrown away. Yet if this desideratum can be discovered, a *single* observation of contact at ingress or egress at two opposite stations is all that is absolutely necessary for success.

On the other hand, Halley's method fails entirely unless the sky is clear for both ingress and egress at both stations ; but it can wholly dispense with exact considerations of longitude, so important to the method of Delisle ; for a well rated chronometer will supply all that is required—the time occupied in transit. But it must be further remembered that Delisle stations may often be employed for the Halleyan method ; whilst if they were chosen and equipped for Halley's method alone, that of Delisle could not be employed at all ; and it is in their joint application, where practicable, that there must be the greatest prospect of success. To attempt to push either method, on a partial consideration of the whole question, must be an error. It is not merely a mathematical question. It is not merely a question of what is the most perfect method abstractedly. It really resolves itself into the practical inquiry of what is the best thing to be done, taking every contingency into consideration, to secure the most valuable and certain results. Now it happens that this transit takes place in December—the south pole of the earth is turned towards the sun. Hence the cold will be severe in high northern latitudes, and in the south there is very little land available, and what there is is very little known ; besides which, the meteorological conditions are extremely doubtful. And weighing all the circumstances with great care, Sir G. Airy decided on the employment of Delisle's method of observing first and last contacts, fixing on Honolulu, where the ingress will be accelerated, to be compared with Kerguelen's Island and Rodriguez, where there will be retardation. And New Zealand and Kerguelen's Island to be compared with Alexandria and the Siberian stations for egress ; here also securing large retardation and acceleration. The first expression of preference by the Astronomer Royal for Delisle's method was made before the Royal Astronomical Society in April, 1857. He then also announced his opinion that whilst Halley's method was not applicable in the transit of 1874 it would be in 1882. And this was repeated with more careful

illustration in 1864. But in 1868 a most elaborate paper was read before the same Society by Sir G. Airy, "On the Preparatory Arrangements which will be Necessary for Efficient Observation of the Transits of Venus in 1874 and 1882." In this paper, at the very commencement, a remarkable statement is made. It is declared "that for determination of the difference between the sun's parallax and the parallax of Venus, the method by observation of the interval in time between ingress and egress at two stations at least, on nearly opposite parts of the earth (on which method, exclusively, reliance was placed in the treatment of the observations of the transit of Venus in 1769) *fails totally* in the transit of 1874, and is embarrassed in 1882 with the difficulty of finding a proper station on the almost unknown Southern Continent."\* Read in an ordinary manner, and interpreted by Sir G. Airy's previous use of similar phraseology, this distinctly states that what is usually received as Halley's method fails entirely in 1874. Since this is so absolutely far from the truth, we are fain to think that this could not have been his meaning. That is to say that he meant simply what has been called Halley's method proper—the method as supposed by Halley to be applicable in 1761—and that it is *not* of the so-called method of durations that he makes this sweeping statement. But even this leaves a large residuum of difficulty. For the method of durations which is applicable was not chosen at all, Delisle's method being selected as mathematically and practically the better method of the two. This paper attracted at once the attention of M. Puiseux, a French mathematician, and Mr. Proctor, the late Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society. The former, in the *Comptes Rendus* for February, 1869, pointed out clearly that there was an error in the inference of Sir G. Airy that the method of observing the interval of time between ingress and egress at two stations "*fails totally*." He proved, indeed, that it might be applied with advantage in 1874. In his calculations, however, he had left out some important considerations; he had not taken into account the dimensions of Venus, but regarded her as a mathematical point; and had neglected the consideration that mean and apparent time are not coincident on the date of the transit. Mr. Proctor, on the other hand, worked out the whole question

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\* *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, vol. xxix. p. 33.

in all its parts, and proved that the method *usually* known as Halley's was not only applicable but much more suitable for observing the transit of 1874 than that of Delisle, even at some of the stations selected ; but was pre-eminently so if indicated stations could on investigation be proved practicable. At the same time it was shown that it was almost useless as a method of observing in 1882. These facts were laid before the Royal Astronomical Society. At Nertchinsk, in Russia, the transit will last longer by nearly sixteen minutes than as if it were seen from the earth's centre. It begins six minutes early and ends ten minutes late. What was specially urged was that a station should be occupied by England (to be used with this) in which the transit should begin several minutes late and end several minutes early. This station was found to be Possession Island, where the phenomenon of transit begins six minutes *late* and ends eleven and a half minutes *early*. Thus at the one station the time of passage was lengthened sixteen minutes and at the other shortened seventeen and a half minutes, so fulfilling the most important conditions of a transit—the widest separation possible of the chords drawn by the planet on the sun's disc. No movement whatever followed the announcement of Mr. Proctor's statements—things were still shaping themselves for the sole adoption of Delisle's method. But on February the 13th, 1873, the whole case was stated with great force in the *Times*, and some explanation demanded. Upon this, correspondence ensued, and other branches of the Press broached the question. The Admiralty was aroused to make an official inquiry addressed to the Astronomer Royal, requesting the expression of his opinion. His official answer was sent to the Royal Astronomical Society as "A Letter from the Astronomer Royal to the Secretaries of the Admiralty expressing his Views on certain Articles which had appeared in the Public Newspapers in regard to the approaching Transit of Venus." In this letter it is argued that Mr. Proctor has taken into account *only* the mathematical side of the question—"strained the idea of occupying the northern and southern stations"—without considering whether the inhospitality of the region admitted of the possibility of occupying such stations. This is unquestionably a point of great moment, and the subsequent voyage of the *Challenger* has shown that most of the stations urged by Mr. Proctor as important in the last

degree *could not be occupied* for the purpose suggested. Nevertheless these stations, and worse, had been suggested by the Astronomer Royal for occupation in 1882, and this Mr. Proctor pointed out, insisting that we should *test their practicability* for 1874, since their employment, *if practicable*, was immeasurably more important then, than it could be in 1882. But Mr. Proctor has undoubtedly made too much of this suggestion of search for stations in 1882. It was simply a suggestion, and was evidently early abandoned, never having been brought before the Admiralty in an official form.

The Astronomer Royal further shows in this letter that his views are in accord with those of Dr. Oppolzer of Vienna, who argues that the main reason in favour of Halley's method was its independence of exact determinations of longitude, which, while it was a matter of great moment in past days, when observations on this subject could be so imperfectly made, was of no moment now when the difficulty has been removed by a more perfect knowledge of the moon's irregularities. Under these circumstances it is asserted that Halley's method "possesses no special advantage at the present day." It is then shown with what exactness the longitude of the five selected stations is to be taken, and avowed that a careful consideration of the whole of the facts precludes the author from recommending a Government expedition to high antarctic latitudes for the purpose of extending the employment of Halley's method.

Mr. Proctor replies to this, that Sir G. Airy has assumed the least favourable stations in his consideration, and insists that if more southern stations are not utilised, the whole expedition will fail. And this we think is where Mr. Proctor has erred; for he subsequently expresses at least comparative satisfaction with the final arrangements, when not a single geographical position has been added to Sir G. Airy's original plan.\* His eagerness to show that better stations might be found made him undervalue those selected. But to resume. Subsequently to this letter, the question was put in the House of Commons by Sir J. Lubbock, as to whether Halley's method would be employed; it was replied by the then First Lord of the Admiralty that no importance would be attached to its employment, even

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\* Except an Indian station subsequently referred to and chosen for another purpose.

if it should be used. But now a more important event happened. At the official visitation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, on the 7th of June, 1873, Professor Adams, whose power as a mathematician is perhaps unequalled, proposed a resolution, which was carried, that the Astronomer Royal should apply for an expedition to the South Seas for the selection of stations for observing the coming transit. As the result of this, the *Challenger* made a voyage of investigation; and found that Kerguelen Island was the best position for the English to occupy; and after leaving suitable instructions sealed up, and placed in a cairn, built for the purpose, returned to Australia and telegraphed the results. The effect of this was to show what was and what was not possible; and this was all that could be desired. Meanwhile, preparations were in rapid progression, and at length the final decisions were announced. That Mr. Proctor's arguments and demonstrations had had much weight in giving them their final form, it is impossible not to see. But that this has not been acknowledged (with the exception of the choice of a photographic station in Northern India, to which we shall again refer) is striking. Certain it is that now what *was* known as Halley's method, but has been distinguished lately as the "method of durations," is to be employed wherever possible; and this was no part of the original programme, and one of the special points urged by Mr. Proctor; a proof, indeed, that Halley's method, when used in its usual meaning, does not "fail totally." Beside this, the five geographical positions selected are to have *nine* stations upon them; and this is a matter of moment, although probably only the evolution of the original plan. The errors of the controversy appear to have been, on Sir G. Airy's side, a too hasty statement as to the total inutility of Halley's method for 1874, and its probable superiority in 1882; a statement certainly not correct, unless the terms he employed were used in a sense not natural: and on Mr. Proctor's side, the declaration that absolute failure must ensue, unless more suitable southern stations were employed. The compromise is the multiplication of observing posts on the geographical stations originally selected; at which, where possible, the Halleyan method is to be employed. But this is made as little of as possible, by an assurance that of course both ingress and egress will be observed where practicable; but the longitude will be

determined accurately, and the two observations will be worked up independently by *Delisle's method*. On this enlargement of the original scheme, Mr. Proctor congratulates astronomy, and is at least moderately satisfied. And we certainly congratulate him on the final result of his abundant labours.

There can be little doubt but that the preparations of the English astronomers are admirable in the last degree. In the employment of *Delisle's method*, we have seen that the matter of greatest moment is longitude. If we know the absolute time at a place; we know its longitude. The transport of chronometers set to Greenwich time would enable the observer to compare this with local time taken by a transit instrument, if the chronometer might be absolutely relied on. This is not the case; but the difficulty is partly overcome by transporting several chronometers to the place in question, and comparing their rate—especially with one *not compensated* for changes of temperature—from the changes of which the sum of temperature changes may be deduced.

A modern method of time signalling is the telegraph; which, when corrected for retardation with competent accuracy, is of the very highest value.

But on the motions of the moon, a high degree of accuracy for determining longitude may now be attained. Indeed, it is authoritatively stated that it is possible, by means of lunar transits, to attain almost perfect precision. What is required to be known is actual Greenwich time at any given moment. The passage of the moon amongst the stars affords an opportunity of finding this. Of course the tables of the moon are even now far from perfect; but these are corrected by constant observation. Now the moon moves through one degree in two hours, that is, through one second of arc in two seconds of time. If, then, the moon's place in relation to any star be definitely known in Greenwich time, a series of observations of this sort will suffice for the end in view.

Accurate observations as to the moon's position will be made first with a *transit instrument*, noting the exact time the moon crosses the meridian of the place, and finding its relation to certain known stars; next with the *alt-azimuth instrument*, which is a modification of the transit instrument. It is so constructed as to be moveable primarily about a vertical axis, as well as a horizontal one, both of

which are accurately divided and worked with verniers and microscopes. It may thus be used for either meridional or extra-meridional observations, and has been used constantly at Greenwich for determining the elevation of the moon when due east or west. It will therefore be a most suitable instrument for the accurate finding of lunar positions. But as in equatorial regions the motion of the moon is chiefly in altitude, so in polar latitudes the motion is mainly in azimuth; so that the instruments provided specially for the work, and finished in the best manner possible to modern manufacture, are only provided with the circles necessary to the latitudes for which they are intended; whilst a third method of finding the longitude by the moon will be by observing with good telescopes the exact moment of the occultation of a star by the moon's disc. This affords a most valuable opportunity of comparing Greenwich with local time. Now, when it is remembered that every instrument necessary to the work will be employed by men eminently skilful in their use, and furnished with the most accurate tables which modern science can give, it is not too much to hope that extreme accuracy may be attained in fixing the longitudes of the observing stations. It should also be remembered that this may be, and, in several instances, doubtless will be done, *after* the transit has occurred. Indeed, *any* subsequent correction of the longitudes of the places in question will be only so much additional data for a more accurate reduction of the observations. But if the longitudes of the places can be determined within a second, or less, there can be but little question of the superiority of Delisle's method.

But a practical difficulty has here to be encountered. Granting that the longitude and absolute time have been, or may be, found with precision, the real difficulty will be to note the exact moment at which the planet is in clear internal contact with the sun's limb. This difficulty arises from the peculiar behaviour of a planet in transit, when it breaks contact at ingress, or makes it at egress. We have already alluded to this. The phenomenon is known as that of the “black drop” due to irradiation. It is a common experiment in the lecture-room to heat, by means of a “coil,” a fine piece of stretched platinum wire, that its remarkable thickening may be seen—which is due almost wholly to irradiation. Indeed, every bright object appears in the dark somewhat larger than it is, because the borders of the

image on the retina affect the surrounding parts. On this account every dark object appears smaller than it is in reality, because of the extreme brilliance of the background causing the luminous border around the dark object to encroach upon it, thus diminishing its apparent size. The result is, that just as Venus is within the sun's disc, she assumes a pear-shaped aspect. Thus at ingress,  $\alpha, \beta, \gamma$ , fig. 4, represent successive stages of the appearance of the planet in its passage to actual internal contact. The point to be decided is which of these conditions represents actual contact of the limbs. Apparently the contact is actually made at  $\alpha$ , for if the circular outline of the planet seen on the right-hand side were continued on the left, it would just be in contact with the sun's limb. But if the laws of irradiation be carefully considered, it will be seen that the absolute moment of contact is at the instant depicted at  $\gamma$ ; for if in fig. 5  $AA$  be the apparent edge of the sun, increased by irradiation, then  $bb$  is the true edge. But the black disc represents the size which Venus appears also under the influence of the same laws, and the outline circle beyond it shows its *real* size; and this, it will be seen, is the moment of actual contiguity of the limbs—the moment of internal contact. Hence the apparition of the extremely fine line is the moment to be watched for at ingress and egress. And here delicate instruments, propitious atmospheric conditions, and great skill are required. In the observations of the transits of 1761 and 1769, the difficulties were enormous in reducing the observations; for between the conditions represented at  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$ , fig. 4, a difference of eighteen seconds ensued; and unless it can be decided what the time of actual contact is, there *must be* some seconds of error. But further, the personal equation of each observer must be known. That is to say, different persons, in observing astronomical phenomena, make errors that bear a permanent ratio to those of others. Some will detect a time phenomenon, like the transit of a star, a large fraction of a second before others. And this is a permanent condition. For the accurate reduction of the observations, then, it follows that the relative personal equation of all the observers should be known. But this can only be done by experiment; and therefore all the principal nations engaging in this great enterprise have set up *artificial transits*; that the whole phenomena may be gone through by anticipation. At Greenwich this ap-



paratus consists of a metallic partition, out of which has been cut a portion which represents the two edges of the sun, where ingress and egress occur. Behind this a plate of glass with a circle of metal let into it, level with itself, glides across the opening by clockwork; and behind this again is a mirror, which reflects direct sunlight. With a telescope this artificial transit is observed at about four hundred feet away; and thus the observers have been practised singly and in comparison with each other, that, as far as could be, absolute accuracy in observation might be secured.

This, however, will be still further enhanced by using a double image micrometer eyepiece, which was devised by Sir G. Airy some years since. One of the lenses of which this eyepiece is composed is cut in halves; each half lens is fixed in a frame connected with a screw adjustment. When the two lenses are together in the position they occupied before separation, only one image is seen, and the scale and vernier mark zero. But if these semi-lenses are moved along the line of division, the single image becomes two; each of which moves with the motion of the lens which forms it. Hence, when contact has past at ingress and Venus has gone actually in upon the sun's disc, one image of the planet may be carried back to touch the second image of the sun's limb. And this will be specially valuable in earlier stages of contact, and may be repeated several times. While, still further to insure against possible error, an eyepiece has been devised to correct the dispersive power of the atmosphere in observing the sun at such low altitudes as are necessary in this case.

Also, as we have already seen, the method devised by Halley will be used, where possible, at even English stations, under the name of "The Method of Durations"—that is, an accurate observation of the time interval between ingress and egress will be made.

But that which will specially distinguish this observation of the transit of Venus, will be the employment of photography as an important instrument in approaching to absolute precision in this most interesting problem. The earliest celestial photograph ever taken was that of the moon in 1840, by Dr. J. W. Draper, of New York. From that time to this the whole science and art of celestial photography has arisen; and has become of such value

to physical and mathematical astronomy as it is impossible to overrate. A remarkable instance of its value now lies before us in the July number of the *Notices* of the Royal Astronomical Society; where a structure detected by Mr. Raynard on all the negatives of the photographs of the eclipse of 1871 is shown; and which there is a very high probability is the photograph of a comet—faint, though large—near to perihelion at the time of the eclipse, and which would never have been known to exist, if it had not by its own light portrayed its presence, and to a large extent its form. But so recent are the triumphs of this wonderful art, that its introduction as an agent in the coming expeditions was an afterthought, and was not a part of the earliest project. To Mr. De la Rue we, as a nation, are largely indebted for its employment in the British expedition; although in working out the details there have been many able coadjutors. But when it was decided that the photographic method should be employed, it was pointed out by Mr. Proctor that a station in Northern India would be of great advantage for comparing the work done at it with that which might be accomplished at our southern stations. Acknowledging the value of this suggestion, the Astronomer Royal took steps for securing it: and it is now agreed that Roorkee shall be occupied by a British expedition chiefly for this purpose. The instruments to be employed are based upon the photo-heliograph, so long and successfully used at Kew. It is a large telescope, mounted equatorially, and furnished with clockwork, so as accurately to follow the sun. In this way photographs may be taken at any stage of the transit: and Mr. De la Rue has improved and adapted an apparatus, invented for the purpose by M. Janssen, which may be attached to this instrument for a special purpose. It is an arrangement for taking in succession, on different parts of a revolving plate, at intervals of a second, a series of small photographs of Venus and the contiguous parts of the sun's edge near the time of contact. In this way the entire progress of external and internal contact with all the phenomena of the "black drop" will be made to tell its own tale—depict its own features—and the *time* at which it does so in each case will be accurately known. Every effort has been made to use means to prevent shrinkage of the collodion; and by the dry-plate process, which it is now

decided is to be employed, this may be disregarded; so that the actual transit may be, in fact, in some of its most important features, studied at home, when all the excitement of the occasion has passed away.

We have thus indicated the more prominent methods of observation, and some of the details of their employment in the study and solution of this great problem. We shall now summarise the distribution of the observing parties as sent out by the several nations.

The English expeditions will consist first of three observing parties in the Sandwich Islands, for the observation of accelerated ingress—one situated at Honolulu, another at Owhyhee, and a third at Atooi. Here Captain Tupman, the moving spirit and master of the whole enterprise, will be placed with a competent staff; and photography will be specially relied on for determining the moment of ingress.

Retarded ingress will be observed at Kerguelen Island, where the Rev. S. J. Perry will take the command. No attempt will now be made by this party to land at Heard Island, but there will be two observing stations on the Island of Kerguelen and another at Rodriguez. In these southern stations the whole transit is visible, and photographs of ingress and egress, as well as of the chord of transit, will be taken.

At New Zealand a station will be occupied at Christ Church, for accelerated egress, when Major H. Palmer will be chief.

At Cairo retarded egress will be specially observed, with Captain C. O. Brown, R.A., in command; who has given strong reasons for choosing this in preference to Alexandria: and intends also to plant an observing station near the site of ancient Thebes.

The Indian station at Roorkee for photographic purposes in the observation of retarded egress will be well occupied and furnished with every requisite in the interests, it appears, of Delisle's method. Then the observatories at Madras, Melbourne, Sydney, and the Cape of Good Hope will be able to render most efficient service; and the Colonial Governments have provided grants for the purpose, so that no opportunity will be neglected. Beside all this, of course there are vast questions of detail to be worked out for the successful accomplishment of the objects in view, such, for instance, as the preparation of suitable huts for observing, and suitable housings to dwell in, and

competent provision for a prolonged stay in some of the most desolate quarters on the whole surface of the globe. But all this has been carried out with an efficiency which reflects credit on all concerned. The outlay sanctioned by Parliament is £15,000. But in addition to this there is a private expedition equipped by Lord Lindsay, which will occupy the Mauritius. The observations will be chiefly compared with those made in Siberia, and all the most important methods will be employed. Photography is splendidly provided for; and the heliometer will be used by this party as by Russia—an instrument not provided in the English official expeditions.

The Americans will occupy a noble place in this great enterprise. Their Government grant is £80,000. On account of the more favourable meteorological chances of the North, they will occupy three Northern Stations—Wladivostock, in Siberia; Tien-tsin, in China, and probably Nagasaki, in Japan. In the South from the position of America, the vessel taking her expeditions will endeavour to land a party at the Crozet Islands, one of the excellent Halleyan stations pointed out by Mr. Proctor; she will leave another at Kerguelen Island; from thence she will go with a third to Hobart Town, Tasmania; another party will also be put down at Bluff Harbour, in New Zealand; and one more in Chatham Island.

The photographic apparatus employed by American astronomers differs very much in detail from that employed by the English, the Russians, and the Germans, and in this there is doubtless an advantage. Each American station will be provided with a photographic telescope, an observing telescope of five inches aperture, mounted equatorially; a transit instrument, and an astronomical clock. They will rely chiefly on photography, and their stations all admit of the use of the method devised by Halley.

The Russians naturally occupy their own Siberian stations. It is possible that some little service may be rendered at Kazan, Nicolaïf, Charkof, Odessa, and even Moscow. But apart from these there are to be twenty-six stations; but of these only the following will be supplied with a complete equipment of observers and instruments, viz.: Wladivostock, Port Possiet, Lake Hanka, Nertschinsk, Khita, Kiachta, Tachkent, Port Peroffski, Fort Uralsk, Aschura-deh, and Erivan. These stations will be furnished with astronomers, who are prepared by work

with the artificial transit, and who are furnished with excellent equatorials with clockwork motion, a heliometer, or a photographic apparatus. The other stations are to be provided with good observing telescopes, and the remainder merely with small instruments. At eleven of the stations both ingress and egress will be seen, so that the Halleyan method may be employed; and at the remainder of the stations they will be chiefly concerned with retarded egress. M. Struve also has visited this country, as well as others, that comparisons might be made and greater accuracy secured.

The stations chosen by the French are Campbell and St. Paul's Islands, Houmea, Pekin, Yokohama, and Saigon. M. Janssen goes to the Yokohama station, and this station in connection with St. Paul's will be almost perfect for the Halleyan method. But great care is to be taken in the finding of longitudes; so that if only ingress or egress can be observed the Delisle method may be employed. It is also an important matter that the French photographs will be taken by the Daguerreotype process, ensuring delicacy and avoiding the difficulties possible to the shrinkage of the film employed in other methods. The parties at St. Paul's and Campbell Islands—placed as they will be on islands of desolation—are furnished with fuel and provisions for six months. Originally the sum granted was 800,000 francs; but this is to be considerably augmented; and there may certainly be excellent results anticipated from this national effort.

Finally, the Dutch are sending out an admirably equipped expedition to the island of Réunion. It is to be provided with a very fine heliometer and a photo-heliograph by Dallmeyer, like those used by England; and two excellent refractors for observation. They will also be furnished with meteorological instruments and all apparatus necessary for finding longitude and time.

On the whole, therefore, we cannot but be gratified at the careful and elaborate efforts and preparations made by all the great civilised countries of the globe to observe this comparatively insignificant celestial phenomenon. The preparations may certainly be pronounced competent to the present requirements of science, and are proofs of the firm and wide-spread influence which the truest civilisation has upon our race. The results of the observations it is impossible to foresee, chiefly arising from the contingency of

weather. But it may be fairly anticipated that accuracy to within a fraction of a second of time may be expected; and, although probably we may have a year or two to wait for the results of the very elaborate calculations which will be based on the coming observations, the probability is very high that the sun's absolute distance will be known to within a comparatively few thousand miles. Further corrections will probably be made in the subsequent observation that will be instituted in the transit of 1882; and then, unless some new and unexpected method presents itself in the interval, the world must wait for still more accurate knowledge, until the transit of Venus in 2004.

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**ART. V.—*Hellas und Rom*. [A Popular View of the Public and Private Life of the Greeks and Romans. Part I. Rome under the Antonines.] Von Dr. ALBERT FORBIGER. Leipzig: Fues. 1874.**

It is not our purpose to review at length this elaborate work, partly because it is unfinished, and partly because it is so vast and indeed bewildering in its variety, that any such design would necessarily be futile. The work itself is not novel in its idea; it belongs to the class of archaeological and antiquarian books which throw their matter into the form of personal narrative or personal description. Dr. Forbiger introduces us to a young Greek in the age of the Antonines who visits Rome, and records his researches and his observations. The Greek is exceedingly dull; but, as volume after volume proceeds, the author contrives through him to tell us almost everything that is known or is likely ever to be known about the condition of the earlier Roman commonwealth and the first empire. When completed the work will be an invaluable companion to all histories. We had been reading the last volume of Dr. Merivale when it was put into our hands, and found his closing chapter on Marcus Aurelius as a philosophic emperor and persecutor of the Christians doubly valuable when the light of Dr. Forbiger's chapters on the religion of Rome at that era was thrown upon it. We shall give much of the substance of these chapters, hoping that the entire work will reach its natural termination and be translated.

The chapters to which we limit ourselves for the present connect the subject with Christianity, and introduce us at once to the philosophical emperor:—

“The festal sacrifice mentioned in the previous chapter in connection with the triumph, and the religious ceremonies observed, lead me to speak of the religious cultus of the Romans as a whole, and to incorporate some description of a public day of sacrifice. The State religion in the Roman empire is, of course, still the old Italian Polytheism, but enlarged essentially by contact with Greece, and more lately with Oriental elements, especially Egyptian. All the highly educated Romans, instructed by the writings and

lectures of the philosophers, have long tended to favour the belief in one divinity as Creator and Ruler of the universe, therein agreeing with the religion of the Jewish people, and Christianity which proceeded from Judæa about a century and a half ago. This Christianity, in spite of many persecutions, especially under the Emperor Nero, has been constantly extending, which indeed is not according to the mind of our monarch, who speaks very unfavourably of the Christians. He does not oppose their persecution, which, however, excites my astonishment in some measure, since the doctrine of the Christians, so far as I have had opportunity of studying them, far better harmonises with the religious views of so devout, noble, and philanthropic a prince than any other religious system. But it is probable that the conscientious monarch follows out rather his governmental obligations than his personal convictions; and thinks that, so long as Polytheism is the State religion, and the whole fabric of the State is so inwardly bound up with it, it is his duty not to give any advantage to a religion the progress of which seems fitted to overthrow the whole constitution of the State, indeed, to annihilate the State itself, as being utterly opposed to the worship of the gods, and bent upon exterminating faith in them. So at least I am inclined to interpret the disinclination of the emperor to a system which I confess we do not yet fully understand. As Pontifex Maximus, or high priest, himself, to whom is committed the conduct of all religious affairs, and whose dignity as such is vitally connected with the throne, he could not possibly favour the Christian cause. On this account he follows most conscientiously the prescriptions, and observes most accurately the ceremonies of the old State religion, and with careful fidelity cherishes all ancient customs."

Marcus Aurelius is one of the most striking characters in history, and one of the most difficult to the historian, especially the Christian historian. In the chronology of the Church he marks the epoch when heathenism put forth its last and best effort to maintain itself against the new faith. In the person of the emperor it played, so to speak, against the new philosophy its best move, or rather threw down the gauntlet of its last defiance. After him heathenism had no more than it could do. But the virtue of Aurelius was a very faint reflection of the virtue of the Gospel. It was not irradiated by the light of the future, and lacked the inexpressible beauty which the glory of the other world gives to religion. And it failed in conscientious accomplishment of its own objects and attainment of its own aims. It is the glory of the Christian faith that it shows to man the way of a sure and uninterrupted communion with God: to this the philosophic emperor aspired,



but never reached it. Before proceeding with our author we must enrich our pages with some of the best sentences on the subject to be found in our own language. They are among the concluding sentences of *Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire* :—

“Of the feelings and character of the imperial philosopher, a deeply interesting portraiture is left us in the memorials of his private meditations. Amidst the toils and terrors of the Marcomannic war, in the camp or the military station, on the banks of the Danube or the slopes of the Carpathians, Aurelius snatched a few hours from his labours to question his conscience on the discharge of his duties, to confirm himself in the precepts of philosophy, to fortify his soul against the troubles of the world and the dread of death. The records of that self-examination extend to twelve books, each containing numerous remarks or maxims, generally unconnected, involving manifold repetitions, and presenting thoughts of very different value; but all tending to establish the broad principles of the Stoic philosophy, as then-thought and understood. Aurelius had imbibed the learning of Rusticus, of Sextus the son of Plutarch, and of Apollonius, of whom we have no special knowledge; but of the sage Epictetus, whom he most studied and admired, some remains have been collected by which his own position among the best and wisest of the ancients is established, and which disclose the true basis of the imperial philosophy. The point of interest in these works is the place they hold between the teaching of the earlier philosophers and that of the revivalists of the third century. The time had come for a strong reaction towards positive belief. The heathen mythology had drawn with it in its fall the principles even of natural religion. But this decline had reached its limits. In default of a better system, mythology itself might again rear its head. We have already noticed symptoms, faint and transient, perhaps, of such an impending restoration. Even had the revelation of Christianity not been made, the Nemesis of unbelief would doubtless have raised some objects on the surface of the whelming waters, were they but straws, to clutch at; and the abortive efforts of Augustus and Domitian towards a ritualistic revival, show the direction in which the tide of opinion or sentiment was setting. But, already in the second century, the positive teaching of the Christians had reanimated religious speculation beyond its immediate circle, and we may trace in Epictetus and his imperial admirer the effects of a moral movement which it will not be unjust to ascribe, at least in part, to the influence of St. Paul and his Master. Both Epictetus and Aurelius recognise fully the personal existence of Deity; neither the concrete divinities of heathen legend, on the one hand, nor any single and infinite existence on the other, but rather a multitude of

abstract essences, the nature and distinctions of which are wholly beyond the scope of human definition. This cordial belief in God as a moral intelligence is a step decidedly in advance of Seneca, and amounts, indeed, almost to a negation of the fundamental article of the older Porch, the pre-eminence of a blind and soulless fate. There is some advance, indeed, in Aurelius beyond Epictetus; the pupil is wiser than the master, and seems to arrive at a genuine conviction of a moral providence. Nevertheless, on one important point, both the one and the other have fallen behind Seneca. Their hold of the doctrine of a future life appears even fainter than his. Epictetus, indeed, hardly ventures to regard it at all; Aurelius, more hopeful, more loving, more ardent, seems to cherish the fond aspiration, though he dares not assert it as a dogma. But for this apparent falling off, a sufficient reason may be assigned. The later Stoics had attained a clearer idea of the personality of God, with a higher conception of His greatness and purity. He could not rest in the Pantheism of an earlier age; immortality, in their view, must be personal and individual, if it exist at all. But the temper of the age, as of every age of declining civilisation, was deeply infected with the principles of materialism; it required faith in the specific dogma of the Christian resurrection to allay its feverish distrust in a future state of being. In the next century, the mellow Stoicism of these amiable enthusiasts was supplanted, in turn, by the new Platonism, which advanced from the faint apprehension of a personal Deity to a grasp of His attributes and nature; which embraced a distinct belief in the emanation of the soul from Him, and yearned for a reunion with Him. The errors of the Alexandrian school, fantastic as they were, served to prepare mankind for the reception of the Gospel. Thus it was that philosophy and religion at last united on the solid ground of an intelligent faith in God. On this ground was raised the structure of the Athanasian theology. The clouds and fogbanks of Plotinus and Porphyry, of Julian and Libanius, were replaced by the enduring fabric of the doctrine of the Christian Trinity."

To the enthusiast, through whose eyes Dr. Forbiger beheld the emperor, everything pertaining to him was stamped with a peculiar dignity. He had the privilege of beholding Aurelius both in public and private, and gives his impressions at great length. Our readers will remember, of course, that these impressions are simply reproductions of the testimonies of the times. The philosophic emperor was the very opposite of his predecessor as to external magnificence; he was attended only by a few servants and clients, like an ordinary senator, distinguished only by the purple toga. His aspect, when our informant saw him—he was then forty-three years old—was sickly,

and with a fixed unchangeable look that at first glance revealed the vigorous Stoical philosophy. However condescending his greetings to those whom he met on his way to the senate, and however affable to the crowds who dispersed everywhere and closed up again without giving his *anteambulones* any trouble, no smile was seen to play about his compressed lips, and his features bore the impress of domestic trouble and State care. Dr. Forbiger does not make his observer suspect any other secret of the emperor's depression. But we cannot forget that the influence of Christianity was upon him, and that he could not be otherwise than oppressed by the terrible controversy between his proud spirit—for it was proud—and the humbling appeals of the Gospel of Christ. Nor can we suppose it possible that the emperor who persecuted many whom he must have regarded as the very best specimens of goodness in the world could have any rest in his soul. But there is a remarkable absence of data for the formation of a judgment: the emperor's silence on these points, however, itself gives us some ground for our judgment.

That he was, with all his goodness, a persecutor, there can be no doubt, a persecutor, that is, not only by State necessity but by vindictive enmity, to the Christian faith. His predecessor, Antoninus, had been solicitous to protect the Christians. But Aurelius resented Christianity as an outrage on a national faith, which however he did not, he could not, himself hold. As Dr. Merivale says:—

“These august shadows had nerved the arms of a line of heroes; these potent names had swayed the imperator in the field, and the consul in the senate house. They existed at least in the realities they had effected, in the deeds they had produced, in the resolutions they had inspired. Under their influence the empire had waxed and flourished; the actual crisis of her fortunes was not the moment to test their value by a wanton defiance. The firmness of the Christians seemed to Aurelius strange and unnatural. He scanned it as a marvel, before he resented it as a crime. In another generation the emperors will cease to reason or reflect on the phenomenon at all. The increasing disasters of the State will seem to them, as they seemed already to the multitudes, a proof of the anger of the gods against the most formidable enemies of Olympus.”

Be that as it may, Aurelius was a gloomy and fanatical persecutor of men whose principles were, as he well knew, as pure at least as his own. The blood of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, and Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna in the East,

and of Pothinus, Ponticus, and Blandina, at Lyons in the West, must have tormented his conscience. It was not simply that he had continued a persecution begun by others; he had deliberately ordered or allowed the edicts of Trajan and Hadrian, which forbade the Christians to be sought out, to be abrogated. It must be added, however, that perhaps the signs of sadness on the emperor's countenance indicated the beginnings of repentance. Certain it is that in his latter days his sentiments became somewhat more tolerant. It is impossible to say whether the contempt of a successful emperor was the reason of this, or what measure of compassion entered into it. A Christian tradition says that after the success of the Christians' prayers against the Quadi, the emperor checked the persecution. Traditions of that century are not to be trusted; but it is past doubt that the persecution lessened rather than increased, and it is probable that the natural tenderness of the emperor grew ashamed of a cruelty which his philosophical pride forbade him to repent of and confess.

Whatever Marcus Aurelius was, he fairly represented the religion of Rome: whether as the representative Pontifex of its mere ceremonial, or the philosophical representative of the creed that lay beneath it. As to the Roman State religion itself, we have a long and very instructive chapter, some of the leading points of which may be summed up. The beliefs of the older inhabitants of Italy, before they came into nearer contact with the Greeks, were hard, colourless, and devoid of poetry. They did little more than take the abstract forces of nature, in their endless variety of forms, and honour them as divinities, which, however, they denoted merely by symbols, without picturing to the eyes any image of them, however rude. Jupiter was denoted by symbols of power, such as a flint; Mars by a spear; Vesta by a tongue of flame. The number of the gods and goddesses was amazing, surpassed in no superstition ever known; if, that is, account is taken of the legions of names given to the presiding and protecting deities who were invoked as connected with every function and every development of life. Hence no one god was appealed to in prayer without some reference of a more general kind to all other gods; just as the saving clause was added, in connection with every particular name, "or however else thou art known."

There were not always among the Romans these multitudes of "gods many and lords many." The ancient Latins reckoned Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, probably Faunus, then Jana (or Diana), Juno, Ops, and Vesta; to whom were added, after the union with the Sabines, the deities Quirinus, Sancus, Sol, Luna, Flora, Salus, Fortuna, and Minerva. Janus, who was undoubtedly the Sun-god, was gradually absorbed by the Jupiter common to both stems, who became the supreme god and guardian of the entire people, Janus being remembered only in connection with the gates which were opened in time of war, and shut in time of peace. Jana, the Moon-goddess, entirely disappeared in Diana, doubtless no other than Dea Jana contracted. The others continued to be honoured under the old names, although the cultus of some of them, such as Sancus and Ops, almost lost all its significance. These ancient gods were later distinguished as the home-gods (*indigetes*) and the gods brought from abroad (*novensiles*)—gods, that is, received from the subjected states. This distinction laid the foundation for the tolerance of the Romans towards foreign worship; in every case, that is, in which such worship did not come into antagonism with the State religion, as the Christian religion did. Rome provided that every sojourner within its walls might worship after his own fashion, so long as his religion was Polytheistic. There was some distinction, however, as to locality, in earlier times. The home-gods were honoured within the old city; those of the Latins on the Palatine; those of the Sabines on the Quirinal. The foreign gods were located in places outside the *Pomœrium*; and most of these had their own special *flamens*, or priests. Thus there was in ancient Rome something like the Court of the Gentiles; but with this immense difference, that into that Court every nation and every man might bring his own god.

The effect of this benevolence towards foreign religious ideas may be traced, not only in the Sabine incorporations, but in the Greek, which amounted to a complete reconstruction, and afterwards in the glorious revolution effected by Christianity—received, though not tolerated. The Greek influence dates back to Tarquinius Priscus. From that time symbols ceased to suffice; statues were formed after Greek models, at first of wood; then more stately temples were built, and bloody sacrifices were introduced,

which were not in use in the time of Numa, when offerings included only fruits, meal mixed with salt (*mola salsa*), with milk and wine. To two acts of Tarquinius Superbus may be attributed an essential revolution in the service of the deities. First, the union of the community of Rome, hitherto divided as to religion, by the erection of the temple on the Capitol, consecrated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as the common sanctuary of the whole people, to which every citizen had access; before this the Patricians alone might take part in the public service, and the Plebeians were excluded. Secondly, the collection of Sibylline books, which, in his time, were arranged and deposited in the Capitoline Temple. These were prophecies which came mainly from Asia Minor, composed in Greek hexameters; and by these means not only were many Asiatic Greek divinities added to the number of the old Latin, with new cultus after Greek fashion, but also the direction of divine worship was taken out of the hands of Patrician priests and committed to the State. In fact, religion was made a national concern: at all times of public pressure and distress the Sibylline books were consulted for the adoption of those special expiations which the old priestly ceremonial did not include.

These books were so-called from one of the many Sibyls (prophetesses) of antiquity. They were kept secret as books of destiny, the preservation and consultation of which were committed to a college of fifteen priests (*XV-viri sacris faciundis*). The way in which Tarquinius came into possession of them is the subject of a curious legend. A strange old woman came to him—held to be that Sibylla of Cumæ, in Lower Italy, celebrated by Virgil in the *Æneid*—and offered him nine books of oracles for three hundred pieces of gold. This price the king declined. Three of the books she then burned; offering the remainder for the same price. This caused her to be reckoned mad. Thereupon she delivered three more to the flames, and quietly asked the king whether he was willing to give the original sum for the remaining three. Astonished at the obstinacy and assurance of the woman, the king asked of his seers what he should do, and these declared that he had scorned a gift sent of the gods, and that his not having bought all the books was an irreparable loss. He accepted the remainder, with the woman's urgent injunction to preserve them carefully; she thereupon vanished. Apart

from legend, however, these books were the means of introducing the Romans to a closer knowledge of Greek religion. New gods were added, such as Apollo, Pluto (or Dis), Mercury, Neptune, Vulcan, Æsculapius, Diana, Latona, Ceres, Proserpine, Cybele, or Mater Magna, and Venus. The worship of Mars, Saturn, and Hercules was transformed according to the Greek rite. Statues of these gods were placed in the Capitoline Temple, executed in marble, and with a taste growing ever more polished through the influence of Greek models. It may be added that the original books were burnt, but replaced and committed to the Temple of Apollo.

A peculiar modification of Roman worship was also brought from Greece, the *Lectisternium*. On occasion of solemn sacrifice the statue of the god was placed on a couch (*lectus* or *pulvinar*), with a table placed before it covered with food, in order that the deity might partake of the offering. This distinction, however, was conferred only on the more eminent gods; and always two were placed together, a male and female, thus gradually introducing the Greek system of twelve deities: Jupiter and Juno, Neptune and Minerva, Mars and Venus, Apollo and Diana, Vulcan and Vesta, Mercury and Ceres. These twelve chief Olympic divinities, called the *Consentes*, with some others selected from the residue, such as Janus, Saturn, Rhea, Pluto, Bacchus, Sol, and Luna, were called *Dii majorum gentium*, as distinguished from the mass of the *Dii minorum gentium*, the best known of whom were Æolus, Plutus, Somnus, Mors, Triton, Nereus, Pan, Faunus, Fortuna, Themis, Nemesis, the *Parcæ*, the Muses, and so forth. All these were from Greece, their names being simply Latinised; and thus the Roman religion became almost entirely a creation of heathen Greece, even as it afterwards succumbed to Greece Christian. With the *Lectisternium* was closely connected the great national Supplication, taught by the Sibylline books as essential in all times of distress. These great days of national humiliation were afterwards the most remarkable feature of the Roman religion.

The *Sacrum Populare*, or public religious ceremonial in which all classes participated, was a very imposing scene, and a remarkable combination of the noblest and the most degraded exhibitions of the religious instinct of mankind. At times of great danger—when the three grim terrors of

destiny, war, and pestilence and famine, tried the endurance even of the Romans to the utmost—it was customary for the emperor to summon the people to visit all the temples with their prayers of deprecation. Those three calamities were once united in the days of Marcus Aurelius, and a nine-days' fast of devotion was ordained. The number of days was not fixed by any rule; it varied from one day to fifty. On the first day of the solemnity there was a procession, such as no other land ever witnessed: old and young, men and women, freeborn and freedmen, citizens and countrymen, blended in equality. The stately and gloomy procession started from the temple of Apollo on the western side of the Capitol: Apollo was indeed unknown to the earlier Romans, but the Sibylline books had given him a position which made ample compensation for earlier neglect. It passed on to the Forum, and finally to the temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine. Three choirs of nine virgins each sang a hymn to this goddess, whose statue was brought up behind them. The XVviri followed, crowned with laurel, and clothed in the *toga prætexta*. Then came the miscellaneous multitude, generally crowned with laurel, or at least with a twig of it in their hands; the women, however, with dishevelled hair, barefoot, and in ungirt garments. Having reached the Forum, the procession halted; the virgins, having a rope passing through their hands in common, executed a peculiarly graceful dance, keeping time to their chant. When the procession went on again and reached the temple of Juno, the XVviri uttered the solemn formula of obsecration before the multitude, which, mostly kneeling, uttered it after them. Two white cows were offered; the statues were placed in the temple, and the enormous multitude dispersed in order to offer their various private devotions in the several temples which all on this occasion were thrown open, presenting their sacrifices, the wine and incense of which were provided at the cost of the State. At this point we shall give an extract, which will show the elaborate diligence of the author, and illustrate the great advantage of his work to the student, every statement being confirmed by due references. It will also suggest a remarkable parallel with later times, which indeed is one main reason for quoting it.

“The common procedure at a *Sacrum Populare* was as follows:—After bathing in running water, and pulling on clean, freshly washed



and white garments, and crowning himself, the worshipper dipped his hands yet again in the water-vessels found at the entrance of every temple, and entered the precincts with lowered head and reverent silence: the silence was imposed upon all after the cry of the herald, *Favete linguis*, or Guard your tongues! in order that the ceremonial might not suffer any such interruption as would involve the necessity of a special atonement, *piaculare*. The more devout fall down even outside the temple, kiss its threshold, and move along on their knees to the image of the god, upon whose countenance, and hands and feet they lavish kisses. The sacrifice, which commences to the sound of the flute, must be in everything pure; the vessels, as well as the animals, must be spotless, sound, and fat, and therefore are strictly tested before the altar. The victims for sacrifice, male for the gods, and female for the goddesses, are divided into two kinds: the greater (*victimæ*), that is, cattle; and less (*lactentes* or *hostiæ*), that is, sheep usually, or sometimes calves, goats, and swine. The cultus of every god prescribes accurately for the selection of the offerings; the ritual books of the Pontifices regulate every usage; and all prescriptions must be most accurately observed. Prayer precedes every sacrifice, uttered by the priest, and repeated by the sacrificer. No prayer, however, was offered in the Romish rite with covered head; the toga is drawn over the head as a veil, that nothing may be presented to the eye which might disturb devotion. Our Greek rite, on the contrary, appoints prayer with uncovered head, and standing throughout the ceremony, with hands uplifted to heaven, and eyes fixed on the east and the altar and image of the divinity, which is always in the eastern part of the temple; sometimes, however, kneeling and embracing the altar bedecked with garlands and wreaths, and bound round with bandages of wool. When prayer is ended, the victim, crowned and adorned, is led by the Pops, or slayer of the sacrifice, himself crowned with laurels, naked to the shoulders and breast, and arrayed only in a purple garment, to the altar of incense with a slack rope. At this altar, festally adorned, the victim is consecrated: that is, the priest anoints its head with a mixture of spring water and wine, offering some wine to the offerer (*libatio*); sprinkles its forehead with the meal and salt (*mola salsa*), cuts off a little of the hair of the forehead, and throws it into the altar flame. He now declares it, drawing the sacrificial knife swiftly from the forehead downwards, to be consecrated, by the words *Macta est*; whereupon the Pops comes forward and cries *Agone!* and, receiving the answer *Hoc age!* fells the animal with a blow, which is followed by the cutting of the throat. The blood is received in basins, and, mixed with wine and meal, poured out upon and around the altar, on which already the burning incense has overspread its vapour. The victim is now placed on the sacrificial table, suffused with wine and incense, cut up by the *cultrarius*, and the entrails, especially

the liver, heart, and lungs, carefully taken out with long knives (*secespitæ*), as it is forbidden to touch them with the fingers. Then all is inspected by the *haruspices* or *extispices*, to ascertain whether healthy or free from flaw; for, if this is not the case, another victim (*succedanea hostia*) must be brought. For this emergency, a second, third, sometimes a fourth was required to be ready. In case, however, there was no such reserve—as when animals were scarce, or the offerer poor—there was another expedient. The gods might be supposed to take the will for the deed, the appearance for the reality; the offerer buys of the *fictores*, or bakers, figure made of dough or wax, and presents it. During the testing of the entrails, there was a second libation and more intense, and the burning on the altar of the sacrificial *liba*, or food, or *ferctum*. If the entrails are pronounced pure, they are laid in baskets, and meal and wine and incense are poured over them; they are carried three times round the altar by the priests, and then burnt upon it, whilst the gods are invited to a gracious acceptance of the sacrifice. If the smoke and fat vapours ascend peacefully and straight upwards, the sacrifice is regarded as one acceptable to the divinity.

“Then follows the solemn adoration. That is, the priest goes round the altar with hands uplifted to heaven, throwing kisses meanwhile to the figure of the divinity. He praises the gods, invoking their help; always Janus first, then the divinities to whom the sacrifice is specially brought, and lastly Vesta. He then turns round to the right; and, bending to those present, lays the forefinger of his right hand on his mouth, and takes his seat. The sacrifice is thus declared to be over, and the congregation, after one more libation, are dismissed with the customary *Ilicet*, or Depart. But usually after the sacrifice there is a sacrificial feast, at which the priest, with the offerers of the sacrifices, on private occasions, and their families and invited friends, partake. At such times all the sacrificial meat is consumed, which otherwise belongs to the priest and the offerers. This is generally the course with bloody offerings; but in other respects, and in individual details, there are many differences to be noted between private and public sacrifices, and among the latter themselves.

“The chief public sacrifice is the Hecatomb: that is, a sacrifice of a hundred cattle or smaller animals, such as sheep and swine, on an equal number of altars built of rasin. Differences may be observed between the sacrifices presented to the higher gods, and those presented to the lower gods, that is, the divinities of the underworld, such as Pluto and Proserpine. For the former the offerers must have washed in running water, for the latter a sprinkling is enough; for the former white garments are demanded, for the latter dark, even as the respective victims must be of colours similarly diversified, punctiliousness on this point being carried so far that a dark spot must be obliterated by a white. For the upper

gods the animals are felled by a blow from above, for the lower from below; in the former case the blood is sprinkled on the altar, in the latter poured into a pit; in the former the entrails are burnt, in the latter the whole animal, because it is forbidden to taste of anything devoted to the underworld; in the former prayer is made with uplifted hands, in the latter with hands depressed and feet beating the ground; finally, in the former case the vessel of the libation is held in the open hand, in the latter the vessel is turned to the left and thrown into the altar-flame."

But with the remainder of the description we must deal more summarily. Many simpler and unbloody oblations were brought on such occasions: wine, milk, honey, incense, fruits, and cakes; the incense being presented by the rich in heaps, by the poor in solitary grains, thrown into the fire in both cases by three darts of the finger. Such oblations were brought especially by the people of the country, and to an altar erected in the open air. But, after all, the bloody sacrifices were predominant as it were by an eternal instinct to which the Romans were never strangers, but which the Greeks had been the instrument of more expressly evoking.

It remains to distinguish two classes of sacrifice: the *Sacra Publica*, ordained by the State for State exigency, and at the public cost; and *Sacra Privata*, offered by individuals and families at their private cost, though still under the supervision of the State, and of course less stately, though adopting generally the same rite. The private sacrifices were distributed into three classes: first, those which were presented by private individuals; then family oblations, which the *paterfamilias*, in the name of the persons of one household, presented to its tutelary divinities, the *Lares*, *Penates*, and *Genii*; lastly, the gentile offerings, which were presented for an entire gens, embracing many families, by a *flamen* or priest selected from their number, in his own chapel or *sacellum*, to its tutelary deity, which took a cognomen from it; for example, *Hercules Julianus*, *Diana Valeriana*, *Fortuna Flavia*, and so forth. There were, however, some *Sacra Gentilicia* which the State committed to certain gentes, and which therefore formed a kind of transition to the first class, or the *Sacris Publicis*. Rather, these were public sacrifices, in which the administration of the solemnities was entrusted, not so much to a single gens, but to a fraternity including strangers (*sodalitium* or *collegium*): this was

specially the case in the introduction of any new cult, in which the first members of the community were usually strangers or foreigners who brought the cult to Rome with them.

This naturally leads back to the historical view of the changes introduced into Roman religion by intercourse with other nations besides the Greeks. When the East was subjugated the Romans were in a remarkable manner fascinated by the mystical and theosophic ideas of the conquered nations. Just at the time when it had begun to have faith in its own ancient divinities, and the later Greek ceremonial had begun to lose its attraction, the Oriental revolution was introduced, thus, as we doubt not, paving the way for Christianity, the best of all Oriental mysticism. Egypt, as of old, exerted its influence. The Egyptian divinities, especially Isis, swayed the minds of the people, especially the women. The mysteries of this worship were gross, and the State at first condemned it, even destroying those chapels of Isis which had become the secret shrines of lust. In vain, however; for private chapels were everywhere built, and after Otho and Domitian even public temples at the public expense. This Egyptian worship overspread the country. Apart from its foreign and unholy ceremonial, there was something in it that strangely appealed to the mystical feeling after Divine things in man. It drew many by the pretence of gratifying the desire to know God and the principles of gnosis: even Aurelius himself was not proof against the fascination. Besides Isis, the Syrian goddess, and Mithras of the Persians, forced an entrance, and originated a very earnest ceremonial. It may be said of all these Oriental forms of worship which were naturalised in Rome that, notwithstanding their offensiveness in many respects, they rested upon a monotheistic foundation, invited to a clearer and better view of the Divine nature, and, by the enforcement of penitence and moral purification, accomplished more in the minds of those who escaped the concomitant pollutions than the Greek worship had accomplished. But, as it regards the generality of the people, the effect of this wholesale and most heterogeneous congregation of faiths and worships was such as to lead to a total disregard and contempt of religion in every form.

The holy places of the Romans next claim attention. At first, before statues of the gods were formed, offerings were

presented in the open air, in high places, in groves or under individual trees. The buildings which gradually were constructed were first very simple, of wood or reeds, and covered with straw. By degrees stone was substituted: the place where the image of the god stood being covered in, and the forecourt exposed and supported by pillars. In time only the finest marble was used; sculpture and painting contributed their decoration; and the temples became the finest buildings in the city. As the gods multiplied their dwellings increased, until they were to be seen in all parts, and on the Capitol and Forum literally adjoined each other. Choice was made of each divinity of spots most suitable for his special worship. Hence Mercury, as the god of traffic, had his temples near the market-places; Apollo and Bacchus, in the neighbourhood of theatres; Hercules, near the gymnasium and circus; Isis and Serapis, by harbour and landing-places; Mars, by military exercise grounds. Originally, the temples of Mars, Vulcan, Venus, and Ceres were built only outside of the city: those of Vulcan to save them from fire, those of Venus to conceal from youth their profligacy, those of Ceres because her secret service required retired places. For Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the three protecting divinities of the city, the most prominent places were chosen, from which the whole population might be overlooked. The characteristics of the gods worshipped were more or less consulted in the style of the architecture. For instance, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian styles were much affected. The first was thought to be fitted, by its severe and simple character, for the worship of Minerva, Mars, and Hercules; the last, by its beauty and grace, for Venus, Flora, Proserpine, and the Nymphs; while the Ionic style, as intermediate, was reserved for Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Bacchus, and the remaining gods. Hence, again, the temples of Jupiter, the god of thunder, of the Sun-god and of the Moon-goddess, were open in the interior, that the heavens might be seen by the worshipper. As it regards amplitude, there were three classes: there were the vast and magnificent (*templa proper*), the smaller and simpler (*ædes*), and mere chapels (*sacella* or *ædiculæ*). As to the form, this was twofold, angular and round. Instead of following our author in his elaborate account of all the varieties of templar building, in which the Romans surpassed every other nation of all ages, we will give his description in full of a temple that

has a peculiar Christian interest : the temple which Vespasian erected to commemorate the downfall of Jerusalem, and dedicated to Peace.

“ We have already seen at a distance the mighty, beautifully proportioned, and pillared building. We now enter the spacious forecourt (*peribolos*), five hundred Roman paces in circumference, surrounded by a wall, and adorned with a multitude of statues. Our attention is riveted by an unexpected multitude of bronze and marble statues, mostly devout gifts, though many of them came from the gorgeous palace of Nero, which Vespasian had almost entirely abolished. We then direct our glance to the pediment or gable, the height of which is about the ninth part of its breadth, surmounted at both corners by statues, that of *Victoria* being in the middle. The chief charm, however, is the field of the pediment, which exhibits the combat of the *Centaur*s and *Lapithæ* in *Parian* marble of beautiful workmanship. Ascending the five steps of polished granite, we are astonished to see a gallery of statues surrounding the whole temple, which, in two rows behind each other, contains not less than six-and-twenty *Corinthian* statues of marble, forty feet high, and four feet in diameter, the dazzling whiteness of which stands out in beautiful relief against the grey-blue colour of the *Hymettic* marble of the walls. The temple is thus a *Dipterus*, whose front shows sixteen, or twice eight, figures on both ends ; while, on each side, including the statues at the corners, there are twice fifteen. [Every variety of scene is depicted around, the details of which must be spared.] In awe and wonder we enter through the ever-open into the interior of the sanctuary, the door of which demands and repays attention. This is twice as high as broad. Its threshold is of brass, but its plates are of the same marble as the sanctuary, and it is full of scenes of Roman history. The sanctuary is two hundred feet long and one hundred broad ; and there reigns in it a gracious obscurity highly favourable to religious effect. There are no windows, of course ; all the light enters through the opened gate, or through a subtle lattice work, and is just sufficient to exhibit the statuary and paintings, the altar and the statue of the divinity. . . . The pavement of the place is of beautiful mosaic, with a border of flowers ; and the plain roof of cedar-wood reveals the most beautiful carving in the world. At the further wall stands, opposite the entrance door, the four-cornered altar of yellow *Numidian* marble, and behind it, on a basis, the statue of the goddess of Peace, executed by a master hand : a youthful form with a wreath of corn on the beautiful head, a horn of plenty and an olive branch in the hands. Its height, including the pedestal, may be about twenty feet, which helps to appreciate the height of the whole temple, say about fifty feet. The statue

of the god to whom the temple is consecrated, and which, facing the west, is mostly standing, but sometimes sitting, is naturally the chief ornament of the sanctuary. Executed with the utmost art, it is protected by a curtain from the weather and from all defilement. Besides it, however, our Temple of Peace has around the walls twelve others, beautifully wrought, but surpassing the height of a man by only two feet; statues of Jupiter and Themis as the parents, Ennomia and Dike as the sisters, of Peace, besides some others. In short, the temple is so full of beauty, that one cannot tell what to contemplate first; and almost dazzled by so much magnificence, we leave the temple which may vie with the grandest buildings of Greece. Finally, there is another building connected with it, wherein many most costly gifts are preserved, especially the memorable Jewish treasures, and a library of great value."

The number and variety of holy persons and ministering priests in the religion of ancient Rome was without parallel; the Jewish institution was in comparison simplicity itself. Obviously the reason of this was the number of the gods, and of the temples dedicated to their service; as also the remarkable care taken to keep the cult of every deity distinct from that of others. Numa may be regarded as the founder of the whole system; and from his time there had been eight classes of ministers of religion:—the Curiones, Flamines, the Tribunes Celerum, the Augures, the Vestals, Salii, Fetiales and Pontifices. To these were afterwards added the Luperci, Arvales and Sodales Titii; and still later the XV. sacris faciundis and the VIIviri epulones. A distribution of these which should suit the time of the Antonine period would be threefold. First, the great colleges pertaining to the state; the Pontifices, as priests of the original Latin gods and the Roman rite; the XVviri, as priests of foreign gods and the Greek rite; and the Augurs, as priests of Roman divination or prophecy. Secondly, the priests of the Sacra popularia, among whom the Curiones were the most ancient and distinguished. Thirdly, the priests devoted to the Gentile cults, the Sodalitates, among whom the Sodales Augustales, as priests consecrated to the services of deified emperors, took the highest place. The privileges of these orders were great. They wore the toga prætexta, and had high social prerogatives and exemptions. Originally the priests were of ripe age, noble birth, and good life, sound in health, and without any other occupation; but such restrictions were gradually relaxed.

The Pontifex maximus was from the establishment of the Republic the head of the first college; the office was connected with the royal, and afterwards with the imperial function. It was an office of vast responsibility, having almost uncontrolled power over the lower priests and vestals of the college. Under him, and appointed by him, was a remarkable functionary, the Rex sacrorum, whose wife was Regina sacrorum; having the charge of many sacrifices, especially of one in February commemorating the expulsion of the kings. The Flamens were simply the sacrificing priests of particular gods, derived their name from *Filum*, the woollen thread of their head-dress—*filamines*. At the period we refer to there were only three:—the Flamens of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus. The first, or Flamen *Dialis*, was a personage more hemmed in by restrictions than any other. His whole family was set apart to Jupiter; he could remove out of his house only twice in the year, and by permission of the Pontifex Maximus, never being longer than one or two nights absent; his whole life was guarded by a most peculiar superstition; and he was always in full official dignity. His wife, the *Flaminica*, was consecrated to Juno, and she, like her husband, was bound by an infinite variety of petty ordinances. The Flamens of Mars and Quirinus were not such important personages, save on some days of special significance in the service of their respective gods. The College of *Epulones*, composed of seven, had to do originally with the arrangement of the sacrificial feast of Jupiter, and subsequently had all kinds of religious festivity under their charge; they were of somewhat inferior rank, but constantly employed and very popular. The institution of the College of the *Fetiales* was very ancient; it had to do with the sanctities of international covenants, embassies, and wars. The *Fratres Arvales* guarded the religion of the fields; and the institution, of very early origin, had a most interesting year's work to do. Among the *Curiones* or *Sodalitates*, the confraternities of priests dedicated to the religious services of the Tribes and *Curiae*, the *Sodales Augustales* deserve special mention. They originated in the deification of the emperors. After the death of Augustus, the Senate decreed him a temple, with a college of priests for his service. One-and-twenty members belonged to it still in the present period, chosen by lot from the chief men of the State. After the model of this institute,



similar sodalities were established for the honour of emperors more recently deified : *Sodales Titiales*, *Hadrianales*, *Antoniniani*, and, at the period dating our description, *Veriani*. Each deified emperor had his special *Flamen*. The armed and dancing College of *Salii* were the merriest of the priesthood ; enlivening the spring of the year with festivities that commemorated the deliverance of Italy from a plague in the days of *Numa*. The legend runs, that a shield of a peculiar shape fell from heaven, and stayed the plague. That this wonderful pledge of safety might not be stolen, *Numa* had eleven others made of precisely the same pattern, which were committed to the *Salii* of the *Palatine*. The College of the *Quindecimviri* guarded the *Sibylline* books, consulted and expounded them. They also took charge of the newly introduced cult of the Greek gods, especially *Apollo*, the *Mater Magna*, and *Ceres*. They had much to do with religious ceremonials outside of Rome. Thus they were keepers of the oracles, which they transcribed and edited with scrupulous care ; priests of the Greek services ; and general intermediaries between the ceremonial of Rome and that of other lands. Of the *Angurs* we must speak hereafter.

The institution of the *Vestal Virgins* was closely connected with the College of *Pontiffs*, and had its origin with *Numa*, who appointed four vestals ; two having been subsequently added, the number six was definitive. At first patrician, afterwards it was enough that they belonged to free and honourable families, but their parents must be alive and live in Italy. Not less than six years old, and not more than ten, it was necessary that they should be without any corporeal defect. On a vacancy in their number, twenty virgins were brought before the *Pontifex Maximus*, who cast lots. A solemn induction transferred the elected one from her parents to the service of the goddess ; placed in the *Antrium Vestæ*, her hair was cut off, and placed on a lotus tree. Thirty years' service was the limit ; after which she was exonerated and might marry, though that was seldom the case. During the first ten of the thirty years the vestal learned the mystic service ; during the second she practised it ; during the third she taught it to others. Dignity went by age ; the *Virgo Vestalis Maxima* was honoured almost like the empress. Always devoted to virginity, a breach was punished by entombment alive ; no one devoted to the gods being allowed to be put to death.

Suffering the sacred fire to be extinguished was punished by severe castigation at the hands of the Pontifex, or rather his substitute. In compensation of all these sacrifices they enjoyed some high honours; a licitor preceded them when they went out, to whom all, even the consul, gave way. They might make testaments; injury of any kind inflicted on them was punished by death; their company made their companion's person inviolable; and their intercession scarcely ever failed to save from punishment, even availing to relieve a prisoner going to execution whom they accidentally met. They enjoyed much of the confidence of the people, who entrusted them with property and documents to a great extent. Their functions were peculiar. The whole religious cultus of the Romans rested on the basis of family life; and these Vestals were regarded as daughters of the Pontifex Maximus, serving him at the hearth of the State. The most necessary requirements of household life, fire and water, they guarded and hallowed. Watching by turns, they kept the fire eternally on that hearth, once only to be renewed, on the first of March. Its accidental extinction was a prodigy of solemn import; severe punishment followed; and the fire was rekindled by the friction of two sticks. Daily they besprinkled the temple of Vesta with water, drawn from the well of Egeria in pitchers so formed that they could not be laid down. Veiled mysteries they kept in the recesses of the temple—holy objects, especially the Palladium, or pledge of the safety of the State. They daily interceded for the commonwealth. They were clothed in white, and with a diadem on the forehead; at times of sacrifice a long white veil, with purple edges, concealed every vestige of their form.

It will be more interesting to turn to the public and practical uses to which all this ceremonial was put. Religion has its brighter and festal aspect; it has also its darker and more stern aspect. We shall make some observations on both in their order, still keeping very close to Dr. Forbiger as our guide. The Festivals of Ancient Rome may be fitly introduced by a disquisition on the Calendar, which shall be given in our author's own way:—

“The name *Calendarium* (from the word *calare*, to call out) carries us back to the earlier custom of the Romans to summon the people at the beginning of every month, and instruct them by a Pontifex as to the commencement of the month, and the relation of its days. Hence the first day of the month was called *Calendæ*;

the midmost, the fifteenth of March, May, July, and October, the eighteenth of the others, Idus (as it were the divider, from an obsolete *iduo*, to divide); and thence counted back, the ninth was called *Nonas*: the day from which they counted being reckoned in, this was the seventh in those four months, and the fifth in the others. All intervening days were determined by these, reckoning backwards. In the month of Mars, the sixth day was of course *pridie Nonas* (the day before the *Nonas*); the fifth *tertius* (*ante*) *Nonas*, the fourteenth *pridie Idus*, the thirteenth *tertius* (*ante*) *Idus*, of the same month; while the thirty-first day was *pridie Calendas*, the thirtieth *tertius* (*ante*) *Calendas* of the month following. On the other hand, January the fourth was *pridie Nonas*, the third *tertius Nonas*, the twelfth *pridie Idus*, the thirty-first *pridie Cal. Feb.*, the thirtieth *pridie Cal. Feb.* Hence it will be seen that the construction of the calendar, which originally was kept secret by the Pontifices, but after 450 published, was no easy matter. It must be remembered that it included what were feast days, what half feastdays, what were religious days, and what black days, commemorating disasters, and so forth. They undertook to announce also the astronomical demarcations of the year; the course of the sun and moon, with eclipses; and finally, the calendar was a perfect and exact announcement of all greater and smaller feasts, and religious celebrations which fell upon different days."

The Festival of the New Year was a very joyous one. After innumerable visitations, which made the streets more lovely than at any other time, and mutual gifts, the people repaired to the house of the new Consuls. A triumphal procession to the temple of Jupiter, and the great sacrifice before described, followed by the taking of oaths on the part of the officials and the never-failing feast at the close. Passing over the second, as an unpropitious day, the third and fourth were kept up also with special festivities. The *Lupercalia* of 15th February was a festival of atonement and purification, celebrated on the *Lupercal*, a grotto of the Palatine. It was a very strange ceremonial, and very exciting to the female part of the community.

"A strange usage follows which has induced many to maintain that it was substituted for an ancient human sacrifice that was connected with the *Lupercalia*, which, however, was rather a symbolical indication of purification from sins. Two young men of noble birth were brought forward, whose foreheads were touched by a knife dripping with the blood of the slaughtered goats; a piece of wool dipped in milk removed the stain; after which

transaction it was then only to burst out into cheerful laughter. Then followed the feast and the frantic merriment of the people. The skins of the slain goats were cut into stripes (*februa*, whence dies *februatus* and the month *Februarius*, or the month of purification, *februare* meaning to purify), which the *Luperci* used as scourges, driving before them all the people, and with indecent figure and songs pursuing the women, who deem this kind of excitement the sure means of fruitfulness and easy child-bearing. The feast, however, was said to have been instituted by Romulus in memorial of the fidelity of the Sabine women. But this is enough to depict a feast which was full of joy, and sometimes degenerated into gross folly.'

The first of March was a day of great importance; it was formerly the beginning of the year, and latterly remarkable for the festival of the Matrons, who interchanged presents with their husbands, offered sacrifices to Juno Lucina, and observed other ceremonials, among which at the feasts the mistresses served the female servants, and the masters the male at the feast of the *Saturnalia*. Between the 19th and the 28rd March, the *Quinquatrus* was held, a festival which was held in honour of Minerva, and embraced the school children and artisans of almost all classes. This was a merry feast, delighted in by the young people, who brought their school-pence to their masters (*Minerval*), who gave part to the goddess. The feast-day was dedicated to the birthday of the goddess, that is to commemorate the consecration of her first temple in Rome on the *Aventine*. The fifth day closed the feast with a *Tubilustrium*, or procession of music and trumpets, with the offering of a lamb. This feast was kept in the households with great joy, and a slighter reflection of it, the *Quinquatrus minusculæ*, was again celebrated in July.

Immediately afterwards began the fast of the *Mater Magna*, one of the orgies brought from Greece,—*Cybele*, the *Phrygian* goddess, the Roman *Ops*. Originally confined to foreigners, and interdicted to the natives, this festivity was afterwards made popular, and its mad extravagances in the East were almost equalled in Rome. It was followed by the festival of *Flora*, the abominations of which cannot be described. Its last day was that of the *Bacchanalia*, imported from Greece, and simply a religious cloak for the most unbridled sensuality. It lay under an interdict of the State from the times of the Republic downwards. Intermediate between these two deplorable public

weeks of abandonment, there was a more innocent pastoral feast on 21st April, celebrated for the plentiful increase of the flocks. The feast of Arvalia was a tumultuous but not indecent festival, which lasted for three days. It is refreshing to turn from these extravagant feasts, which, all of them, more or less, tended to the relaxation of morals, to the decent festivities of the Vestalia, which began on the 9th of June, just a month after the same celebrants had been guilty of the wildest excesses. In commemoration of Vesta, as the patroness of household piety, every family held a frugal feast, presenting gifts, and entering, men included, the penetralia, or at least beholding them more nearly than usual. The altar with the eternal fire, symbol of the goddess who had no image, and all things pertaining to the divinity, were purified and reconsecrated.

Passing by the public plays, the *Ludi Apollinares* and the *Ludi Romani*, in July and September, with their courses and gladiatorial combats, we must mention the peculiarly Roman *Saturnalia* towards the end of the year. It was instituted very early in honour of Saturn and the golden age of unrestricted freedom and pleasure. It was a base caricature of the year of Jubilee in a holier land. For a whole week all public and private business was suspended, schools were closed, the slaves enjoyed an illusory freedom, the prisoners had their fetters removed and dedicated to Saturn. But the frightful excesses which prevailed were such as to drive from the city quiet and studious people. On the eve of the festival crowds issued with torches to the cry, "*Io Saturnalia! Bona Saturnalia!*" and the night set in with revelry, to be followed by worse excesses on the morrow. Religious services were united with abominable debaucheries in a combination too horrible to be dwelt upon. The festival of the goddess *Belona*, brought from Cappadocia, was more fanatical than licentious. The service of *Mithras*, the Persian Sun-god, had been brought from the East, and was popular in the time of the Antonines. We must give the writer's reflections here:—

"The present emperor is not disinclined to it. This will not be wondered at when we remember that the cult of the Sun-god was purer and more dignified than any other Oriental ceremonial, having nothing in common with the fanatical service of *Cybele* and the Syrian goddess, but rather a certain similarity with the

purser and more rational religious system of the Christians; so that I do not hesitate to regard it as favoured by the court, in order to supply thoughtful Romans with a compensation or substitute for Christianity everywhere spreading more and more, and the danger of which to the polytheistic State was an object of fear to the emperor. In the blood-baptism of the Mithras service there was a certain similarity to the Christian water-baptism, while the sacrifice connected with it retained its harmony with the State religion. The proceeding is as follows:—After forty days' fasting, two days' scourging, and twenty-eight days' other penitential discipline, the consecration took place. The candidate for initiation was thrust into a pit, after being clothed in a peculiar toga and crowned with a Persian mitre. Over the pit, which was covered with a grating, a bullock was slaughtered, whose blood fell upon the neophyte, who in due time comes back to the living purified, regenerate, and consecrated to the Mithras service."

The ascetic rigour of this service must have had charms for the Antonine emperors; but the analogy with Christianity is a very dim one, however interesting. The worship of Isis was equally mysterious, but more fascinating to the people. Once more we must give Dr. Forbiger's vivid picture, though in abridgment:—

"It was announced in the *Actis Diurnis* that a ship, restored from shipwreck, was to be consecrated to Isis, as the protectress of navigation. A procession to the Tiber was formed, and it sufficed to bring half Rome to the scene. I myself started at dawn to the Isis temple near the Pantheon, whence the procession would set forth. I found the crowds around the gates; but the temple itself, before which from early morning devout women, in white garments and with dishevelled hair, are wont to wait, still closed: it is the peculiarity of this temple to be more formally opened and shut than any other. The door opened, the white curtains which conceal the entrance were withdrawn, disclosing two Sphinxes. The number of the faithful who now streamed in, men and women of every age and condition, and belonging to all nations represented in Rome, showed how widely spread was this mysterious cult, especially among women of the higher class. Hence I could not wonder to see many illustrious persons among the initiated: for instance, the Platonic Appuleius. Now pass the priests from one altar in the inner court to another, casting incense into the flames of the seven or eight altars, and pouring out water instead of wine as libation, wine being forbidden in Egyptian worship. This water came from the Nile, and is preserved in the temple; being celebrated here, as over the world, for many qualities. The assembled congregation then begin to sing to the goddess a morning song, intoned by a precentor, naked to

the breast. The chief priest, or prophet, accompanied by another priest and a priestess, came forward to the steps leading up to the temple, and announced with loud voice that the goddess had arisen and accepted the song; whereupon he solemnly lifted up the urn filled with Nile water to the worship of the congregation, and made the Isis sistra resound. This noise dying away, the murmurs of common prayer were heard, with which this daily morning service ends, to be followed by another, similar, in the evening. It must be added that the prophet, holy as he is, did not venture to touch with his hands the sacred pitcher, but wrapped his arms and hands in his vestments, because the initiated think they behold in the Nile water contained in the pitcher an incorporation of Osiris himself, the father of the living and the dead, without whom Isis can never be duly honoured. . . . After beholding from a window many mummeries, the procession proper began. First came a number of women and maidens in dazzling white garments, which set off remarkably the dark skin of the Egyptian women, strewing the way with flowers showered from their heads. They performed with sacred combs and before mirrors the toilet in the service of the goddess, sprinkling the crowds with richly-scented essences. Then followed a multitude of people of both sexes, and all conditions, bearing torches and lamps; and then a choir of chosen youths, in snow-white garments, who sang, to the accompaniment of flutes and other instruments, a song prepared for this occasion. Now sounded out the heralds: Place, place for the holy celebrants! and then came at length the long procession of the initiated, and the priests and the priestesses of Isis. All were barefoot, and to the minutest parts of dress in dazzling white. The priests bore the symbols of the mighty gods. In the hand of the first shone a bright lamp of gold, in the form of a throat, in the midst of which a wide flame burst through an opening. The second bore in his two hands small altars; the third a golden palm-branch and a serpent staff. A fourth held forth, as the symbol of temperance and righteousness, an open left hand with outstretched fingers, whilst in the other he carried a golden vessel which had the form of a female bosom, and from which milk issued as a libation. In the hands of the last shone the vanner mystica and the silver pitcher of the holy Nile water. Immediately afterwards came the images of the gods themselves. First Anubis, with long-necked dog's head, whose countenance appeared partly black and partly golden, swinging in the left hand a staff of Mercury, and in the right a green palm branch. Then, as an incorporation of the all-bearing Isis, a cow in an erect position, which a priest bore on his shoulders. Another priest followed with the mystical chest, which concealed the holy things of the mysterious cult; and, finally, the high priest himself came forward, bearing on his

breast the most important and the most sacred treasure of the temple, which, as I was told, was at the same time a symbol under which Isis or Osiris is worshipped. It consisted of a tolerably large and artfully wrought urn of gold, with round basis, and covered all over with hieroglyphics. Its short neck was wreathed by a serpent, whose head and neck rose above the mystic urn. A multitude of ministrants followed, and the swelling crowd brought up the rear, hastening to see the ship receive its visitors. I returned to my house, and heard subsequently from one of my secretaries, a born Egyptian, how the rest proceeded. Arriving, after four hours, at the haven of Augustus, in Ostia, the images of the gods were laid out in order; a solemn prayer was offered by the high priest; the ship, adorned in every part with citron wood carving and Egyptian painting, was anointed with a lighted compound of eggs and sulphur, and dedicated to Isis. After the whole ship was filled with rich gifts and offerings expiatory, the anchor was raised. The return procession was equally imposing, and was followed by a solemn invocation of blessing on the ship and on all connected with it, delivered in the temple, after the customary prayers for the emperor, senate, knights, and all the people. The assembly was dismissed, after having, amidst loud farewells, deposited their gifts and kissed the feet of the silver image of the goddess, and sung a soft song to lull her to rest again."

Many agricultural feasts must be passed over. But there was one festival of a very solemn character, not limited to any particular time, but dependent on the return of the anniversary of death in the family. These were called *Parentalia*, and consisted of offerings brought to the manes of the departed—water, wine, warm milk, honey, oil, and blood of sacrificed black sheep, and swine, and cattle were poured on the grass; unguents and incense were offered, and the graves were adorned with garlands and flowers; lamps were afresh kindled in the vaults; a specially arranged feast was laid out for the manes, which, as in the case of every Roman religious festival whatever, was also partaken of by the family surviving.

Finally, the games or *Ludi* must be included, as having some religious significance among the Romans. But enough, however, for our present purpose; and, therefore, the circensian, gladiatorial, and theatrical exhibitions must be omitted. But the *Ludi Sæculares*, as an institution peculiar to the Romans and eminently religious, may have some notice.



"The secular games, or *Ludi Tercentini*, I have not lived to see, nor shall I, since they, as the Jubilee of the State, occur only once in a hundred years, and had been celebrated under Antoninus Pius twenty years ago. I can now only, therefore, describe this festival, which sprang from Etruria, and now is the centennial commemoration of the founding of Rome. It was the festival of the commencement of a new century, even as the first festival I mentioned began the new year. Heralds announce at the harvest time the coming feast, which no living man had seen, and none would see a second time. Then all free citizens (for slaves are excluded) flow to the Capitol and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, where the *XVviri* distribute among the people the expiatory materials and offerings. Then the feast itself begins, which lasts three days and three nights, and Jupiter and Juno, Apollo, Latona and Diana, the Fates, Tellus, Pluto and Proserpine receive their sacrifices. On the first day a white bullock and cow is sacrificed to Jupiter and Juno on the Capitol, and the grand games go on from that time. By day the finest exhibitions of prowess; by night theatrical exhibitions in honour of Apollo. On the first night the emperor himself presents, on the Tarentum beyond the Tiber, three special sacrifices to the three altars of the Fates; and the people, by torchlight, sing a hymn for the occasion. On the second day the matrons pray to Juno; and in the evening black victims are sacrificed to Tellus, and Pluto, and Proserpine. On the third day the *Carmen Seculare* is sung in the temple of the Palatine Apollo by a choir of seven-and-twenty boys and as many girls; sung both in Greek and Latin. White oxen are sacrificed as the sacred religious conclusion. That *Carmen Seculare*, which the celebrated poet, Horatius Flaccus, composed on occasion of the Secular Games under Augustus, has obtained universal fame."

It is obvious from this slight sketch that the whole life of the ancient Romans, both before and after the coming of Christ, was measured off by religious feasts and solemnities which had a cheerful character, though always connected with propitiation of the wrath of the gods. It is plain also that their religion, such as it was, pervaded every department of private and public affairs, and impressed its influence upon every movement of life. But two other things are observable. First, that there was no practical and efficacious faith in the deities propitiated and served: the religion of Rome gave no peace to the conscience. Secondly, it did not elevate the morals of the people: on the contrary, with but few exceptions, and those exceptions were imported from Egypt and the East,

the most sacred ceremonials were defiled by excesses and abominations, such as made the word religion hateful to the philosopher.

Let us now turn to the other side of the picture, the superstition of the Romans. As some of the strongest and largest animals are the most nervous and timid, so the mightiest nation that ever swayed the world was the most entirely abandoned to the terrors of the other world, and to the more depressing influences of the religious sentiment. Religion was more distorted among the Romans than among any other people who have perverted the primitive instincts of humanity and the primitive traditions of mankind.

Divination was among them the miserable perversion of communion with the Deity, as taught in the Books of Revelation. It was divided into two parts. Haruspicina, the consultation of the entrails of dead sacrifices; and Auspicium, the observation of the flight of birds and their peculiar cries. The will of the gods was supposed to be indicated by the intestines of the sacrifices. How could any intelligent mind be brought to suppose that the Deity would designedly give to animals an abnormal interior, and cause them to be chosen for sacrifice, in order to reveal His mind to man, instead of directly impressing His will upon the devout and prepared minds of His worshippers, and inspire them, if it pleased Him, with a clear view of present duty and of future hope! These Etruscan Haruspices, however, had long declined in importance. The genuine Roman augurs never lost their power. The observation of the heavens, and the flight and cries of birds, was the means of ascertaining, not the future, but the present will of the gods with regard to any course of action. There was much in the system of the augurs that was hidden. Originally there were five classes of signs and their interpretation; but these were reduced to two; signs on heaven (*ex cœlo*), which were the most important, and from the feeding of birds (*ex tripudio*). As to the former, the augur searched the heavens very much as the modern astronomer searched it, and with much of the same appliances. The infinite variety of interpretations of the infinite variety of appearances, of course, removed all certainty from the science; it was altogether matter of the augur's own determination and cunning. The same may be said of the wretched system of interpreting heaven by the flight of birds.

There is something very remarkable in the account given

of the function of these interpreters of heaven as Fulguratores; that is, as expiators and exorcists of lightning. This department of religion was formerly part of the work of the Pontifices, but afterwards was left to the Etrurian Haruspices. The Romans held the superstitious notion that every flash which entered the earth must be atoned for and burned like a dead soul, if its evil consequences should be averted. The earth therefore is dug up, a kind of coffin without bottom is interred, and a covering placed over it with the inscription, "*Fulgur conditum*," "lightning buried." But the ceremonies and prayers accompanying cannot be detailed.

Evil forebodings or omens constituted an important element in the Roman perversion of religion. As prodigies were connected with the sight, so omens were connected with the hearing, and were moreover more limited to private life. They had to do, therefore, not so much with fortuitous events, such as the stumbling at the threshold, as with the words fortuitously heard breaking in upon the ordinary current of things. It was, however, for a person to put from him or to accept the omen. He might say, "*omen ad me non pertinet*," or "*accipio omen*:" "the omen does not concern me," or "I accept the omen." The influence of casual words on the current of public and private life would be incredible, were it not that history is full of instances. Allied to this was the superstitious study of dreams and their interpretation. Pages might be filled with the detail of prescriptions for the extracting of good or evil from the tenour of dreams. Suffice to say that one issue of the study was that morning dreams were held to portend truth; ante-midnight dreams, on the contrary, were to be interpreted with more laxity. So much did even this shadowy realm lay hold on the Roman mind, that fearful dreams were appointed to be expiated by sacrifice on the next morning, preceded by a thorough ablution of the person in running waters.

Astrology was much in vogue among the later Romans, as the result of a waning faith in the providence of the gods and a waxing disposition to accept a determinate faith, aided also by a tendency to investigate more and more the forces of nature. It came as an importation with the Greek gods. The consulters of the stars were named Chaldeans, from the people who first brought the science to Rome, and also mathematics. Public edicts long

condemned this craft, and philosophers inveighed against it, but in time the emperors themselves had their Court astrologers. The higher classes held the astrologers in high esteem; the fates of the imperial family being interdicted. There soon entered, however, an inferior tribe of deceivers, who plied their craft in holes and corners first, then in the market-places, and practised precisely those arts which, in later times, fortune-tellers ply in every nation of Europe. Magic also was largely practised; but into this wide domain it is needless to enter at large. To beings partly divine and partly human this power was attributed. Even the gods themselves practised it. Thus Homer makes Venus and Mercury defend themselves by a magic girdle; and Hecate was the divinity of infernal magic and the protectress of magic in general. But the magical use of nature's secrets in the other world we must leave. Descending to men hated and feared, or trusted and sought unto, we have two classes to distinguish. The first was that of the common traffickers in human credulity; the second that of the more philosophical order of magicians. These professed to be workers of miracles, through a more intimate acquaintance with the secrets of nature. So Apollonius of Tyana, and Alexander of Abonoteichos, on a large scale; and multitudes in Rome on a smaller scale, who contrived to obtain much credit among the common people. But the infinite varieties of magical artifice do not belong to our present subject, as not being specifically connected with the religion of Rome.

We have overstepped our limits, and left no space for the reflections which such an exhibition gives rise to. We must leave Dr. Forbiger's labours—a bare epitome of which has been given—to speak for themselves. His own ample pages describe an elaborate religious system that, perhaps, has never had its parallel on this earth; which, however, precisely in proportion to its internal abundance of ceremonial, was deficient in every element of internal truth and power. It is pleasant to think that this amazing system was so soon and so entirely vanquished and swept away by the simple truths of the Gospel. At the same time it is sad to think—it is one of the saddest thoughts that ecclesiastical history suggests—how much of the spirit and fashion of the ancient Roman Heathenism has been retained through successive ages by Christian Rome and its degenerate Christianity.

**ART. VI.—*A History of Philosophy, from Thales to the Present Time.*** By Dr. FRIEDRICH UEBERWEG, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Königsberg. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by GEO. S. MORRIS, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan. With Additions by NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster-row.

"PHILOSOPHY as a conception, historically, is an advance upon, as it is an outgrowth from, the conception of mental development in general, and that of scientific culture in particular. The conception is ordinarily modified in the various systems of philosophy, according to the peculiar character of each; yet in all of them philosophy is included under the generic notion of science, and, as a rule, is distinguished from the remaining sciences by the specific difference, that it is not occupied, like each of them, with any special, limited province of things, nor yet with the sum of these provinces taken in their full extent, but with the nature, laws, and connection of whatever actually is. With this common and fundamental characteristic of the various historical conceptions of philosophy corresponds our definition: Philosophy is the science of principles."

In this opening paragraph Dr. Ueberweg furnishes as comprehensive a definition of the functions of philosophy as could well be compressed into so short a space. As an historian of philosophy he here gives a pledge of impartiality which every subsequent page of the work amply redeems. It is almost inevitable, as he hints, that advocates of any special theory should frame their fundamental definitions in such a way as to conduct those who accept them to the conclusions they themselves have reached, and so pre-occupy the mind, fairly or unfairly, against antagonistic arguments. To construct a definition applicable to all systems alike, necessitates a generality of language which to the uninitiated may seem unmeaning. But to an historian of philosophy no other course is open. If we consider some of the definitions that have been given by various philosophers, the reasonableness of these remarks will appear. Cicero's "science of things divine and

human," probably derived from Plato, implies a cosmological hypothesis which, as he understood it, would not be admitted now, and by some would, in any sense of it, be rejected. Hegel's "identity of identity and non-identity" commits us irrevocably to the vagaries of his transcendentalism. And in "the science of the relations of all knowledge to the necessary ends of human reason," we have, in fact, an embodiment of the philosophy of Kant. Dr. Ueberweg's is as unobjectionable as any. For all must admit that "things are," whatever they may understand either by "things" or by their being said to "be." And all must acknowledge that things possess "nature, laws, and connection," otherwise the business of philosophy is at an end. The colourlessness of Dr. Ueberweg's definition is, at least, a transparent rather than an opaque colourlessness, when he says that philosophy is "the science of principles."

Philosophy, as thus defined, is the universal science: constructed from a collation of all sciences, it gives laws and prescribes limits to each: last in historical development, it is the first in logical explanation. It is the ultimate synthesis, combining the products of the most profound analysis the human mind can perform: it carries man's thoughts to the utmost verge of his reflective capacity, and makes the nearest approach unaided reason can make to the thoughts of God. Here, surely, the exclamation of the physical discoverer—"O God, I think Thy thoughts after Thee!"—becomes even more appropriate in the mouth of the reverent inquirer. How truly every science strikes its roots into this soil may be seen from a few examples. Natural philosophy discusses the laws of the forces that rule the material universe; but in the very first question propounded by it—"What is force?"—it becomes metaphysical, for the possibility or impossibility of an answer depends on the view taken of the powers of the human mind. Mathematics is the science of quantity; but though its demonstrations proceed regularly enough from its assumptions, the nature of these assumptions, whether intuitive or inductive, is a problem in philosophy, and another is that which concerns the validity of the demonstrative process itself. Physiology conducts us to a widely different domain, but it is one in which the connection with philosophy is even more obvious, for, at the very threshold, we are encountered by the mystery of life.

In ethics, politics, and theology we have sciences in which not only are the foundations laid in philosophy, but the superstructure is built of the same materials, the difference being in the treatment they undergo. For philosophy is the science of principles, and principles can only exist in the mind : its main concern, therefore, is with the mind as a repertory of principles generally, of which, in their most important applications, the last-named sciences treat.

Some acquaintance with philosophy is an obvious advantage to all who would cultivate any particular science, and much more to those who would study the sciences in their mutual relation. Few indeed have leisure and ability, with Lord Bacon, to "take all knowledge for their province:" the majority of men must be content with some particular portion of the field. The necessities of life, apart from any other considerations, generally impose this restriction; and happy are they who, in seeking to pursue some branch of science, have no need to turn aside from their regular calling. But if this division of the field is not to be productive of a most mischievous narrowness of mind, the labourer must frequently exchange the bent attitude and fixed gaze with which he concentrates attention on a few objects for the freer sweep of a wide and general observation. This he must do, not only to afford himself the relief of variety, and to ward off the approaches of conceit, but in order to arrive at a better understanding of the science which chiefly occupies his mind. It has been said that he who only knows one language knows none, and the adage holds good in the circle of the sciences as well as in the Babel of human speech. But if he is not to be bewildered by their complexity, the observer must take up a position which commands all the paths of human thought. It is said of that eminent physicist, M. De Saussure, that no amount of study bestowed upon maps, and no amount of observation carried on in the plains and vales beneath, gave him a true idea of the configuration of the Alps, until, having climbed their highest peak (at a time when the ascent was not so common as it is now), one glance of the eye poured a flood of light on all his previous cogitations, and explained in a moment the plan of the whole range. A similar discovery awaits the student of science when he ascends the heights of philosophy. Then he discerns to their utmost spurs the noble outlines of the various provinces of human knowledge, here sharply

defined, there shadowy and dim, in one direction receding and leaving an unfilled gorge between, in another approaching and blending into unity again. Such an observer, to quit the figure, will understand the divisions of science and the principle that regulates them; why some subjects are deemed capable and worthy of scientific treatment and others not; why in some there is a community of method, so that hints derived from a given department are applicable in a different one; why in others the method should be so various, everything here being characterised by the precision and exhaustiveness of deduction, everything there liable to the fluctuations of opinion, the uncertainties of incomplete experiment and the conflicting influence of opposed inductions, while yonder the inductive and the deductive methods join hand in hand, conferring mutual harmony and strength. Even though the loftiest eminence should not be reached, or intervening clouds should obscure the prospect, the greatest mental profit cannot but attend such exercise, and new views, however partial, unfold at every turn in the ascent.

Of course, in commending studies like these, we do not mean that they should be the first in order of pursuit. Their abstract nature is calculated to tax the energies of the robustest mind. And this abstractness becomes mere unintelligibility to those who are not prepared by previous more limited studies to embody subtle conceptions in images of concrete things. The order of pursuit for the student should be the original order of historical evolution. Man first of all dealt with the external world, not suspecting the existence of an internal: then, when he had achieved something like a conquest of nature, he began to inquire what he had done, how he had done it, and wherein lay his warrant for doing it at all. And so still the mind must be stored with facts that it may have something to philosophise upon. It was the *coup d'œil* from Mont Blanc that cast such illumination on the mind of the illustrious observer; but without the foregoing explorations and meditations it would have revealed no more to him than it does to the crowd of tourists whose sole ambition in risking life and limb is to say that they have stood upon the highest ground in Europe.

These remarks should, however, be understood with a certain limitation. It is not every science that need be studied in order to a comprehension of the scope of



philosophy. In its bearings upon human life and conduct philosophy has an interest for the most unscientific man, if he be at all given to reflect on what passes around and within him. It is noteworthy that men debarred by circumstances from acquiring a proficiency in exact science or polite literature have yet sometimes made considerable attainments in metaphysical pursuits. Samuel Drew assigns as a reason for his devotion to them, not any natural affinity, but simply the determination to give himself some mental culture, and the impossibility, as it appeared to him, of a self-taught man making much progress in any other line. A curious reason certainly for endeavouring to fathom the deepest recesses of the human mind. But, in fact, every man who thinks is already a philosopher, and will be all the better for the attempt to understand what he is about. Taking the study of character alone, and considering that all must prosecute it who wish to benefit either themselves or society, how large is the advantage possessed by one who has spread out before him a map of the human mind, who can form an estimate of the possible motives that may influence his fellow in any given transaction, and who, casting off the prejudices that hinder men from understanding others ever so slightly removed from their own track, and rising superior to the tyrannous influence of society upon himself, is enabled with steady hand to gauge the present tendencies of things, and with clear foresight to descry the dangers that threaten in the distance, and the means whereby they may be warded off!

If, from the consideration of man as an agent seeking to economise his resources and to augment his power over his fellow man, we pass to the question of the direction in which his energy should expend itself, and the checks that should be put upon it,—the question of right, and law, and conscience, and duty, and religion,—the aid of philosophy is still more powerful. Theology is a science, and one that every man cannot but make some pretensions to, who believes himself to be the subject of a Divine government, and who continually hears, if he does not read, professed expositions of its principles. Ethics, whether considered as a branch of theology or not, is entitled to the same rank. And the reciprocal benefits due to the alliance of both with philosophy are numerous and great. This is matter of history. Granted that the union has not always

been as beneficial as might have been expected, and that at times it has been positively baneful, there remains a large balance of actual profit on either side. True, there have been attempts to reduce Christianity to a mere province of philosophy, to eliminate the supernatural from its history, and to demonstrate its natural origination from pre-existent elements of thought. True, the restraints put upon philosophy by religious authority were, for ages, prejudicial to anything like progress, so that the days of their closest alliance were the days of the deepest degeneracy of both. True, also, the rupture has been startling, and the breach is now wider than ever, between Christianity and certain "advanced" schools of thought. Yet it must be remembered that the whole terminology of theological science is the creation of scholasticism, and that in return for this great boon, the Church, though a cruel and meddlesome nurse, did yet for ages foster and keep alive the very spirit she was so loth to set free from her bonds. If theology is to-day one of the most vigorous and flourishing of the sciences, it is partly due to the quickening impulse communicated by the revival of philosophy and letters. If other sciences flourish side by side with it, it is because the spiritual enlightenment of a true theology has shed new lustre on the life and destiny of man.

As it has been in the history of the human mind generally, so it is still in the experience of individuals. Those who construct a system of theology or ethics without reference to philosophy, are rearing an edifice without first examining the foundations on which it is to rest. Consciously or not, there are always certain philosophical principles assumed by those who adopt any religious creed; but every "wise master-builder" will ascertain what they are before he proceeds to build.

There are no doubt objections that may be urged against these views. It may be said, for instance, that if we posit philosophy as a foundation to theology, we in fact make it the judge and arbiter of things which lie beyond the reach of human reason. What if philosophy should determine that a revelation is in itself impossible? Or, supposing one to be granted, is it not theology that should mould philosophy rather than *vice versa*? These objections overlook the consideration that philosophy is not a spontaneous creation of the human mind, independent of the

facts of human existence. It is an hypothesis framed inductively for the purpose of accounting for those facts. It may be granted that a sound philosophy takes for its basis certain intuitive convictions, still that these are intuitive is first of all established by induction. So also with regard to revelation. The existence of that which professes to be such is a phenomenon to be accounted for as much as the existence of the world itself. And thus, by furnishing its quota of facts, revelation does help to lay the philosophical foundations on which it afterwards begins to build. In this there is no logical see-saw, any more than in those departments where the supernatural does not come in, and to which the same method is applied. Revelation, in fact, assumes a philosophical basis, and commits the investigation of it as fearlessly to the faithful exercise of human faculties as it does the preservation of its own doctrines to the fidelity of the Christian Church.

But though all this be admitted, it may still be objected that the tendency of philosophical speculations is to engender a spirit alien from and adverse to the attitude of receptivity which becomes men of faith. We cannot think that there is really more danger in this kind of mental employment than in any other not directly connected with the spiritual world. Indeed, we believe there is less, for many other pursuits might be named that require mental habitudes much more foreign to those demanded by Divine truth. John Wesley's strange fear lest much geometry should make him a Deist had better grounds than any that could be assigned for a similar apprehension on the part of an intending student of philosophy. The demand for exact demonstration made by mathematical science was, in his view, likely to be felt in another region, where the accumulation of moral probabilities is all that can be offered. But between theology and philosophy this difference does not exist; their method is one and the same. Far more danger appears to arise from the pursuit of the inductive physical sciences. The difference here is not in the method employed, but in the matter dealt with. The universal reign of law in the material world indisposes the mind to encounter problems in which so uncertain an agent as the human will has to be taken into the account. And it is no marvel if men accustomed to the contemplation of laws that know no exceptions and suffer no infringements, constructing their metaphysical

foundations out of the slender materials of their own favourite science, should adopt a mechanical theory that binds down all manifestations, material or spiritual, under the dominion of that unknown principle called Force. But this danger for the student of philosophy does not exist.

There are dangers, however. There is the danger of regarding philosophy as sufficient for all the wants of the mind, and rendering it independent of revelation. But this is only its abuse, to be guarded against as the trader guards against "speculation" of a different kind, that would tempt him to exercise his calling independently of capital. The Apostle condemns the one abuse when he says, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit," just as he condemns the other when he launches his diatribes against "filthy lucre." But the recognition of a possible abuse is not a prohibition, but a virtual permission of the legitimate use. There is the opposite danger lest, finding there are problems insoluble by philosophy, the mind should abandon what seems a hopeless task, and take refuge in universal scepticism. But wherever we may direct our inquiries, the same difficulty stares us in the face; and if the chance of such a catastrophe is to deter us from investigation, then the Romish interdict upon the Bible is the only alternative for students of revelation itself. Doubt is more frequently the offspring of a state of semi-enlightenment than of the residual ignorance which the limits of finite intelligence forbid to be removed. If we come to examples, we find that the leaders in the van of philosophical inquiry have generally retained their pristine faith. Bacon and Descartes, the founders of modern philosophy and science, were firm believers in revelation. The same may be said of Leibnitz and Locke. Malebranche and Pascal were defenders of the faith: Berkeley and Reid also sought to strengthen the alliance between philosophy and religion. Sir William Hamilton was a sincere Christian: one of his last utterances was a quotation from the twenty-third Psalm, expressive of his own experience, "Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me." Immanuel Kant's great work was undertaken for the purpose of erecting a bulwark against scepticism; and an unshaken confidence in eternal verities evidently inspired the solemn statement he is reported to have made in his last days, "Gentlemen, I do not fear to die. I assure you, as in the presence of God,

that if, on this very night, suddenly the summons to death were to reach me, I should hear it with calmness, should raise my hands to heaven, and say, Blessed be God!" Even the modern advocates of what looks like a materialistic philosophy have some of them asserted, however difficult it may be to receive the saying, that there is no necessary antagonism between their system and Christianity. In an earlier age the heretical Jew Spinoza offered no intentional opposition to revealed truth: his Pantheism coexisted with so much of religious feeling as to draw from the Catholic Novalis that irreverent but not uncomplimentary designation of him, "the God-intoxicated man;" and it is some set-off against the mischief of his subtle speculations that they should have evoked from the pen of John Howe such a masterly reply as we have in his *Living Temple*. Even Hobbes and Hume had their use in being the instrumental origin of works like Samuel Clarke's *Discourse on the Being and Attributes of God*, and Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion*.

To refuse inquiry into philosophical systems lest we should be tempted to question the theological one to which we stand committed, is a very ostrich-like method of avoiding danger. Either the system we have adopted is true, or it is not. If not, the sooner it is exploded the better. If it is, it will harmonise with other truth of whatsoever kind; and the proof of this will be an additional weapon to be used both in our own defence and for the conviction of those who have too hastily concluded that a Gospel proclaimed by fishermen must be unworthy of notice from disciples of the Porch. There is, in fact, a scheme of philosophy that will comport most perfectly with the claims of revelation; and although this very alliance may have subjected it to some heavy blows, it will probably outlast the various systems which have been in turn put forward to take its place. To decry philosophy because errors are propagated by some of its adherents, would be as unreasonable as to pass an indiscriminate censure upon Continental military systems, which include schemes so widely divergent as those of Germany and France, or upon German theology, which embraces schools so antagonistic as those of Rudolf Stier and Strauss.

Further objections, on the ground of the presumed uselessness of researches of this kind, may be easily disposed of. Such may arise from one or other of the following

suppositions—suppositions which of course will only be made by those whose knowledge of the subject has been gathered from hearsay, or from hasty and superficial glances, rather than from any serious endeavours to understand it. The phraseology of the science may, at the outset, deter the timid. But the terminology of any science is at first mysterious: as soon as a connection is established in the mind between the language and the objects denoted by it, the mystery vanishes. There is this difference, indeed, between mental and natural science, that the objects treated of by the latter are material, and so admit of representation before the eye either of the body or of the mind, which the objects of the former do not. To perform acts of abstraction with reference to material things is difficult enough: how much more when they are directed upon things so intangible as the faculties of the mind, their limits, products and relations. Here the objects themselves are abstractions; and it is only by a process of reasoning that we can certify their existence, and that an existence simply as modifications of a substance which itself is only hypothecated for the purpose of explaining the impalpable phenomena of consciousness. Moreover, it must be admitted that these difficulties of conception have beset the path, not only of tyros, but of the veterans in the course, and have been aggravated by real variations in the use of terms both as employed by different men and as employed at different times by the same man. But, after all, the fact remains that to every term in this as in any other science there corresponds an object of thought and one that may by patient attention be as firmly grasped and as clearly distinguished as any of the objects of sense, although in the process the mind requires to be turned inward upon itself.

Another supposition as to the inutility of this science is grounded on the acknowledged fluctuations in the current of philosophical opinion, the alternate action and reaction which its history inevitably exhibits, the unsolved condition of its chief problems, and the natural suspicion thus engendered of their ultimate irresolvability. But the same objection must lie against any of the sciences that have not yet assumed absolute fixity of form. For some of these there may be put in the plea of comparative infancy, as for example geology; and it may be supposed that philosophy, having been in existence since the

days of Thales, if it had anything to teach us, would by this time have been able at least to explain the connection between mind and matter, or to distinguish between the native and the adventitious possessions of the soul. But the plea of infancy is in reality just as admissible in the one case as in the other, or else not in either. In one sense it is not admissible in either. For the ancients also speculated in cosmogony, which is to-day the chief occupation of geology; and so the latter is as ancient as philosophy, if not more. But if it be said that they mistook not only the method but the very objects of that science, confounding things in heaven with things on earth, and adopting the most arbitrary hypotheses concerning both, and that geological science properly so called only dates from the beginning of this century,—how close is the parallel between its fortunes and those of metaphysics. A similar misunderstanding as to its province clouded the intellects of the early inquirers, which indeed was not wholly dispelled until the days of Descartes, who first limited it to the domain of consciousness. And in respect of method the same unsatisfactory principles, involving a perpetual *petitio principii*, reigned still from Descartes to Kant. Even now the sufficiency of the appeal to consciousness is not universally admitted, a doubtful physiological hypothesis being made the warrant for a mode of investigation which seems to point to an annihilation of the profound distinction between matter and mind. If these acknowledged facts are sufficient to invalidate the pretensions of philosophy, the fact, that is, either of its antiquity as proving its incompetency to its prescribed task, or of its infancy as testifying to its undeveloped condition,—then the bar sinister crosses the fair escutcheons of theology, ethics, political economy, and all the social sciences, not only as lying open to the same accusations and sharing the same disgrace, but as themselves being scions of that stock whose honour is so foully tarnished, and whose banners have been so miserably dragged through the mire. But this very unsettledness forms for every ambitious mind one main incentive to exertion. Prove that the mission of any science is accomplished, whether as having found out all that can be known or as having demonstrated that nothing can be known to any purpose, and imagination folds the wings which beat idly against the walls of its prison-house; but throw open the doors, and it matters not how the horizon

recedes step by step from the advancing observer, nor how perilous the enterprise he meditates of measuring the illimitable, the mind will use its liberty to explore the mysteries of being and still hold on its arduous course long after it is found to be interminable.

A final supposition yet remains, that philosophy is at best unnecessary, common sense being for all practical purposes a sufficient guide. Certainly, if the utility of a study is to be measured by the number of its professed admirers, not to say proficient, the verdict would appear, at least so far as this country is concerned, to go against philosophy; although this is a reproach that is being wiped away. But supposing a man to have leisure and capacity for such a pursuit, is he dispensed from its cultivation by mere lack of liking? Is it possible to do as well without as with it? No more than it is possible for a man to build as good a house without as with the aid of the architect and the mason. A man may think that to deal with human nature and human life he needs no acquaintance with the principles of the one or the practice of the other beyond what his own experience may afford him; but by confining himself within such limits he loses the advantage of the systematised information that has been gathered by a thousand observant minds, and made ready to his hand by those whose business it is to communicate it. Unless the foundations of human knowledge are to be laid anew with every succeeding generation, something must be accepted from the hands of others: the originality which declines such obligations is a childish and misleading originality, guessing its way from false premisses to falser conclusions, wasting its energies in taking bearings and establishing signals where every quicksand and every channel is already marked, and venturing boldly upon waters that just cover well-known and plainly indicated rocks. And all the while this same originality unconsciously makes use of the results of philosophy. The language it employs is the product of philosophy, as exemplified in the very word used to disparage it,—for “common sense” is itself a philosophical term, having an explicit reference to the constitution of the human mind. And nothing is more prejudicial to successful inquiry than this vague popular employment of terms which have a definite signification in philosophy. No sound satisfactory progress can ever be made in anything that pertains to the happiness of society, until there



be more widely diffused some knowledge of the foundations on which its structure rests.

So much it has seemed necessary to say in commendation of this department of science to those who, repelled by its supposed barrenness or absorbed in special pursuits, may not have included it within their range of systematic study. By way of linking these observations with those we have to make upon the two volumes mentioned at the head of this paper, it is necessary to dwell a little on the importance to any student of philosophy of some acquaintance with its history. This will, in part, have been suggested already by the tenor of the foregoing paragraphs. The antithesis between the exact sciences and those of the class now under consideration is nowhere more marked than here. When the youthful geometer has been conducted through the preparatory stages to the proposition which establishes the grand property of all right-angled triangles, it adds but an antiquarian interest to the train of triumphant demonstrations to be told how many thousands of years have elapsed since its discovery: in like manner the comparative recency of the analytical method of investigating the properties of conic sections neither enhances nor impairs its beauty. Each man goes over the same ground that his predecessors have traversed, and arrives at the same conclusions. And all the invention displayed in the construction of more and more arduous problems is but an exercise of ingenuity, wonderful indeed, but still rigorously restricted to the formation of various combinations of a few fixed principles. Of history proper in such departments—past, present, or to come—there is and can be none. It is otherwise when we pass in review the scenes which successively appear upon the stage of moral speculation. Truth is as unchanging in the moral as in the mathematical sphere. But, besides that its range is much more extensive, the power to grasp it and to perceive its applications is a more complex thing, being itself as much moral as intellectual, and varying much more in different men than the ability to perform a purely intellectual act. Here it is essential not only that a truth should be known, but that its importance should be recognised; and the instruments of its admeasurement are not, like those of the astronomer, freed from extraneous influences and to be depended on for the marking of infinitesimal variations: the apparatus here employed can only

be the faculties of imagination, conscience, passion, will, whose eccentricity, even after an average has been taken extending over their widest range of operation, may yet vitiate the final result. Hence it is that the dicta of no philosopher can rule absolutely in philosophy: superior weight of character, joined to superior powers of persuasion, may make him the centre of a school that shall command a wide hearing and wield for a time something like paramount authority; but principles that he has overlooked may at any moment come into prominence and render his system obsolete. And as no man can aspire to a dictatorship in philosophy, so neither can his true place be assigned him without an estimate of his relations to the age in which he lived, and still less in most cases without an estimate of the ages that went before him. What is true of individual men is still more true of periods. The philosophy of any given age takes its complexion, nay, derives its substance, from those which have preceded it. The movements of thought may appear to be capricious and may sometimes really be so,—now following in the line of direct advance, now doubling back upon their course, now appearing to be stationary, and then again striking out in new and unexpected directions,—but continuity is nevertheless preserved. Men, in fact, think thus and thus to-day because their fathers thought thus and thus before them—not only because they thought however, but because they acted on their thoughts and so proved or disproved the correctness of them.

Hence will appear the necessity of combining with the study of any particular doctrine, or of any particular school, some reference to its origin and the successive modifications through which it has reached its present form. In fact, the best method of approaching this whole subject, or rather cycle of subjects, is to study in the first place the writings of some one or two great thinkers—it matters little which, and whether ancient or modern—and then, having mastered the phraseology of the science and obtained a firm grasp of its leading principles, to trace their progress historically, upwards or downwards or both as the case may be, and with more or less minuteness as opportunity may serve, throughout the whole course of their existence. Only so can ordinary men hope to attain anything like a comprehension of the science: so they may attain it, without that exhaustive examination or even cursory perusal of all that has been written which

in the majority of cases would be impossible. The necessity of such a history of opinion was recognised by that great philosopher Sir William Hamilton, who constantly interwove sections of it with the general course of his lectures, and thus prepared his pupils for independent exploration of the territories through which he led them. For such excursions, in whatsoever direction, as well as for all the purposes of the student, we have, not a mere handbook, but a comprehensive directory, in the volumes before us.

We do not exaggerate when we say that in this translation we have the most massive and profound History of Philosophy that ever appeared in this country. In quantity of matter it far exceeds anything we possess on the subject. Like the popular work of G. H. Lewes it is in two volumes, but the two contain as much as six or eight ordinary octavos. This compression has not been attained at the expense of clearness: the use of various kinds of type indicates the relative importance of the paragraphs, but in no case is the type inconveniently small or the general appearance of the page marred by its variations. When we examine the quality of the work, we find it a marvel of erudition and exactness. It would seem as though not a single treatise or tractate ever written on philosophy had escaped the notice of the late Königsberg professor and his coadjutors in this gigantic task. The pages literally bristle with references to the numerous works and editions of works which before and since the revival of learning have discussed in every European tongue the profounder problems of the human mind. Yet the book is far from being a mere repertory of quotations. Of every principal writer at least, besides a list of his works, there is given a short biographical notice and a condensed analysis of his opinions, together with an estimate of his influence on the course of speculation. All are grouped into periods which represent, not only their chronological succession, but their genetic connection and mutual relations of antagonism and agreement. At the same time this systematisation is not so rigid as to exclude all notice of a writer's idiosyncrasies.

The whole work naturally divides into two sections, the one discussing the Philosophy of Antiquity, the other the Philosophy of the Christian Era. Each of these embraces three periods. The first volume includes all the ancient philosophy, and two out of the three periods of the Chris-

tian ; the third, entitled *Modern Philosophy*, occupying the whole of the second and larger volume.

Of the causes predisposing to the cultivation of philosophy the following brief statement is given, accounting to some extent for its early restriction to one illustrious race :—

“Philosophy, as science, could originate neither among the peoples of the North, who were eminent for strength and courage, but devoid of culture, nor among the Orientals, who, though susceptible of the elements of higher culture, were content simply to retain them in a spirit of passive resignation,—but only among the Hellenes, who harmoniously combined the characteristics of both. The Romans, devoted to practical, and particularly to political problems, scarcely occupied themselves with philosophy, except in the appropriation of Hellenic ideas, and scarcely attained to any productive originality of their own. The so-called philosophy of the Orientals lacks in the tendency to strict demonstration, and hence in scientific character. Whatever philosophical elements are discoverable among them are so blended with religious notions, that a separate exposition is scarcely possible. Besides, even after the meritorious investigations of modern times, our knowledge of Oriental thought remains far too incomplete and uncertain for a connected and authentic presentation. We omit, therefore, here the special consideration of the various theorems of Oriental philosophy.”

The attention of the reader is therefore, of course, mainly directed to the philosophy of the Greeks, which occupies about two hundred and fifty pages. Of its three periods, the first is that of the *Pre-sophistic Philosophy*, whose bent is chiefly cosmological. It embraces the earlier *Ionic Natural Philosophy*, represented by Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Heraclitus of Ephesus ; the *Pythagorean* ; the *Eleatic doctrine of the unity and immutability of being*, whose foundation was “laid in theological form by Xenophanes of Colophon, metaphysically developed as a doctrine of being by Parmenides of Elea, dialectically defended in opposition to the vulgar belief in a plurality of objects and in revolution and change by Zeno of Elea, and finally, with some declension in vigour of thought, assimilated more nearly to the earlier natural philosophy by Melissus of Samos ;” and the later *Natural Philosophy of Empedocles and Anaxagoras*, who taught the existence of a spiritual force in addition to the material substances, and of the *Atomists*, Leucippus and Democritus, who sought

to comprehend all phenomena as products of matter and motion alone. The second period begins with the Sophists, proceeds to the grand central epoch of the Socratico-Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, and concludes with the Stoics and Epicureans, whose principles ultimately blended in Eclecticism and Scepticism: it is distinguished throughout by the predominance of anthropology, the science of the thinking and willing subject (logic and ethics), accompanied by a return to physics. The third period leads through the Jewish-Alexandrians and the Neo-Pythagoreans to the Neo-Platonists, who bring up the rear of the ancient philosophers: it is characterised by the predominance of theosophy, so preparing the way for a philosophy distinctively Christian.

Of the three periods of the Christian era, the first is the Patristic, the second the Scholastic, and the third the Modern. Before proceeding to discuss them, Dr. Ueberweg gives a brief sketch of the doctrines of Christ and His Apostles. It may seem strange that a name we are accustomed to surround with a halo of supernatural glory should be placed side by side with those of Democritus and Cicero, Plotinus and Proclus, but we must remember that no discredit is thereby cast upon its claims to our devoutest homage. The source of the teachings with which it stands connected is not necessarily questioned because those teachings are subjected to a rigorous philosophical analysis. They must be capable of abiding such a test if supernatural in their origin. And the result of its application is seen in the universal confession that from the beginning Christianity has stamped a peculiar character on the whole course of philosophic thought. The fundamental difference between heathen and Christian philosophy is thus stated by Dr. Ueberweg:—

“The general characteristic of the human mind in ante-Christian, and particularly in Hellenic, antiquity, may be described as its comparatively unreflecting belief in its own harmony, and of its oneness with nature. The sense of an opposition, as existing either among its own different functions and interests, or between the mind and nature as needing reconciliation, is as yet relatively undeveloped.”

“The religious facts, ideas, and doctrines of Christianity gave a new impulse to philosophical investigation. The philosophic thought of Christian times has been mainly occupied with the theological, cosmological and anthropological postulates of the Biblical doctrine

of salvation, the foundation of which is the 'consciousness of the law, of sin, and of redemption. The primitive creative epoch in the history of Christianity was followed in the Middle Ages by a period especially characterised by the evolution of the consciousness of opposition between God and the world, priests and laity, Church and State, and, in general, between the human spirit, on the one hand, and God, the human spirit itself, and nature on the other. The period of modern times, on the contrary, is marked, in the main, by the development of the consciousness of restored unity, and hence of the reconciliation and freedom of the human spirit."

But this reconciliation is not to be confounded with the arbitrarily assumed unity with nature of the ante-Christian period:—

"There are some who have sought to discover a complete parallelism between the progress of development of ancient and that of modern philosophy, asserting, in general, that essentially the same philosophical problems have always recurred, and that the result of all attempts at their solution has been, without the intervention of some special modifying cause, essentially the same. But both these pre-suppositions have only a limited truth. . . . While ancient philosophy began with cosmology, and then confined its attention chiefly to logic and ethics, together with physics, at last substantially concentrating all its interest on theology, modern philosophy found all these branches already existing, and was developed under their influence, as also under the existing forms of State and Church, which, on the other hand, were to an important extent determined by the influence of ancient philosophy; the progress of modern philosophy has consisted in the gradual emancipation and deepening of the philosophising spirit. The modern mind (as Kuno Fischer—who assumes for the period of transition a parallelism in reverse order with the line of development—justly remarks, *Gesch. der neueren Philos.*, 2nd Ed., *Manheim*, 1865, I. i. p. 82) seeks to 'find a way out of the theological conception of the world, with which it is filled, to the problems of cosmology.'"

The above quotations show that Dr. Ueberweg is disposed to rate at its full value the influence of Christianity upon philosophy. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that he should also have spoken definitely as to the supernaturalness of its origin: his opinion on this point is rather left to be inferred than formally stated. His outline of primitive Christian doctrine is necessarily introduced for the purpose of affording an "insight into the genesis and connection of Christian ideas," and is very properly placed apart as something extraneous to the history of philosophy. But it is impossible for any writer to give ever so slight a sketch of

Christ's teachings without indicating under what views of their supernatural character he writes. The "essential originality and independence of the principles of Christianity" is asserted, but it is also held that "previous to their formal enunciation they had been foreshadowed and the ground had been prepared for them, partly in the general principles of Judaism, and partly and more particularly in connection with the attempt among the Jews to revive the ancient gift of prophecy (a movement to which Parsee influences contributed, and which lay at the foundation of Essenism.)" We should not object to this account of the foreshadowing of Christianity, if we could gather that, like Christianity itself, it is to be referred to the all-informing Spirit who prepared the new vessels as well as the new wine with which they were to be filled. But the whole tenor of this passage precludes our putting this meaning upon it. Such phraseology as "the attempt among the Jews to revive the ancient gift of prophecy" is only in keeping with the entire absence of any reference to the assertion by Christ and His Apostles of the intervention of a Divine Agent in all genuine spiritual manifestations. Respecting the person of Him who accomplished so wonderful a revolution in men's thinkings, there is the same absence of definite statement. "The recognition of Christ as the Son of God, in the Epistles of Paul and in the Gospel of Luke, is an expression of the sense of the universal or absolute character of the Christian religion." It is admitted that in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "it is said of Christ as the Son of God that by Him the world-periods (*aiônes*) were created, &c.," and that the Fourth Gospel "recognises in Christ the Logos become flesh who was from eternity with God." But "however weighty and pregnant may have been the conceptions which Christ's immediate and indirect disciples may have formed of His person, it is, nevertheless, not true that the proper basis and the vital germ of Christian doctrine are to be sought in them; this basis and germ are contained rather in Jesus's *ethical* requirement of inward righteousness, purity of heart, and love, and in His own practice of the things He required." How it came to pass that He was able to practise these things does not appear; nor how His requirement that others should practise them could be complied with. "Jesus presupposed for those to whom His preaching was addressed the same immediate possi-

bility of elevation to purity of heart and to moral perfection, i.e., to the image of the perfect God, the heavenly Father, of which He was conscious in His own case." Consciousness of the image of God Christ certainly had, but consciousness of elevation to it is nowhere in the New Testament ascribed to Him. Here is a mystery: the Founder of a system which "first brings to consciousness the sense of discord, and [then] provides for the communication of Divine life to humanity, through the removal of this discord," was Himself exempt from the necessity of such a transformation. He, the Author of all that is most precious in the thought and life of humanity, nowhere acknowledges any participation in the cleansing process which He enjoins on all beside. The only solution is to be found in the hypothesis that He believed Himself to be, and therefore that He actually was, Divine. And this once admitted, there is no need for such clumsy accounts of the source of His inspiration as the following:—"Jesus, the disciple of John, feeling Himself, from the time of His baptism by John, the herald of the Messiah, to be Himself the Messiah, not inferior even to Moses in dignity (according to Deut. xviii. 15), and entrusted by God with imperishable authority and an eternal kingdom (Dan. vii. 13, 14), believed Himself called, and had the courage, to found a kingdom of God, to gather about Him the weary and heavy laden, to advance beyond all established forms, and to teach and live rather in accordance with the suggestions of His own moral consciousness, and the wants of the people, with whom He was in sympathy, than according to traditional institution." "Perhaps, also, the principles and regimen of the Essenes exerted (through John the Baptist) some influence on Jesus."

The Patristic period, extending from the time of the Apostles to that of Charlemagne, is divided into two sections, separated by the Council of Nice. "The first section includes the time of the genesis of the fundamental dogmas, when philosophical and theological speculation were inseparably interwoven. The second covers the period of the further development of the doctrines of the Church on the basis of the fundamental dogmas already established, in which period philosophy, being used to justify those dogmas, and co-operating in the further development of new ones, begins to assume a character of independence with reference to the dogmatic teaching of the Church."



Then follows the Scholastic period, which, in like manner, falls into two divisions: "1. The commencement of Scholasticism, or the accommodation of the Aristotelian logic and of Neo-Platonic philosophemes to the doctrine of the Church, from John Scotus Erigena to the Amalricans, or from the ninth till the beginning of the thirteenth century. 2. The complete development and widest extension of Scholasticism, or the combination of the Aristotelian philosophy, which had now become fully known, to the dogmas of the Church—from Alexander of Hales to the close of the Middle Ages, the revival of classical studies, the commencement of the investigation of nature, and the division of the Church." The third period, that of Modern philosophy, which occupies the whole of the second volume, is divided into three sections: 1. The Transitional period, beginning with the renewal of Platonism, and treating of the relations of Protestantism to philosophy, as well as of the first buddings of independent investigation of nature: this is dismissed in thirty pages. 2. The epoch of Empiricism, Dogmaticism, and Scepticism, from Bacon and Descartes to the Encyclopædist and Hume: this occupies a hundred. 3. The epoch of the Kantian Criticism, and of the systems issuing from it, from Kant till the present time, fills the remaining four hundred pages, which embrace, however, two long and important appendices, one on English and American Philosophy by Dr. Porter, and the other on that of Italy by the late Dr. Vincenzo Botta.

Considering the peculiar difficulties incident to such a work as this, one of its wonders is its lucid style. An initial difficulty lies, of course, in the nature of the subject. Next comes the fact that German is the particular language in which this work was originally written. It has always seemed to us that, however profound their lucubrations, the language of German philosophers must make greatly against them. We doubt whether a language that in Luther's day had scarcely emerged from barbarism could by any possibility, within three centuries, become as good a medium of philosophic teachings as one that is classical in its foundation, or that is largely indebted for its vocabulary to classical tongues. Then it is to be considered that condensation is one of the main features of the present work, an art that of itself requires a special apprenticeship. And finally, the work is translated into English, and this task again demands qualifications of its own. In view of these

things the marvel is, not that there should be occasional obscurity, but that it should be so occasional. Take for instance the following luminous view of Bacon's division of the field of human knowledge, which, however crude, marks a new era in the history of mind. The passage must serve as a specimen of the whole.

"History, according to Bacon, rests on the faculty of memory, poetry on the imagination, and philosophy or science proper on the understanding. Bacon divides history into *Historia Civilis* and *Naturalis*. In connection with the former he mentions especially, as desiderata, the history of literature and the history of philosophy. Poetry he divides into epic, dramatic, and allegorico-didactic. Philosophy has for its objects God, man, and nature (*Philosophia objectum triplex; Deus, natura et homo; percutit autem natura intellectum nostrum radio directo, Deus autem propter medium inaequale radio tantum refracto, ipse vero homo sibi et ipsi monstratur et exhibitur radio reflexo*). In so far as our knowledge of God is derived from revelation, it is not knowledge, but faith; but natural or philosophical theology is incompetent to ground any affirmative knowledge, although it is sufficient for the refutation of atheism, since the explanation of nature by physical causes is incomplete without recourse to Divine Providence. Says Bacon:— 'Slight tastes of philosophy may perchance move one to atheism, but fuller draughts lead back to religion (*leves gustus in philosophia movere fortasse ad atheismum, sed pleniores haustus ad religionem reducere*). As is God, so also, according to Bacon, is the spirit (*spiraculum*), which God has breathed into man, scientifically incognisable; only the physical soul, which is a thin, warm, material substance, is an object of scientific knowledge. *Philosophia prima, or scientia universalis*, develops the conceptions and principles which lie equally at the foundation of all parts of philosophy, such as the conceptions of being and non-being, similarity and difference, or the axiom of the equality of two magnitudes which are equal to a third. The object of natural philosophy is either the knowledge or the application of the knowledge of the laws of nature, and is accordingly either speculative or operative. Speculative natural philosophy, in so far as it considers efficient causes, is physics; in so far as it considers ends, it is metaphysics. Operative natural philosophy, considered as the application of physics, is mechanics; as the application of metaphysics, it is natural magic. Mathematics is a science auxiliary to physics. Astronomy should not only construe phenomena and their laws mathematically, but explain them physically. (But by his rejection of the Copernican system, which he regarded as an extravagant fancy, and by undervaluing mathematics, Bacon closed the way against the fulfilment by astronomy of the latter requirement.) The philosophical doctrine

of man considers man either in his isolation, or as a member of society; it includes, therefore, anthropology (*philosophia humana*) and politics (*philosophia civilis*). Anthropology is concerned with the human body and the human soul. Psychology relates, first of all, to sensations and motions, and to their mutual relation. Bacon ascribes to all the elements of bodies perceptions, which manifest themselves by attractions and repulsions. The (conscious) sensations of the soul are, according to Bacon, to be distinguished from mere perceptions, and he demands that the nature and ground of this difference be more precisely investigated. After anthropology follows logic, or the doctrine of knowledge, whose end is truth, and ethics, or the doctrine of the will, whose object is the good (the welfare of the individual and of the community:—*logica ad illuminationis puritatem, ethica ad liberæ voluntatis directionem servit*). As the hand is the instrument of instruments, and the object of ethics is 'internal goodness' (*bonitas interna*), that of politics (*philosophia civilis*) is 'external goodness in intercourse, business, and government' (*bonitas externa in conversationibus, negotiis at regimini sive imperio*). Bacon demands that politics should not be treated of by mere school-philosophers, nor by partial jurists, but by statesmen."

On one point we find the views of Sir William Hamilton slightly misrepresented. Dr. Porter regards him (p. 416) as holding that "External Perception consists of two elements, viz.—Sensation and Perception Proper, which are contrasted with one another respectively as feeling and knowledge, and which coexist and energise in an inverse ratio to each other." It is quite true that Sir William Hamilton treats of the distinction between sensation and perception proper in that portion of his course which relates to external perception. But he never calls sensation an element of perception. On the contrary, he blames Reid (*Metaphysics*, Vol. II. page 98) for his want of precision in respect to these two terms, and points out that Reid, in the act of external perception, "distinguished two elements, to which he gave the names of perception and sensation." True Hamilton adds, "He ought, perhaps, to have called these *perception proper* and *sensation proper*," but this is, he goes on to explain, "when employed in his special meaning; for in the language of other philosophers *sensation* was a term which included his perception, and *perception* a term comprehensive of what he called sensation." Hamilton's own views are given on pages 97 and 98 of his *Metaphysics*. "The opposition of perception and sensation is true, but it is not a statement adequate to the

generality of the contrast. Perception is only a special kind of knowledge ; and sensation only a kind of feeling ; and *knowledge* and *feeling*, you will recollect, are two out of the three great classes into which we primarily divide the phenomena of the mind." \* Sensation, then, so far from being an element of external perception, is not even to be regarded as an intellectual operation at all, but as one special exercise of the feelings, always the concomitant indeed of the special exercise of the intellect denominated perception, but not a constituent element of it.

But it is time to draw to a close. Our object in this paper has been rather to recommend the study of philosophy and to remark upon the additional facilities for its prosecution afforded by the publication of the work before us, than to attempt an exhaustive discussion of the relative merits of histories of philosophy in general. On this subject an article may be shortly hoped for from the pen to which we owe our recent valuable sketch of the History of Logic and Logical Doctrines in England. Suffice it to say, in conclusion, respecting the specimen of the *Theological and Philosophical Library* now before us, that in typography and general execution it shows the same workmanlike excellence as in its contents. A few errors of the press, such as "autonomies," Vol. II. p. 418, for "antimonies," and "area clause," page 492, for "a real clause," are only proofs of the adage that absolute accuracy in typography is unattainable. We confess that we are not so cosmopolitan in our tastes (or shall we say neocosmic?) as to prefer readings like "favored," "skepticism," "fullness," "traveling," &c. to those which exhibit the sublime irregularities of English orthography. But these are mere motes in the sunbeam.

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ART. VII.—1. *Reports of the Old Catholic Congresses Held at Munich, September, 1871; at Cologne, September, 1872; and at Constance, September, 1873.*

2. *Theologisches Literaturblatt.* Edited by Professor REUSCH. Bonn.

3. *The Vatican Council and the Old Catholic Movement.* A Paper Read by Professor KRAFFT at the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, New York, October, 1878.

THE Vatican Council, by expelling those Catholics who adhered to the former doctrinal status of their Church and forcing them into the attitude of schism called Old Catholicism, has given rise to the most important movement within the bosom of the Latin Church since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Œcumenical Councils have, indeed, been often followed by secessions, as a glance at Church history will show. A conscientious minority will not yield, in matters of faith, to a mere majority vote. Thus the Council of Nicæa (325) was only the signal for a new and more serious war between orthodoxy and the Arian heresy, and, even after the triumph of the former at Constantinople (381), the latter lingered for centuries among the newly-converted German races. The Council of Ephesus (431) gave rise to the Nestorian schism, and the Council of Chalcedon (451) to the several Monophysite sects which continue in the East to this day with almost as much tenacity of life as the orthodox Greek Church. From the sixth Œcumenical Council (680) dates the Monothelite schism. The Council of Florence (1439) failed to effect a union between the Latin and the Greek Communion. The Council of Trent (1563), instead of healing the split caused by the Reformation, only deepened and perpetuated it by consolidating Romanism and anathematising Evangelical doctrines; and the Vatican Council of 1870 may be hardly more memorable for the dogma of Infalibility than for the secession that followed. At first the secession bade fair to assume much more formidable proportions than was actually the case. No less than eighty-eight bishops voted against the dogma, and had they remained steadfast to their convictions instead of making an

unworthy peace by submission, they might have carried with them many of the most intelligent and influential dioceses in Europe. Several of these opponents of the Infallibility were from other countries besides Germany, but they so far succumbed to pressure that in no country save Germany has the opposition embodied itself in a regularly organised movement. In Germany itself the leadership of the remonstrants has not been accepted by any man of the episcopal order, though there were others beside the Archbishop of Munich whose previous language had pledged them to stand out against the dogma. But next to the Pope, Bishops, from an instinctive fear of losing their power, have always been most hostile to any serious reform. The constitution of the Council itself gave to the Bishops of the Church first the opportunity of doing Christendom good service, but the faith and courage were not forthcoming, and the task soon passed into the hands of others, on whom henceforth the perils and the honours of a great undertaking must devolve.

It was in September, 1873, the third year of its existence, that the Old Catholic movement was consolidated into a distinct Church organisation. It is amongst those coincidences of history that have an interest even for the least imaginative minds, that this took place in that very hall of Constance where, 360 years before, an Œcumenical Council was held which, by deposing two rival Popes and electing another, asserted its superiority over the Papacy, but which, by burning John Huss for teaching Evangelical doctrines, defeated its own professed object of a Reformation of the Church in the head and the members. The immediate occasion of the movement itself is well known. It arose from a protest in the name of conscience, reason, and honest learning, against the Papal Absolutism and Infallibilism of the Vatican Council, and against the obsolete mediævalism of the Papal Syllabus. But like every other event of the kind, it had its remoter causes running far back, and lying deep down in the political, intellectual, and religious life of the people. The development of doctrine within the modern Romish Church has been associated with political strategy of a subtle and complicated sort. It was not sufficient for those who guided the policy of the Vatican to increase the people's burden of belief, but the practical inferences drawn from doctrine have been steadily pushed forward in various directions,

until no department of national life remains which is not claimed as within the jurisdiction of the Pope. The articles of the Syllabus, and the Pope's letter to the Emperor of Germany, in which it is stated that "every one who has been baptized belongs in some way or other to the Pope," precisely illustrate the spirit now, and for some time past, in the ascendant at the Vatican. It may be said, and is doubtless often urged by Protestants, that in all this there is nothing new, that the conclusions recently arrived at lay from the first within the premisses, and that the members of the Roman Catholic Church had no right to be surprised when the Pope and his advisers advanced claims which might at any time have been inferred from the principles generally admitted throughout that communion. And this appears to us to be so far true as to vindicate public opinion among Protestants from the charge often brought against it of bigoted, vulgar inaccuracy. The rough and ready interpretation of Romanism generally current among Protestants has proved to be singularly correct. Both Romish and Protestant authorities have at various times united in denying that the Infallibility of the Pope was any part of Romish doctrine, but the people generally refused to be persuaded, and the Vatican Council has shown that they were right, and the theologians wrong. But while it is perfectly true that the recent development of doctrine might have been logically arrived at long since, it should be borne in mind that there is immense practical difference between a latent and a definite belief, between conclusions that it is possible to draw, and conclusions that have been drawn and dogmatically defined. Most people hold principles which it seems to others ought to lead to such and such conclusions, but which, in practice, are found not to do so. In such cases, however, it is always possible for principles that have been long dormant to begin to operate, and they will then be regarded in a wholly different light from before. So long as the doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility had little or no practical meaning, and was altogether confined to the region of devout sentiment, no Government would care to notice it. But the case was entirely altered when the sentiment hardened into dogma, and was authoritatively promulgated. Henceforth, both in Church and State, it was to mean a very great deal. A disturbing power of enormous, but unknown quantity, was introduced into European affairs, and eager

and impassioned opposition inevitably arose. That Germany should be the arena of conflict, was, for many reasons, to be expected. The character and history of the people might have prepared the spectator for an immediate repudiation of the Papal claims contained in the Syllabus, and made ten times more significant by the newly-defined Infallibility. The Protestant element in the nation is much greater than a first glance at the actual Protestant communities would reveal. Resistance to Papal encroachment is a national tradition to which no German can be insensible. Even the dreary circles of advanced Rationalists shared the general feeling. Then the newly formulated claims of the Pope, most unfortunately for their reception, coincided with events that were rousing the self-consciousness of the German people to the highest pitch.

The tremendous successes of the war with France, issuing in the unification of Germany amidst enthusiasm such as is seldom evoked in the course of a nation's life, made it an ill moment for asking submission to the new dogma. Little time was lost, accordingly, in giving unmistakable expression to the national temper, and thus far there has been no sign of faltering in the line of action taken by the Government towards the bishops on the one hand, nor by the leaders of the Old Catholic organisation on the other. It is to this latter that we shall confine our remarks. Immediately upon the adjournment of the Vatican Council in July, 1870, vigorous measures were taken at Rome to ensure submission to the new dogma. Wisely, or unwisely, it was determined that no latitude of opinion could be permitted. If the alternative lay between allowing diversity of thought within the Church, and forcing a schism, the latter was promptly determined upon. Under the pressure of threatened excommunication most of the protesters against the Infallibility gave way, establishing their orthodoxy at a cost to their self-respect, which doubtless varied greatly in different cases. It must, one would think, have been particularly embarrassing to the Archbishop of Munich, after all his brave words, to have to call upon his former tutor, Dr. Döllinger, to submit to the new dogma of Papal Absolutism and Infallibility. Before quoting Dr. Döllinger's reply, it is as well to refer for a few moments to this remarkable man's previous career.

Dr. John Joseph Ignatius von Döllinger was born at



Bamberg, in Bavaria, in 1799. After a careful training in natural science by his father, Döllinger studied theology at Bamberg and Würzburg, and before completing his twenty-third year was Professor of Church History and Canon Law at Aschaffenburg. He afterwards occupied a similar position in the University of Munich, with which his whole subsequent history has been closely identified. For forty years or more he has possessed the highest reputation as a theologian and a scholar. He is the author, amongst numerous other works, of a *Church History* (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*), a polemic work against the Reformation, a *Sketch of Luther, Judaism and Heathenism in Relation to Christianity* (*Heidenthum und Judenthum*), *Fables of the Popes of the Middle Ages* (*Die Papst Fabeln des Mittelalters*), &c. Throughout these works the writer, so far from showing any leanings towards Protestantism, was an able and zealous defender of the Romish Church in her controversies with Protestantism. The opposition of so eminent and orthodox a theologian to the dogma of Infallibility was felt by its promoters to be all the more serious from his well-known character as a Conservative Catholic. Had a policy of compromise been possible after the adjournment of the Council, there was not, perhaps, in all Europe a man with whom the authorities at Rome would have been more glad to come to terms quietly. But, as we have said, another policy was adopted, and it was determined, at whatever cost, to secure submission through the whole Church, purging out by excommunication those who were unable or unwilling to accept this last addition to their creed. Accordingly, the Archbishop of Munich, having gone through the process of reconciling himself to a dogma that he had at first strenuously opposed, demanded Dr. Döllinger's submission. The reply which he received contains the following passage, which will remind the reader of Luther's bold and defiant refusal at Worms to retract his writings unless convicted of error from Scripture and reason :—

“ As a Christian, as a theologian, as a historian, as a citizen, I cannot receive this doctrine. *Not as a Christian*—for it is irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel, and with the direct teaching of Christ and His Apostles ; it will establish the kingdom of this world which Christ refused, and a power over the Churches which Peter disclaimed for himself and for all other men. *Not as a theologian*,—for all genuine traditions of the Church stand

diametrically opposed to it. *Not as a historian* can I receive it, —for as such I know that the constant endeavour to realise this theory has cost Europe streams of blood, has led astray and overthrown whole nations, has shaken the constitutional organisation of ancient Churches, and has bred, nourished, and retained the worst of evils in the Church. Finally, *as a citizen*, I must cast it from me, because, by its claim to subject the State, the monarch, and the whole of the political body to the power of the Pope, it lays the foundation for endless and hurtful contentions between Church and State, and between the laity and the clergy; for I cannot hide from myself the fact that this doctrine, the effects of which overthrew the old German Empire, should it gain dominion over the Catholic part of the German nation, will plant in the newly-erected kingdom the seed of an incurable disease."

The letter from which the above is an extract was dated March 28th, 1871, and on the 17th of April Döllinger was excommunicated as being guilty of the crime of "open and formal heresy" (*crimen hæreseos externæ et formalis*). The battle was now fairly begun. Döllinger's colleague, Professor Friedrich, incurred the same fate. Other bishops, forgetting their own recent change of conviction, followed the Archbishop of Munich's example, and proceeded with similar vigour against refractory priests. Cardinal Rauscher suspended the Lent Preacher, Pederzani; Cardinal Schwarzenberg Professor Pelleter (who afterwards became a Protestant); Bishop Förster (whose offer to resign was refused by the Pope) suspended Professors Reinkens, Baltzer, and Weber, of Breslau; the Bishop of Ermeland Professors Michelis and Menzel, and Dr. Wollmann, in Braunsberg; the Archbishop of Cologne deposed the priest, Dr. Tangermann, of Cologne, and suspended Professors Hilgers, Reusch, Langen, and Knoodt, of Bonn, who, however, supported by the Prussian Government, retained their official positions in the University.

While these excommunications and depositions were going on, it is not to be supposed that the dignitaries who had withdrawn their opposition to the dogma escaped altogether the criticism of their more consistent brethren. No one had opposed the Infallibility more strongly than the Abbé Gratry. In making his submission to the Archbishop of Paris he wrote thus:—

"Like all my brethren of the priesthood, I accept the decrees of the Council of the Vatican. Anything which, before that decision, I may have written upon that subject which is contrary to those

decrees I efface (*je l'efface*). May I beg you, monseigneur, to send me your benediction."

Doubtless this benediction was in due time received, but whether it would outweigh in the Abbé's mind such reproaches as the following, which he received from Father Hyacinthe, is quite another thing:—

"Permit me to remark to you that when a man has written such effective letters as those you recently published, he can hardly dispose of them afterwards by an ingenuous statement that he 'effaces' them. It would require that the luminous and melancholy traces which they have left in our minds should also be effaced by an equally light hand. What, my reverend father! it is barely a few months since you rose up suddenly like a prophet in the confusion of Israel, and you assured us that you had received orders from God, and that to fulfil them you were prepared to suffer whatever might be required. You wrote that demonstration, as logical as it was eloquent, which may have been ridiculed, but could not be refuted; and, after having established by fact that the question of Infallibility is a cankering question—it is your own expression—you uttered in your holy indignation that cry, which still resounds, "*Num quid Deus indiget mendacio vestro?*" (What need has God of your falsehoods?) And now to-day, before so many consciences which you have disturbed and left in suspense, you content yourself with writing to your bishop in an easy, off-hand style, which both surprises and saddens."

Dr. Döllinger found himself abundantly sustained in his position, and was soon at the head of a numerous and powerful body. From every side addresses poured in upon him expressing sympathy with the stand he was making, and concurrence in his views. He was joined by Professors Friedrich and Huber, both of his own University of Munich, and by Dr. Schulte, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Prague. Friedrich is the youngest of all the leaders of the Old Catholic movement, being only thirty-seven years of age. As theologian to Cardinal Hohenlohe he attended the Vatican Council, and has since published a work in two volumes (*Documenta ad Illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum*) whose subject is sufficiently indicated by its title, as well as a *Diary* which gives a view of the inner life of the Council.

Huber, Professor of Philosophy at Munich, and author of works on the *Philosophy of the Fathers*, on *Jesuitism*, and against the last book of Strauss on *The Old and the New Faith*, was, it is generally understood, joint author with

Döllinger of *Janus*. He is a layman, bold, energetic, and business-like; described by one who was present at the Congress of Cologne as "a little dark fiery man, whose words are sharp arrows."

From what has been said it is evident that at the beginning the Old Catholic movement might be described as a "revolt of Professors." This fact was both its strength and its weakness. The position of its leaders in relation to German literature and philosophy is such that their action could hardly fail to be of national importance. The movement at once enlisted the sympathies of the educated, and the profound attention of the upper and governing classes of the country. Seldom has the Papal authority had to deal with a body of recusants more formidable for their learning, their acquaintance with ecclesiastical law and history, and their influence with the most cultivated part of the community.

If the questions at issue between the Vatican and the Old Catholic leaders were nothing more than a scholastic controversy, in which the genuineness, say, of the *Epistles* of Phalaris or the *Decretals* of Isidore was at stake, then Dr. Döllinger and his colleagues might be safely left alone, while the scholars of different nations would be a jury, from whose verdict of proven or not proven there could be no appeal. In such a case the more effectually every element of popular feeling was excluded the better. But controversies with the Church of Rome are not of this kind, and never can be. To suppose for a moment that any doctor or theologian, or any number of such, is at liberty to question, to criticise, to do anything but accept the decisions of the Papal Chair, is to misunderstand the spirit and traditions of the Roman Church. As was remarked by Dr. Von Ranke, the well-known author of *The History of the Popes*, "Rome cares little about Professors."

If in the first instance a dogma is authoritatively affirmed because it is, or is supposed to be, true, afterwards it must be held to be true because it has been affirmed. Whatever doubt or uncertainty belonged to it up to the moment when Rome speaks, there can be none afterwards. Truth is truth, not by demonstration, or by internal evidence, or by Scripture warrant, but by authority. To the Roman Catholic mind, where it is yet consistent, there is something not merely shocking but absurd in the position of those who, professing to be Catholics, advance reasons of any

kind whatever against a Catholic doctrine. The doctrine of the Infallibility, for example, is to be believed, not upon evidence, or for its reasonableness, but upon the authority of the Vatican Council, so that all the reasons in the world against it are quite irrelevant.

There was, therefore, in the position assumed by Dr. Döllinger something illogical, which was perceived both by his friends and his enemies. He made it plain that he did not wish to break with the Church. He had no quarrel with it prior to the Vatican Council, and while maintaining a fearless protest against the conduct of the latter, feared anything that looked like an act of separation from the Church. It was not to the principle of authority in matters of religion, as exercised at Rome, that he objected, but only to this particular instance of it. From the Ultramontane side, therefore, Dr. Döllinger was open to a charge of inconsistency, to which it was not very easy to reply. 'By what possible right could he, still calling himself Catholic, revolt at discretion against single Catholic doctrines? This was of the very essence of that hateful thing Protestantism, against which he had fought the learned campaign of a life-time. This way of picking and choosing his obedience was, as he must know, wholly un-Catholic.' To Protestants, on the other hand, it was manifest that unless broader ground were taken no great thing could come of Dr. Döllinger's protest, and of the movement that it inaugurated. It has been well said that the Infallibility of the Pope is the logical landing-place of the Roman system. The attitude of those who accepted the whole body of Papal pretension, with the exception of the Infallibility, was cleverly expressed, in a satirical form, in one of the public prints. "I am quite convinced," Dr. Döllinger was made to say, "that twice two make five, but I will never allow myself to be persuaded that twice two make six." The middle position contemplated by Dr. Döllinger, the most conservative amongst the eminent men we have named, and the mild, literary warfare most congenial to his temperament, were plainly impossible. Those who hoped for any great result, looked for it not in the original programme of the movement, nor in the character of its distinguished leader, but in the development of principles and widening of issues that was almost sure to come. Especially was it to be hoped that the popular element would be more largely infused by-and-by, and the enthu-

siasm of the people attracted to a cause no longer confined within any false limits.

The question of Papal Infallibility may well prove to be the occasion of a deep and far-reaching insurrection against Papal authority, but in itself it has no such direct practical bearing as the questions which made the Reformation spread with irresistible power over all Western Christendom. The masses of Roman Catholics are either too ignorant or too indifferent to care much whether another dogma is added to the large number already adopted, and have no more difficulty in believing in Papal Infallibility than in the daily miracle of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass. If men's hearts are to be moved in any considerable degree, the questions relating to personal salvation must assume the prominence that is due to them. The pursuit of great truths is needful as well as the destruction of great errors, and then, from an ecclesiastical controversy to a profound religious movement, the transition is soon made.

At the first Congress, held in Munich in September, 1871, the doctrinal status of the Old Catholic party was set forth in a document drawn up under the guidance of Dr. Döllinger. It will be seen from the following extracts that the original programme was very conservative, the dread of separating from the Church being yet fresh and strong in the minds of its authors:—

“ We hold fast to the Catholic faith as certified by Scripture and tradition, and to the Old Catholic forms of worship. We regard ourselves as legitimate members of the Catholic Church, and will not be expelled from that Church, nor do we renounce any of the civil or ecclesiastical rights belonging to it. . . . Taking our stand upon the creed contained in the symbolism of Trent, we reject the new dogmas enacted under the pontificate of Pius IX. as contrary to the doctrine of the Church, and to the principles which have prevailed since the first Council was assembled by the Apostles : we more especially reject the dogma of Infallibility, and of the supreme, immediate, and ever-enduring jurisdiction of the Pope.

“ We hold fast to the old constitution of the Church, and reject every attempt to deprive the bishops of their diocesan independence. We acknowledge the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, on the ground of the Fathers and Councils of the undivided Church of antiquity ; but we deny the right of the Pope to define any article of faith, except in agreement with the Holy Scriptures and the ancient and unanimous tradition of the Church.”

Perhaps the most important of these propositions are of a practical character, including the following reforms amongst others:—

“Compulsory celibacy must cease. Priests shall be allowed to marry, as in the early times of Christianity. . . . Masses and the service of the Church must be spoken and read in German, or in the common language of the province. . . . Auricular confession must cease. . . . The worship of pictures, statues, and images must cease.”

Lastly, despite, it is said, the strong opposition of Döllinger, it was resolved to hold the sentence of excommunication pronounced on them by Rome as null, to form separate congregations, and in due course to import a regular episcopal jurisdiction from some foreign quarter.

It is not necessary to point out in detail the logical inconsistencies of this programme. The first resolution, in which the Old Catholics claim to be “legitimate members of the Catholic Church standing upon the Tridentine Creed,” is practically contradicted by many of the succeeding ones. “Tridentine” Romanism, defying the Papal chair, claiming the abolition of priestly celibacy and of auricular confession, and “asserting the right of Catholic clergy and laity, as well as of theological scholars, to pronounce an opinion upon and protest against new dogmas,” is an altogether impossible and inconceivable thing. The majority of the proposals contained in the Old Catholic programme could no more have been permitted by the Council of Trent than by the Vatican Council, and the spirit of resistance embodied in them would have been anathematised as certainly in the one case as in the other. But, granting the possibility of a reformation from *Vatican Romanism* to *Tridentine Romanism*, why should it stop there? Would it be possible for it to stop there? Tridentine Romanism is as much an innovation on primitive Catholicism as the Vatican Romanism is on that of Trent, and both are innovations in the same direction, the development and consolidation of the principle of authority. Unless the spirit which has given rise to the Old Catholic movement dies down again, there can be no such finality in its reforms as its first learned and moderate leaders desire. The Vatican Council has at least as good a right to be called Ecumenical as that of Trent, and yet, say the Old Catholics, it has sanctioned error, as can be demonstrated by appeal to Church history and principles, and to Scripture.

That being so, the application of the same tests to the decrees of the Council of Trent may reveal a similar state of things. When once the appeal is made to history, right, reason, and Scriptural principles, the creed of Pius IV. can claim no more immunity than that of Pius IX.

There was, then, a consistency which it is only fair to notice in the conduct of the Ultramontane leaders. What patience could they show towards men still calling themselves Catholic, making their appeal to Tridentine standards, and yet exercising private judgment with regard to the decision of an Œcumenical Council? Rome knows herself and her traditions too well to allow such a free rendering of the obedience of faith as this.

In the August of last year a most important step was taken in the development and organisation of the Old Catholic movement. It will be supposed from what has been already said of the conservative character of their leaders, that the Old Catholics were not prepared to count Episcopal orders a matter indifferent. From their point of view it was absolutely essential that Churchly succession should be preserved by means of a properly consecrated Episcopacy. Accordingly Professor Joseph Hubert Reinkens was elected Bishop by the clergy and the representatives of the laity, and consecrated at Rotterdam by Bishop Heykamp of Deventer (August 11, 1879). Bishop Reinkens is well fitted for the kind of leadership that now devolves upon him. He is in the prime of life, distinguished as a scholar, and very popular both as a preacher and a public speaker. He is described as a powerful man, standing quite six feet in height, with a clear musical voice and a genial benignant face. In his speeches there is much humour and pleasant sarcasm, qualities, it need hardly be said, of great value to a popular leader. In the pastoral letter issued immediately after his consecration, Bishop Reinkens disclaims all hierarchical ambition, vain show and display, and promises to exercise his office in the spirit of Apostolic simplicity as a pastor of the flock. He lays great stress on the primitive Catholic mode of his election by the clergy and people, as contrasted with the modern election by the Pope. He claims to stand in the rank of Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and those thousands of bishops who never were elected by the Pope, or even known to him, and yet are recognised as truly Catholic bishops.



The Congress held at Constance in the month following the consecration of Bishop Reinkens serves to mark the progress made during the two years that had intervened since the Congress of Munich. Among the most notable utterances was that of Reinkens himself, who disowned all Romish prohibitions of Bible-reading, and earnestly exhorted the laity to become readers of the Scripture. We give a few extracts from this address, which was delivered in the famous Council Hall of Constance, and received with great applause by the crowded assembly :—

“ The Holy Scripture is the reflection of the Sun of Righteousness which appeared in Jesus Christ our Lord. I say, therefore, Read the holy Scriptures. I say more : *For the Old Catholics who intrust themselves to my episcopal direction, there exists no prohibition of the reading of the Bible. . . .* Let nothing hinder you from approaching the Gospel, that you may hear the voice of the Bridegroom (John iii. 29). Listen to His voice, and remember that, as the flower turns to the light, and never unfolds all its splendour and beauty except by constantly turning to the light of the sun, thus also the Christian's soul cannot represent the full beauty and glory of its Divine likeness except by constantly turning to this Gospel, in the rays of which its own fire is kindled. . . . Do not read the Scriptures from curiosity, to find things which are not to be revealed in this world ; nor presumptuously, to brood over things which cannot be explained by men ; nor for the sake of controversy, to refute others ; but read the Scriptures to enter into the most intimate communion with God, so that you may be able to say, Nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ. . . . It is not sufficient to have the Bible in every house, and to read it at certain hours in a formal and fragmentary manner, but it ought to be the light of the soul, to which it turns again and again. I repeat it once more : For the Old Catholics, no injunction exists against reading the Bible. On the contrary, I admonish you most earnestly : Read again and again in this holy book, sitting down in humility and joy at the feet of the Lord, *for He alone has words of eternal life.*”

The Congress at Constance adopted a synodical and parochial constitution, which makes full provision for giving the laity an equal share with the clergy in the government of the Church ; the synodical representation (*Synodal Repräsentanz*), or Executive Committee, being composed of five laymen and five clergymen, including the Bishop. This implies the Protestant principle of the general priesthood of believers, and is an arrangement pregnant with many consequences. There are, indeed,

many signs that the Old Catholic movement is fairly committed to a line of development which will lead to enlarged views, wider sympathies, and a doctrinal standing freer and truer than that originally selected. As Protestants, we watch with deep interest and sympathy the rise of a new Protestantism. We may not unreasonably hope that it will, in some important points, resemble the Protestantism with which we are so familiar, but we must be prepared to look with a wise and tolerant charity upon the points of difference. If the Old Catholic leaders were even disposed to imitate the Reformation leaders of three centuries ago, it would be impossible for them to do so. The issues involved may be fundamentally the same, but, almost all the conditions of the contest are altered. In all probability the Old Catholics will not, under the most favourable view of the case, be assimilated by any type of now existing Protestantism. They are much more likely to produce a new type, and contribute, let us hope, a new element of strength to the Christian world. If, on the one hand, we wish to see a stronger resemblance in the present movement to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, it is not too much, on the other hand, to hope that the errors of that time may not be repeated. The Old Catholics shrink thus far from adopting the Protestant name, and falling into the ranks of Protestant communities. Perhaps this ought not to be expected from them, scarcely conscious at present of the significance of their own principles and line of action, but their attitude towards the non-Roman Catholic world is wholly different from that of the Romish Church itself. It is well known, for example, that Rome has but one theory concerning the unity of Christendom; claiming to be infallible, and hence irreformable, it cannot make concessions, nor treat on other terms than the absolute submission and absorption of other Churches. With this may be compared the language of a letter from the Congress of Constance, September, 1873, to the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in New York:—

“ We hope and strive for the restoration of the unity of the Christian Church. We frankly acknowledge that no branch of it has exclusively the truth. We hold fast to the ultimate view that upon the foundation of the Gospel, and the doctrines of the Church grounded upon it, and upon the foundation of the ancient, undivided Church, a union of all Christian confessions will be

possible through a really Œcumenical Council. This is our object and intention in the movement which has led us into close relations with the Evangelical, the Anglican, the Anglo-American, the Russian, and the Greek Churches. We know that this goal cannot easily be reached, but we see the primary evidences of success in the circumstance that a truly Christian intercourse has already taken place between ourselves and other Christian Churches. Therefore we seize with joy the hand of fellowship you have extended to us, and beg you to enter into a more intimate fellowship with us in such a way as may be agreed upon by both parties."

We think it may now be assumed that a return of the Old Catholics to the Papacy is impossible: the bridge is broken behind them; they must go forward. In saying this, we do not forget how immensely powerful the Church of Rome has shown herself before in arresting and repressing attempts toward reformation. There could hardly be a better instance of this than the way in which the protesting minority of the Vatican Council succumbed to pressure, until, of the eighty-eight bishops who had voted against the dogma of Infallibility, hardly one remained with the courage of his opinions. But since then the contest has widened; from a question of a somewhat abstruse and technical kind, it has become a conflict that the people can understand, loosing itself more and more from its first narrow limits, and including many of the questions that most powerfully affect the heart. It is also a strife for civil rights and intellectual emancipation, and may be regarded as part of a still greater conflict in which the Emperor of Germany and Prince Bismarck are as deeply interested as any of the clerical leaders we have named.

The Pope himself has cut off all prospect of a reconciliation with the Old Catholics. In his Encyclical of November 21st, 1878, addressed to all the dignitaries of the Roman Church, Pius IX., after unsparingly denouncing the Governments of Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, for their cruel persecution of the Church, as he styles their measures of self-defence against Ultramontane pretensions, speaks at length of "those new heretics, who, by a truly ridiculous abuse of the name, call themselves Old Catholics," and launches on their "pseudo-bishop," and all his abettors and helpers, the sentence of excommunication, as follows:—

"The attempts and the aims of these unhappy sons of perdition appear plainly, both from other writings of theirs and most of all

from that impious and most impudent of documents which has lately been published by him whom they have set up for themselves as their so-called bishop. For they deny and pervert the true authority of jurisdiction which is in the Roman Pontiff and the Bishops, the successors of the Blessed Peter and the Apostles, and transfer it to the populace, or, as they say, to the community; they stubbornly reject and assail the infallible teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff and of the whole Church; and, contrary to the Holy Spirit, who has been promised by Christ to abide in His Church for ever, they audaciously affirm that the Roman Pontiff and the whole of the Bishops, priests, and people who are united with him in one faith and communion, have fallen into heresy by sanctioning and professing the definitions of the Œcumenical Vatican Council. Therefore they deny even the indefectibility of the Church, blasphemously saying that it has perished throughout the world, and that its visible head and its Bishops have fallen away; and that for this reason it has been necessary for them to restore the lawful Episcopate in their pseudo-bishop, a man who, entering not by the gate, but coming up by another way, has drawn upon his head the condemnation of Christ.

“ Nevertheless, those unhappy men who would undermine the foundations of the Catholic religion, and destroy its character and endowments, who have invented such shameful and manifold errors, or, rather, have collected them from the old store of heretics, are not ashamed to call themselves Catholics, and Old Catholics; while by their doctrine, their novelty, and their fewness they give up all mark of antiquity and of catholicity. . . .

“ But these men, going on more boldly in the way of iniquity and perdition, as by a just judgment of God it happens to heretical sects, have wished also to form to themselves a hierarchy, as we have said, and have chosen and set up for themselves as their pseudo-bishop a certain notorious apostate from the Catholic faith, Joseph Hubert Reinkens; and, that nothing might be wanting to their impudence, for his consecration they have had recourse to those Jansenists of Utrecht whom they themselves, before their falling away from the Church, regarded with other Catholics as heretics and schismatics. Nevertheless this Joseph Hubert Reinkens dares to call himself a bishop, and, incredible as it may seem, the most serene Emperor of Germany has by public decree named and acknowledged him as a Catholic bishop, and exhibited him to all his subjects as one who is to be regarded as a lawful bishop, and as such to be obeyed. But the very rudiments of Catholic teaching declare that no one can be held to be a lawful bishop who is not joined in communion of faith and charity to the rock on which the one Church of Christ is built; who does not adhere to the supreme pastor to whom all the sheep of Christ are committed to be fed; who is not united to the confirmer of the brotherhood which is in

the world." [This cuts off all Greek bishops as well. Then follow the usual patristic texts for the pretensions of Rome.]

"We, therefore, who have been placed, undeserving as we are, in the Supreme See of Peter for the guardianship of the Catholic faith, and for the maintenance of the unity of the universal Church, according to the custom and example of our predecessors and their holy decrees, by the power given us from on high, not only declare the election of the said Joseph Hubert Reinkens to be contrary to the holy canons, unlawful, and altogether null and void, and denounce and condemn his consecration as sacrilegious; but by the authority of Almighty God we declare the said Joseph Hubert—together with those who have taken part in his election and sacrilegious consecration, and whoever adhere to and follow the same, giving aid, favour, or consent—excommunicated under anathema, separated from the communion of the Church, and to be reckoned among those whose fellowship has been forbidden to the faithful by the Apostle, so that they are not so much as to say to them, God speed you!"

This Encyclical was met by an able, dignified, and manly Pastoral from Bishop Reinkens, dated Bonn, December 13th, 1873. Its language is in admirable contrast with that just quoted. After refuting the accusations of the Pope, he closes with the following words:—

"Brethren in the Lord, what shall we do when Pius IX. exhausts the language of reproach and calumny, and calls us even most miserable sons of perdition (*miserrimi isti perditionis filii*) to embitter the uninquiring multitude against us? If we are true disciples of Jesus—as we trust—we have that peace which the Lord gives, and not the world, and our heart will not be troubled, neither be afraid. How sweetly sounds the exhortation: 'Bless them which persecute you; bless, and curse not.' 'Recompense to no man evil for evil.' 'If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.' 'Love ye your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.' Let us look up to Christ, our example, 'who, when He was reviled, reviled not again.' The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

In September, 1873, the Old Catholics in the German Empire numbered about one hundred congregations (mostly in Prussia, Baden, and Bavaria), forty priests, and 50,000 professed members. Since their more complete organisa-

tion they have made still more rapid progress. At the Congress held in Freiburg a few weeks ago, Bishop Reinken welcomed the foreign delegates "in the name of one hundred thousand Old Catholics." What this movement will ultimately come to cannot yet be confidently said, but the signs of true life and growth are in it. The Protestant communities of the world watch its development with profound interest, thinking they recognise the presence of the same spirit that moved within their fathers. It is something if it help to break up the false and tyrannous unity of the Papacy, but it will be much more if, as we trust, in addition to maintaining a great ecclesiastical quarrel, it comes to possess in larger measure the positive qualities that constitute Revival and Reformation.

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## LITERARY NOTICES.

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*Heterodox London: or Phases of Free Thought in the Metropolis.* By Rev. C. Maurice Davies, D.D., Author of "Orthodox" and "Unorthodox London," &c. 2 vols. Tinsley. 1874.

If a clergyman of the Establishment, a member of one of the older Universities, chooses to devote himself to wandering among the obscure sects of the metropolis, and sees fit to chronicle what he saw and heard, first in daily newspapers and then in two big volumes, we make no objection. Possibly under a better organised system the bishops might have found better work for a D.D., presumably eloquent, and certainly ready with his pen. That, however, is their business. Ours is to protest against these two volumes *in toto*, as a wholly unbearable sample of padding, flavoured with deadly-lively "own correspondent's" jokes. No doubt, Dr. Davies approves his work to his own conscience; his motto is, "Hold fast that which is good;" and chemists and analysers have to "prove" even the most ugly and unsavoury matters, and to see whether they can be brought under other forms, or in any way "utilised." But the general public do not care to push into the laboratory or deodorising shed; nor can it be wise to introduce them to the moral garbage which must always be found among three millions of people absolutely unchecked in their "right of private judgment." There is much to be said in favour of the old custom of writing necessary works unsuited to the general reader in Latin. The late Dr. Donaldson's "Book of Jasher" was read by those whom it concerned, but has remained unread by those who have no special training in such subjects. We are not advising Dr. Davies to call in and translate his *Heterodox London*; the result, if at all well done, would be as interesting as any modern Latin since Buchanan's day, but simply as a piece of Latin; for its own sake the book was not worth writing at all.

That such books are put together is one of the evils of the penny press. It has become a necessity of life to have so many columns full of something; if there is a battle, or a murder, or a great fire, so much the better. If not, "our correspondent" is told off to give for the tenth time the humours of the Derby day,

or a "cabman's tea," or a "soirée in a thieves' kitchen." How many of those who buy the paper read the stuff which is in this way daily pumped out in washy floods from the brains of "specials" *aux abois*? How much good comes of such reading? How much harm, rather, and debasement of everything to the fifth-rate magazine level; so that it is becoming essential to be, or to try to be, either "funny" or gushing, if one would get a hearing on any matter whatsoever? But the main evil of a book like this of Dr. Davies is the undue prominence which it gives to nobodies, and their very unimportant opinions. What a thing for the "South London Secular Society," which meets opposite the Surrey Theatre, or for the "Hackney Secular Propagandist Society," whose location we will let Dr. Davies describe in his own jauntily elegant style:—"Out of Goldsmith's-row, which is slummy, just past the almshouses, turns a court which is slummier still; and Perseverance Hall is the slummiest of all"—what a thing, we say, for these people to get their doings and sayings put on record in the *Manchester Evening News* or the *Scottish Guardian*, and to feel that they were actually becoming notorious among the longheaded and money-making men of the North. If Dr. Davies held a brief for "heterodox" (as he calls it), he could not take a better way of encouraging it. Of course his "mission" was recognised; each new infidel lecturer was more anxious than the last to hand his MS. to one who could give him such a brilliant advertisement; and hence we have two volumes of what, even had it been a desirable thing to write at all, might easily have been packed into a quarter its present size—eight hundred pages, made up chiefly of lectures, sermons, and programmes, from Mr. Voysey's *Gospel of Hell Fire* to Mr. Bradlaugh's *Letter to the Prince of Wales*! Well, we had Mr. Hepworth Dixon edifying the public with details which the *Pall Mall Gazette* considered prurient, about spiritual wives and such like American doctrines. Thinking people, in America and elsewhere, felt that, pruriency apart, Mr. Dixon was wrong in making so much of what was utterly insignificant, in writing as if American society was saturated with what a man might live years in the States without even discovering. Dr. Davies' fault is just the same. We surely would not cry, "peace where there is no peace;" we would not conceal from ourselves or others the existence of a lamentable amount of infidelity; but we maintain that it does harm, and not good, to give sentiments which are confined to a very few a factitious importance. The *National Reformer* makes a noise quite disproportioned to the number of its adherents; and it is distinctly unadvisable for an outsider to supplement its noise by amateur trumpeting. So much by way of showing our objection to the whole scope of the book; with its style and manner we must find equal fault. Dr. Davies writes



like a "special" of the *Daily Telegraph*; and such writing, on such subjects, we take to be, at least, in bad taste. It may be witty, but it is scarcely relevant, to end a long account (42 pp.) of the Dialectical Society's views on cremation by remarking, "To make everything *comme il faut*, it only remains that Mr. Soures and Miss Miller should immolate themselves à la Sardanapalus and Myrrha on the first pyre," especially when, two pages before, the writer had volunteered the astounding information that—"As we lighted our cigars in the lobby, the prevailing opinion seemed to be that Mr. Soures ought to offer himself then and there for instant incremation." And this stuff is popular; and Dr. Davies apologises for his "padding," by saying he was so worried for "more copy," that he was at last literally racing the press to bring the work to its conclusion." To call such a palpable "make-up" "a collection of pen-and-ink portraits of men who are influencing the tone of current thought, and leaving their mark on our day and generation," is surely to use a gross misnomer. Dr. Davies' small joking deserves to be called pen-and-ink portrait painting about as much as Mr. Antill, the "advanced Unitarian, who lectures in an underground dancing-room by a Metropolitan railway station, and Mr. Myles M'Swiney, who, opposite the Surrey Theatre, proves Christ to be a "solar myth," deserve to be called men who are leaving their mark on our day. And now for a little about the book itself. First, at South-place, Finsbury, Dr. Davies hears Mr. Conway, "in the garb of ordinary existence" (probably a "correspondential" for "without gown or surplice"), descant on Mr. Froude's *Nemesis of Faith*, an extract from which he reads immediately after a "lesson" from St. John's Gospel, and declare that Christianity is decaying (as all religions have decayed before it), and that its forms and dogmas have become so hard as to be galling both to heart and brain. "Remorseless Nemesis pursues and overtakes each great teacher in turn. Luther, Fox, Wesley—their heroic hearts now label a mass of dead forms and decorous conventionalities essentially the same as those that awakened their scattering thunders." Mr. Conway is thorough; he believes that "the life or death of liberal organisations will depend on their ability to surrender that last idol, the Christian name, to which they have no honest right;" and certainly, if he is a fair exponent of his congregation's views, the sooner they give up the name the better.

Next Sunday Dr. Davies was free; "a new curate was to be trotted out" (we should explain that he was a London curate, and that his experience of heterodoxy made him, he says, "less dogmatic in the pulpit"), so he goes to hear Dr. Perfitt at Edward Irving's old chapel in Newman-street. One good remark he certainly does hear, which it were well if all of Dr. Davies' fellow Churchmen would take to heart, that "five words spoken

from the heart are better than a thousand smelling of the oil. Jesus Christ did not read His Sermon on the Mount." Dr. Perfit's programme, too, implies an amount of work which very few "parsons" could match. He gave a "topic" and a "discourse," each equal in length to the average sermon, and both original enough, in whatever else they were wanting.

How Mr. Revell, Independent minister, sliding into Unitarianism, was offended because "you may teach Plato for what he is worth, but you must not teach Paul for what he is worth;" how the same gentleman thought that the Church of England had a notion she can innocently wink at her children's disbelief of the thirty-nine Articles because she finds it written, "the times of this ignorance God winked at," it is scarcely worth while to mention. One remark is worth putting on record; we heartily wish all freethinkers would take it to heart:—"The demand, 'Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience' is not necessarily legitimate or to be granted as it stands. Before I can fairly make such a demand, I must have a conscience to know, to utter, and to argue according to truth, according to verified fact, according to legitimate methods of research and proof, and according to righteousness." Such limitations, strictly adopted, would stop the mouths of many of the most blatant of our apostles of progress. Mr. Revell, again, is quite right in asserting that "truth is for our short life a better thing than freedom to judge as one pleases;" his difficulty, like that of all who desert the Law and the Testimony, being how to find an universally applicable criterion of truth.

There is something in Mr. Revell; but what, save the insatiable appetite of copy-devouring publishers could prompt Mr. Davies to devote thirty pages on Humanitarians of Pentonville, giving us not only the "lecture" (on Socrates), but the rules of the body, and especially the whole marriage service, as by them remodelled? We may remark that bridegroom, as well as bride, receives a ring, "both as a remembrance and as a protection to yourself and others from temptations;" and that at the outset each is asked the question (very pertinent if asked of the relations on each side), "Do you believe yourself capable of maintaining a family?" The Metempsychosis is the Humanitarian way of solving "the riddle of this painful earth;" but, as the audience numbered two, the opinions of the sect scarcely deserved to be stereotyped at such length.

We are comforted to think that the "Liberal Social Union," while asserting *intellectual*, is not quite prepared to go in for *moral* freedom; "*morals* mean *manners*, and we must stand on the accepted manners of the age or community in which we live." Rather a shifting foundation, but still *terra firma* itself compared with the chaos in which some propose to leave us.

No doubt there is good grain to be picked out from the chaff and husks which Dr. Davies chose for his Sunday fare : this, for instance, is sound truth, though spoken at a gathering of the Sunday League :—" We must not blame the labouring classes for their grossness so much as we must blame the bad foundation laid by ignorance and neglect, which has incapacitated their minds for pleasures of a higher order."

But to interview Mormon elders, to listen to Unitarians, advanced ritualistic and moderate, and to hold the balance between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Bradlaugh, must be weary work, even for the sake of affording *pabulum* to Glasgow and Manchester, and meeting the calls of greedy publishers. It is certainly weary work to read the result embodied in these two big volumes, and we cannot but think that a book which gives uncalled-for prominence to obscure sects had better not have been written. If written at all, it should certainly not have been written in the style which Dr. Davies has chosen. We cannot understand a writer who on one page enunciates Mr. Voysey's tremendous *dictum*, that " the old religion is passing away ; its corruptions have at last begun to yield under the pressure of a thousand modern Elijahs ;" and on another (or rather on several others) descants on the personal charms of Madame Ronniger, lectures to the Sunday League, and speculates what her audience would be if she resembled " one of those venerable dowagers who affect the ladies' compartment of the British Museum Reading Room." Mr. Voysey (we may remark) is placed next to the Mormon Elder. We hope he appreciates his position.

Of Dr. Davies's second volume we will only say that it contains samples of the Bradlaugh Litany and other matters with which a Christian had best not have meddled, even though his publishers were never so impatient.

We have felt it necessary to say out what we feel, for we feel strongly on the subject. Dr. Davies's former books, *Orthodox* and *Unorthodox London*, were not altogether to our taste ; far from it, for we object *in toto* to see such matters so dealt with. A joker of jokes is not (we hold) the fit person to describe our sects and their worship. But at least the matters with which they dealt were harmless. We wish we could believe the same of this magnifying the vagaries of what our author calls heterodoxy.

*Health and Education.* By the Rev. Charles Kingsley, F.L.S., F.G.S., Canon of Westminster. London : Macmillan. 1874.

SOME people think the Rector of Eversley is a sounder physician than he is a theologian. Whether or not, one thing is certain, while of good sermon-writers there is no lack, but rather

a too-abundant supply, he is almost the only man who has taken in hand to illustrate and enforce the laws of life with that liveliness of style wherewith he makes attractive whatsoever he deals with.

Mr. Kingsley's style is his great charm. There is little new in most of these essays and lectures; nearly all of them are reprints from popular magazines; yet few will take up *Health and Education* without reading it through, no matter if they have read good part of it before, and heard in other language many of the facts which it contains. His style is his own, though *soups* now of Dickens, now of Maurice, now of Carlyle (much toned down) seem to float in on us as we read; and it is a style which has the power of making the old new and the commonplace interesting. The only fear is lest, like so much that the Canon deprecates in our complex modern life, it may do us harm,—weaken our intellectual fibre by reason of its very attractiveness. Who will study the science of health in a dry treatise, when he (or, still more, she) can get up general notions about it in Canon Kingsley's essays? Who that is accustomed to the highly-gilded pill, will care to go back to the medicine pure and simple? The fault of our time is that not only must learning be made easy, it must be made enticing.

However, a great many will read Kingsley who would read nobody else; and if of these a few only are induced to act out the rules which he lays down, the world will certainly be the better: for there is need of action. The question with which his book begins—"Is the British race improving or degenerating?"—is a serious one. War, of course, by killing off the young and strong, brings about directly the *survival of the unfittest*; but our modern care of life keeps alive those who, in a physical sense, are fittest to die; and the unhealthy habits, the overcrowdings, the want of all arrangements to meet the vast sudden increase of population, threaten evils which this generation will not feel, but which, unless they are remedied, will surely be felt by those that come after. Why the middle class has come to the front so remarkably is (says our author) because of its greater physical power. Business-men escaped decimation during the long French war; hence we see far more stalwart men on Liverpool 'Change and even behind Liverpool counters than at the plough tail. A little inconsistent with this is the confession that "an average Northumbrian, or Highlander, or Irish Easterling could drive five average shopkeepers over a cliff with his bare hands." But the Canon is quite right, if he means that "business," carried on amid healthy surroundings and without undue excitement, is healthier a great deal than work of brain: the thing is, will the grandchildren of these stout healthy traders be up to their grandfathers' health standard? and this will depend on the surroundings in which generation after generation work and live.

Sanitary reform, then ; a public school of health, with popular lectures, in every large town ; water, gas, and railroads, not managed by companies, but by the State ; chignons, and high-heeled boots, and "the Grecian bend" (Canon Kingsley is amusingly indignant at the absurd misnomer), and tight stays abolished by Act of Parliament ;—all this our author looks forward to, "when the world is a little more like the kingdom of the Father in Heaven." In fact, he is as "muscular" as ever, though he puts muscularity on a broader basis, and would fain include the toiling millions as curates and curate-worshippers. Into the schoolroom, too, he would introduce great changes. Sitting bolt upright is bad for young people, "lolling" is healthy and (as Greek bas-reliefs show us) most graceful ; silence, also, is for children grievously unhealthy. Parents should rejoice in the crying, shouting, screaming of young lungs : "they have no right to bring children into the world if they can't bear their noise ;" and teachers, likewise, must beware of the temptation to put a stop to talking. In fact, if young people begin to act on the worthy Canon's rules, we may expect the already unhappily large number of lunatic teachers to be largely increased, unless, indeed, the masters and mistresses will have a game of romps, too, whenever the pupils are ready for one. This might answer on the "half-time" system ; we wonder whether it is in force in Mr. Isbister's office ; if so, the proof-reading which left errors like *corpus sanem* and *mentem sanem* must have gone on during the play-time.

One grand truth we hold with Canon Kingsley,—that that hysterical temperament which seems to come of crowding in large cities leads directly to wild outbreaks like those which have disgraced so many cities, those of which the "Commune" troubles (due to the over-crowding and under-feeding of the Siege) are the latest instance.

"The Two Breaths," that which has been breathed before and the free breath of heaven, is a lecture delivered at Winchester, in which the reason why our forefathers got on (not very well, but very badly) without all this fuss about ventilation, is popularly explained : they lived in houses so ill-built as to be self-ventilating ; that is why they were obliged to use screens and bedsteads with heavy curtains ; and, besides, the length of life has actually increased one-third since the insurance tables were first drawn up.

As suggestive as any is a paper quaintly called "The Air-Mothers," which shows the sinful waste of water in England, when, by a little engineering, an ample supply might be stored up in every district. Not many years ago beer was cheaper than water in a great many Yorkshire towns. The yearly water-famine along the Chilterns is something which Mr. Disraeli ought not to

think beneath his notice. This summer half England is suffering from drought, after a winter in which fell a three-years' supply of rain. We have not attempted what Ninevite kings had done in David's day. The matter touches manufacturers, as well as farmers and people in general. It is no exaggeration to say that were our water well saved, one-third of the coal used in mills and mines could be dispensed with.

To our thinking the most striking essay is "The Tree of Knowledge." Men (says the Canon) have been always asking Nature and not God to clear the dull brain and comfort the weary spirit. His "Tree of Knowledge" is whatever stimulates: "take this, and you'll feel better," is the modern version of the tempter's words; "take this, and you shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." Drinking, he fears, and we fear, too, is on the increase; over-work and high wages combine to cause this. There are thousands who work too hard, in circumstances which depress health, and who have no desire, and often no means, of spending their high wages in any but the lowest pleasures. "We live too fast and work too hard, and all keep running about like rats." It is too true; and the state of parts of the black country, "the well-paid and well-fed men of which abominable wastes care for nothing but good fighting dogs," is a national reproach. In all his remarks on this point Canon Kingsley is practical, keeping clear of Mr. Ruskin's abuse of manufacturers, indeed, giving them their due meed of praise, but pointing out at the same time that drinking increases because "the average hand-worker has very little opportunity of eating of any tree of knowledge save of the very basest kind, while the richer classes have become soberer because of the increased refinement and vanity of their tastes and occupations." This, again, is true; but to a considerable extent it is the "hand-worker's" own fault; neglect of early opportunities cuts him off from many trees of knowledge which bear pleasant fruit, though they do not bloom amid romantic scenery. One bit of special pleading we must notice. Having asserted that the crave for drink and narcotics is "not a disease, but a symptom of a disease far deeper than any which drunkenness can produce, viz., of the growing degeneracy of a population striving in vain by stimulants to fight against the slow poisons with which our civilisation has surrounded them," the Canon says: "People will urge that stimulants have destroyed the Red Men of America. No; all early evidence proves that the Red Men were, when Europeans first met them, a diseased, decaying, decreasing race; and such a race, wanting vitality, would, of course, crave for stimulants. If the stimulants had caused the decay, how is it the Scotch and Irish have been drinking whiskey all during the iron age, perhaps during the bronze and stone ages, and yet show no signs of decaying?" To

this we answer, that both Irish and Highlander have degenerated greatly from the old type, and that the degeneracy is to be traced directly to the abuse of ardent spirits. The evil effects of stimulants are different on different races : to the Red Man they have brought extermination, laying him open to the attacks of new diseases ; for the "Celt" they have caused a lowness of type, only too noticeable when large numbers, and not picked specimens, are looked at.

This theory of "rotting races" is one of the Canon's old crotchets, which he has not given up, as we hope he has that enunciated long ago, in *Town and Country Sermons*, that the Russians are poor, debased creatures, because they went wrong in the *filiopue* controversy. Different, because wholly satisfactory, is what Canon Kingsley says about "our making money too rapidly for the daughters of those who make it." His plea for restoring woman to her place as healer, and in general for that higher education (not mere instruction) which shall fit them as mothers, or nurses, or governesses, to be "thrifty of life," will be read with interest, since these late discussions about the health of American girls.

But the Canon not only lectures mothers and daughters ; he tells the Woolwich cadets that the study of natural history is an excellent and profitable one, and says that one of the happiest officers he ever knew lived mostly "up a tree," while in the tropics, with a long-handled net and plenty of cigars, catching butterflies instead of lounging or losing money at billiards.

"Biogeology," is a wonderful essay, containing, in a few pages, the results of half a life of reading on the distribution of plants, on the traces of the Arctic flora, &c. As a specimen of Kingsleyism it is perfect, comparable with the very best of the *Miscellanies*. Indeed, throughout, Canon Kingsley's style, always telling, has improved ; he has almost lost that pompousness which was a defect in *Glaucus* and other earlier works.

"Superstition" and "Science," two lectures at the Royal Institution, are the most elaborate in the volume. Superstition, we are told, has nothing to do with the spirit, is not a child of reverence, but is a purely physical affection, *fear of the unknown*. Out of this blind fear of the unknown, like that of a cat caught in a trap, who bites at and tears the hand that tries to free her, man's imagination has created a whole mythology. And this fear is merely physical ; spiritual fear is one of the noblest of all affections, nothing less or more than the fear of doing wrong ; but between a savage's fear of a demon and a hunter's fear of a fall if he leaps an untried fence there is absolutely no difference. Hence comes all idolatry ; indeed, from a savage watching the fierce Indian wasps in a hollow tree, Canon Kingsley deduces (in *Water-Baby* style) the fancy of a wasp-king, leading to the

formation of a wasp-tribe, who would gradually get to believe that their great forefather was a wasp, and who would offer human sacrifices to their wasps, which by-and-by, in the course of their migrations, would degenerate into a little wooden fetish. All this is beautifully worked out, and when its connection is pointed out with those witch-maniacs which, common still in Negroland, were of old too common in Europe, the terrible results of physical fear, systematised into a superstition, become apparent.

We must not follow Canon Kingsley through what he says on science. One remark deserves to be put on record: "The Jewish prophets, who took a healthy, cheerful, trustful view of nature, would have founded a grand school of inductive science, if that had been their business, for they found delight and not dread in the thought that the universe obeyed a law which could not be broken." Another is, that "the worst enemies of science are those often well-meaning persons who would keep a tame man of science as they would keep a tame parrot or a tame poet, saying,—Let us have science by all means, but not too much of it; discover freely, but hand over your discoveries to us, that we therewith may instruct and edify." Worthy of note, also, is the hint that science has shown the Malthusian dictum about population increasing faster than food, to be no law of humanity, but merely a tendency of the barbaric and ignorant man, for she increases manifold man's artificial powers of producing food." This remains to be proved. Science can send over tinned meats, perhaps, by-and-by, uncooked joints; science can invent phosphates; but she has not as yet been able to make worn-out English land compete with the exhaustless soil of South Russia.

Three lives—George Buchanan, tutor (and, in spite of Canon Kingsley, we must say calumniator) of Mary Queen of Scots; Rondelet, the Huguenot naturalist of Montpellier; and Vesalius, the anatomist—close the volume.

*Responsibility in Mental Disease.* By Henry Maudsley, M.D., &c. Henry S. King and Co. London. 1874.

It will scarcely be claimed by the most enthusiastic advocates of evolution that the doctrine of natural selection, as presented by Darwin, Spencer, and more notably by Haeckel, as the mode of origin of every form in the Biological series, from the "prolist" to man, and from man's lowest physical function to his highest moral impulse and action, is more than a "grand hypothesis" encircled by facts that strongly support its truth. There are physiologists, however, who would reconstruct upon it as a foundation the entire fabric of our civilised and social existence!



Dr. Maudsley is one of these. He is a psychologist who knows of nothing but matter and force. Logically considered, the only deity discoverable to, or allowable by, the human mind, is the deathless and rhythmical dance of atoms, and the only soul possessed by man is the outcome of their dancing in groups, which evolution, with heredity and accidental variation for its warp and woof, has arranged. Push home the reasoning of this book and that of others from the same pen, and man is but the creature of the accidents that have formed his infinite past, coupled with the "environments" among which he stands. Motive, impulse, will, action, are all decided for him. He has no freedom, nor in the proper and noble sense can he have the shadow of responsibility. The trees of Sodom and the vines of Eshcol produced entirely different fruits by the action of the law of selection and heredity. It is so with the moral and mental fruitage of a human mind. The pitcher-plant lays a trap of sugary gum from the base of its stalk to the inner margin of the treacherous leaf, which time has fashioned into a "pitcher," containing a digestive fluid into which the unsuspecting victim is decoyed to its death. But no one charges treachery upon the plant. The thousand flowers of the field pour forth their fragrance, and yield ungrudgingly to the myriads of harvesting insects food for the future. But who on this account invests them with personal nobility of action? They are the creatures of their environment; they are the necessary products of their peculiar past. Stern logic, carrying the reasoning of this book to its ultimate issue, can allow nothing more than this to the human mind. A man is mean or murderous merely from the accidents of the past. Our impulses are noble and generous because the warp and woof of hereditary and accidental variation in the hands of evolution have made them so. We can be no better and no worse than the inevitable has made us. We are conscious automata, and on such doctrines as these the whole question of criminal responsibility and the treatment of the insane is to be reconstructed. This, stripped of embellishment, is the meaning of the book before us. One out of scores of passages may suffice to show this. We are told that every man "is under the dominion of the natural law of evolution of the antecedents of which he is the consequent, and could no more become like "another" than an oak could become an elm if their germs were planted in the same soil, warmed by the same sun, and watered by the same showers; each would display variations which, by the operation of natural selection, would issue finally in distinct varieties of character. There is a destiny made for man by his ancestors, and no man can elude, were he able to attempt it, the tyranny of his organisation" (pp. 21, 22). Again, "It is certain . . . that lunatics and criminals are as much manufactured articles as steam engines . . . only the processes

of the organic manufactory are so complex that we are not able to follow them" (p. 28). Now when we remember that it is not merely the physical nature that is here spoken of, but that the physical nature is declared to be *all*; when it is remembered that emotion, thought, volition—nay, consciousness itself, are claimed to be simply "modes of motion" of the molecular structure of the brain and nervous system, the meaning of all this is plain enough. We are conscious automata, doing that and only that which our complex structure compels us to do. Nothing outside the mechanism of our separate nature is possible to us. There is no absolute right or wrong anywhere. If the universe be infinite in extent, evolution may act in a wholly different manner somewhere else. What our brain-structure and molecular action lead us to look upon as good, and true, and noble, may at some infinite distance in the cosmos, by the peculiar brain evolution of its sentient beings, be execrated as absolute badness. If the brain structure of the majority leads to certain methods of action or thought, whatever they may be, they are right. Right and wrong in the opinion and consciousness of any group of sentient beings are simply what evolution makes them. Hence, after all, a madman's view of right is right to himself, although, on account of his deviation from the type of the majority in his view as to what right is, he must by that majority be restrained. Fortunately, the simple statement of this theory is its best refutation. It contradicts the common sense of humanity—runs counter to our consciousness. The fact that it ignores metaphysics and theology alike might be tolerated—at least by many—but man himself must not be ignored in framing laws for his mental and moral government.

It would be a matter of very considerable interest to follow into detail this singular book, but space forbids. Some points, however, may be briefly considered. It is observed that the insane are always influenced by motives like the mentally healthy, only they are perverted and unrestrained by conventionalism. But it is affirmed that the criminal in many cases has no more control over his will in response to these motives, than a convulsed patient has to regulate the action of his muscles by the standard of action afforded by a healthy frame. So that in point of fact the most circumscribed mental derangement becomes a sufficient excuse for the greatest aberration in morals. That there is a reciprocity of action between the physical and the mental state, it is scarcely necessary to maintain. It is admitted on all hands. The mind is powerfully affected by the body, and the intimate connection between molecular change and mental action is undoubtedly a fact. But that there is that in man which is enthroned above the material, and ultimately independent of it, no unbiased student of the whole phenomena of mind can long

question. Because physical methods of inquiry, when legitimately pursued, result in more or less exact knowledge, while metaphysical methods have always been more or less obscured and vitiated by what is subjective, we are not surely to conclude that all metaphysical inquiry is baseless. Because every mental action is accompanied by a measurable amount of molecular change in the substance of the brain, we are surely not illogical in refusing to consider such molecular change at once the cause of thought, and the thought itself. There is that in every human being to which every action is ; and which in spite of the most subtle reasoning and sophistry asserts itself superior to, and independent of all around it. To ignore this in estimating the mind's power over motives in health or disease, is to unfit ourselves for discussing the question at all. Our laws are a protest against it ; and their practical preventive action is the clearest test of their utility.

One of the most curious passages in the book is that in which the author seeks to identify many of the Hebrew Prophets with madmen. Some of the more marked symbolic actions of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea are specially indicated. But what can be more unphilosophical than such cold pathology as this ? The man whose life is devoted to experimental research is repeatedly doing what an intelligent school-boy would look upon as almost idiotic. Some of Joule's experiments in searching for the mechanical equivalent of heat, looked at *by themselves*, and severed from their context of purpose and idea, look merely like the toys of a child. We must see their relation to each other and become master of the thought that guides and projects them all, to learn their meaning and to see their worth. And to isolate the acts of a Hebrew prophet under the afflatus of a great purpose merely to analyse them in themselves, is as unjust as it is wanting in every element of true science. If men are to be judged mad on such terms, we may fairly conclude that it is to madness and not to sanity that the victories of mind are to be attributed. On a level with this is the suggestion that the change of life and character in Saul of Tarsus after his vision on the road to Damascus was the result of a severe attack of insanity.

In coming to the practical question of responsibility, Dr. Maudsley appears to argue that the presence of any morbid state of the ideas or affections vitiates reason, and annuls responsibility. Doubtless this will apply to some diseases ; but that it applies to all, is simply incorrect. Persons who are not to be convinced of the spherical shape of the earth, or are still for squaring the circle, are surely not free from moral responsibility in relation to theft or murder. Would a fraudulent land measurement be justified in a court of law by an assertion on the part of the surveyor that he was of opinion that the earth was not round, but flat ? Be this as it may, our author quotes, with evident

approval, the dictum of an American judge, who would acquit everyone whose mental state leads to erroneous notions as to facts; and this is supposed to be the bridge across the difficulties that at present surround the legal question which insanity involves. But the dogma that a person with a partial delusion is morally irresponsible for all his acts, would, we venture to affirm, leave more difficulties to be encountered than at present exist. To prove a very small insanity, and distinguish it from originality and eccentricity, or from ignorance, custom, stupidity, national prejudice, and so forth, is the very difficulty which constitutes the uncertainty of present trials at law.

Dr. Maudsley endeavours to sustain the position that legal judgments concerning witchcraft in days gone by were wrong, because the judge instructed the jury wrongly in matters of fact, and argues that the same is now done in relation to insanity for want of appeal to competent authority—the medical faculty—and we should infer that part of it specially which holds Dr. Maudsley's medical theories! But the fact is, the analogy is radically false. Witchcraft was a delusion shared in equally by the medical profession, the judges, and the people. But insanity is a fact, and can be dealt with as such. If, indeed, the medical profession could lay down a definite line by which every kind and degree of mental aberration should be known, and could show that its existence deprived the individual of moral responsibility, rendering him not amenable to law, that would be intelligible, something gained, and the law would only need evidences of the existence of insanity, however partial. But Dr. Maudsley not only cannot do this, but he allows a "borderland;" the question as to whether the "borderland" is passed being decided by the evidence of witnesses and experts. Should these experts be wholly medical? This is really one of the main questions which this book seeks to decide in the affirmative. From this we entirely dissent. The decision of the boundary line between eccentricity, originality, enthusiasm, &c., and insanity can be as well made by any educated thinking men as by doctors. How far the medical profession should be trusted with more power than it at present possesses may also be considered a serious question. Medical science can give us no absolute test of insanity, still less can it tell us with indisputable authority where responsibility ceases.

Dr. Maudsley contends that capital punishment should never be visited on those who are in any way mentally deranged, and yet the author admits that they should be punished! Surely this is a breakdown in reasoning. Either they are irresponsible, and therefore not amenable to justice; or if they know the nature of the crime and its legal consequences, should, while capital punishment obtains, suffer the full penalty of the law.

Finally, the writer refers to cases of senile decay, and then we are told that in some of these the consciousness of personal identity is lost, and the philosophers "who lay such stress on the unity of the *ego*" are invited to explain this. The challenge may be accepted when Dr. Maudsley gives us unmistakable cases to deal with. We have frequently endeavoured to analyse such cases, but they have never proved, on inquiry, what they were supposed to be. Memory may utterly fail; but consciousness—the "equivalent" of which in matter and force has a stubborn power of resisting the analyses of physicist and physiologist—remains. This is the stronghold of the psychologist.

*Lectures on the Geography of Greece.* By H. F. Tozer, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. London: Murray. 1978.

THESE Lectures are among the earliest public fruits of a system lately introduced with the best results in both the older Universities. The great numerical inferiority of the professoriate as compared with that existing at Continental Universities with much fewer students, has induced some of the more active and accomplished college tutors and lecturers to take upon themselves duties which might seem to be more properly those of University professors. In addition to their ordinary routine teaching, they have chosen subjects to which they have respectively devoted especial attention, and have given courses of lectures upon them, open to the undergraduates of several or of all the colleges, or even to the general public. Mr. H. F. Tozer has long been known beyond University circles as an observant and accomplished traveller in the East, and it was natural that he should take, as the subject of a course of lectures, the geography of a country familiar to him from personal observation. The result is certainly highly satisfactory. The dryness which might have been expected to appear in a formal treatise on geography and topography, is avoided by casting the work into the form of lectures, which give scope for, and indeed require, a greater lightness of treatment. Throughout, the reader feels that he is in the hands of one who unites to competent scholarship a familiarity much less common with the actual natural phenomena of the country which he is describing. The objects which Mr. Tozer had in view in writing this course of lectures are thus stated in the preface:—(1) To enable students to form a more real conception of the country from the impressions of one who at various times has travelled over most of it; (2) To give a brief summary of the principal physical conditions by which the Greeks were influenced; (3) To sketch the connection of the geography and the history, starting from the geographical point of view; (4) To draw attention to

one or two subjects, which have hitherto been but slightly noticed . . . especially the connection of the geography and the mythology, and the etymology of Greek names of places." On all the points Mr. Tozer has much to say, well worth reading, and says it in a clear and graceful style. It is when dealing with the first and fourth that his path is the least well-worn, and here especially the younger student will have most reason to be grateful. It is true that on the subject of etymology, Mr. Tozer has not much to add to that which can be gathered from the great work of Professor George Curtius, "master of the old and new, safest and surest of guides," as he has been well called,—helped out occasionally by his famous brother's elaborate *Peloponnesus* and his smaller occasional essays. But the material has been gathered with great care, sifted with a sound philological caution, and arranged with a welcome clearness, so that the English reader is laid under no small debt of gratitude. In the Ninth Lecture, "On the Connection between Greek Geography and Greek Mythology," Mr. Tozer has not, so far as we can remember, any worthy predecessor, and the whole of the lecture is not only sound, but remarkably fresh and original. On the whole, the volume is one to be very heartily commended to the attention, not only of classical students, but of all who find any interest in the wonderful land

"Where each old poetic fountain  
Inspiration breathes around."

It is placed within the reach of all by well-chosen translations of the passages quoted from ancient authors, and supplied with an excellent map, printed, if we are not mistaken, from a portion of one of the plates engraved for Mr. Murray's magnificent *Biblical and Classical Atlas*.

*Darwinism and Design, or Creation by Evolution.* By G. St. Clair, F.G.S., &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1878.

*What is Darwinism?* By Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D., &c. T. Nelson and Sons, London and Edinburgh. 1874.

WE commend these books to students of theology. They are valuable from the contrasts they present. They are both written in the interests of religion, but the former accepts the great modern theories, and shows how they may be harmonised with Revelation. The other repudiates natural selection, contends that, as a theory, it does not rest upon facts, and therefore rejects it. They are both well written, and will give the perplexed student a fair opportunity of hearing both sides, and so far judging for himself.

*Ancient Classics for English Readers.* Edited by the Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A. Vol. XX. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1874.

*The Greek Anthology.* By Lord Neaves.

WITH the present volume, Mr. Collins brings to a close his series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers*. We can hardly wonder at the decision to which he has come to terminate here his editorial labours. To the twenty-one authors whose works have furnished the subjects for the little volumes which we have welcomed from time to time, it would not be easy to add any others admitting of a popular and yet scholarly and adequate treatment. We should have liked to see the experiment tried with Aristotle as well as Plato. It is true that the writings of "the master of those who know" contain more that would have to be passed over lightly in such a series as the present than was found to be the case with the Academic philosopher; his logical works and, to a large extent, his treatises on natural history could hardly be made to contribute much of any general interest or value: but surely the *Ethics* and the *Politics*, to say nothing of the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*, supply much more attractive material than the *Theæstetus* and the *Philebus*. The subject of life in Rome, again, is by no means so exhaustively treated in the volume on *Juvenal* as to exclude the possibility of adding much from *Martial*; while the fact that his epigrams correspond much more nearly than those of the *Greek Anthology* to the modern notions of the requirements of such compositions, would have made them all the more welcome to the English reader. Archbishop Trench's charming lectures on *Plutarch* perhaps preclude all rivalry; otherwise no author would have lent himself more readily to the work which Mr. Collins has undertaken. The *Roman Elegy*, again, second-rate as are undoubtedly its poetical merits, forms so important and, in some respects, instructive a part of Latin literature, that we cannot but regret its total omission. But it is ill manners looking a gift horse in the mouth, and we feel much more inclined to thank Mr. Collins for that which he has done for us, than to complain of anything that may have been left undone. We are glad to be able to repeat, on the conclusion of the series, the warm commendation that we have given to many of the volumes as they have successively appeared. It is of course inevitable that there should have been inequalities in a series produced by so many contributors; but, as a rule, the writers have been thoroughly competent, and in some cases, previously distinguished for their familiarity with the author with whom they have undertaken to deal. The plan was an excellent one, and it has been worthily carried out. And not only for those

"general readers" for whom they have been especially intended, but even for more advanced scholars, Mr. Collins's volumes will be found extremely useful. We would especially recommend them for use in schools and colleges, where it has been too often the custom to set boys down to the study of a fragment of an author, with little or no idea of the parts of the work which precede and follow it. If this should be done with any of the authors of whom Mr. Collins and his collaborateurs have treated, it will be less excusable than ever.

As to the volume more especially under notice, we must confess that it somewhat disappoints us. Lord Neaves's reputation as a writer of sparkling verse and sensible lectures is so deservedly high, that we were hardly prepared for the feebleness and commonplace of much of the writing which connects the specimens extracted from the Anthology. But the charm of many of the exquisite little "flowers" gathered from the poesy of a thousand years is such, and the number of meritorious versions of them, from which an editor may choose, so great, that blemishes far greater than those which disfigure Lord Neaves's own portion of the work, would not prevent the volume from being a welcome addition to a series, of which we are reluctantly compelled to consider it one of the least successful volumes.

*The Poetical Works of David Gray.* A New and Enlarged Edition. Edited by Henry Glassford Bell. Glasgow: James Maclehose, Publisher to the University. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

THE name of David Gray seems to be doomed to connection with sorrowful issues. Snatched away himself at the early age of twenty-three, his works have at length fallen under the editorial care of Mr. Henry Glassford Bell, who "passed away in the vigorous fulness of his years," within a week after he had been correcting the proofs of the present volume. That this new edition of the young Scot's verses has lost much by the death of the editor we have no doubt; for although he had already selected what new pieces he thought worthy of being added to the former collected edition, had rearranged the whole, and had finally revised the greater part of the volume, it was, we are told, his intention to prefix a memoir and criticism. Instead of this intended prefatory matter, the publishers have given, as an appendix, a speech delivered by Mr. Bell in July, 1865, at the inauguration of the monument erected to David Gray's memory in the "Auld Aisle" burying-ground at Kirkintilloch. We think Mr. Bell, like Lord Houghton and some others, much overrates David Gray, who, though he has left behind him some pretty



enough verses, does not appear to us to have been a man of unmistakable genius. He might, if he had lived, have written fine poetry ; but equally he might not ; and his observation that, if he lived, he meant to be buried in Westminster Abbey, has always struck us as the conceit of a weakling rather than the strong confidence of a genius. However, we are glad to see his works collected again into a pretty volume, such as will help to keep them in mind if the public mean to adopt his latest editor's view, that they are worth keeping in mind.

There is nothing in the book to show which of the pieces are now published for the first time. This is a grave omission.

*The Poetical Works of Robert Buchanan.* Vol. I., Ballads and Romances ; Ballads and Poems of Life. London : Henry S. King and Co., 65, Cornhill, and 12, Paternoster-row. 1874.

ONE of the best known pieces in the first volume of Mr. Robert Buchanan's *Poetical Works* is the address "To David in Heaven," the David of which is none other than poor David Gray. But though these verses are among the best known they are also among the least worth knowing,—their chief value being the witness they bear that Mr. Buchanan is not the only person who is over-estimated by Mr. Buchanan. The issue of a collected, classified, remodelled edition of the works in verse and prose of a barely-recognised fourth-rate writer like Mr. Buchanan is of itself somewhat ludicrous ; but when supplemented by an engraved portrait and particulars of the writer's family history, it becomes more decidedly ludicrous ; and one almost marvels at the self-assertion even of one whose antecedents scarcely left room to marvel at anything which his egotism and bad taste might bring about. A selection from the best things of Mr. Buchanan's works might well find a place in our collection of contemporary poetry ; but he has done nothing (at least nothing published under his name) of any importance, and the air of importance he endeavours to give to his verses by classification, new "tags," and so on, results only in larger failure. To pick the best of the wheat out of many volumes mainly made up of chaff were wise enough ; but to try to persuade us that all this chaff is wheat and of a good quality, is simply foolishness ; and we are really sorry to see Mr. Buchanan giving so bad a chance to what is really worth reading in his work of the past few years.

In a note, the writer tells us that the Collection is to include all his writings, with the exception of some which his "maturer judgment does not approve ;" and the implication is that his

"maturer judgment" *does* approve of all that is here. This is to be regretted, because much is so bad that it leaves but little hope of any advantage to the reading public to be reaped through maturity of Mr. Buchanan's judgment, even if he goes on living and "judging" till he is a hundred. We are glad, however, to see that his judgment is now sufficiently matured to recognise that it is admissible for a modern poet to write such verses as

"I have come from a mystical Land of Light  
To a Strange Country;  
The Land I have left is forgotten quite  
In the Land I see."

It is not long since, in acting the part of "Thomas Maitland," Mr. Buchanan poked a good deal of fun at certain better-known authors than himself, on account of the necessity to depart from ordinary prose pronunciation in verses of similar construction; but his "maturer judgment," brought to bear on the productions of his own mind, sees nothing ludicrous in the old ballad style of the line—

Tō ā stränge | cōuntree,

as it must be scanned and pronounced here. We note, moreover, that in the two divisions of Volume I., under the heads of "Ballads and Romances" and "Ballads and Poems of Life," the leniency of "maturer judgment" is extended throughout to this and other characteristics found specially objectionable by "Thomas Maitland," attacking the poetic rivals of Robert Buchanan.

There is one advantage in this reclassification of Mr. Buchanan's volumes of verse, namely, the opportunity it gives those readers who care to form an opinion about him, of doing so without much trouble. The first volume shows him at his best and at his worst, and at most of his intermediate levels. The ballad of "Judas Iscariot" is an admirable poem of a few pages, and, as far as we know, its goodness is all Mr. Buchanan's own. "Meg Blane" and "The Scaith o' Battle" stand midway between the best and the worst: both have much good human feeling in them, borrowed, of course, from no one; but both have also technical tricks badly imitated from greater authors; and both are marked by one of Mr. Buchanan's ruling vices—the vice of voluminousness. Then, at the other pole, we have the "Address to David Gray," which we should pronounce as bad as possible, had not Mr. Buchanan shown us that it is possible to do worse in the execrable "Ballad of Persephone."

*Poems.* By Hunter Dodds. London: Provost and Co: 1874.

THE larger part of this volume consists of versified legends of Romish saints, and is an instalment of a series of poems on "Saints' Days for the Year," on which the author is engaged. Mr. Dodds tells these old Church tales in graceful, animated lines; while the dreamy, ascetic sentimentalism fostered by Romish culture enables him to present his subjects in that tender, solemn, ecclesiastical form, in which alone, perhaps, they could be made tolerable as matter for poetic treatment. He undoubtedly possesses considerable poetic faculty, but he lacks, as yet, the bone and sinew of self-reliant thought, and the truth and strength of feeling which can be evoked only by much study of things as they are in the real world. Of the earlier poems, two strike us as noteworthy for their fine embodiment of the brave, simple spirit of the old English ballad, so admirably suited to that class of subjects. They are "Sir Ulfrie and His Lady" and "A Knight in Prison Singeth." The little hymn, too, in the story of St. Genevieve, sung by the sorrowing crowd in the church, is noticeable for its sweet, devotional, pathos; and we should like to see it well set to music. We close this notice by quoting it, not as a fair specimen of the author's powers, but for its own sake.

"When the tide of war outbursting,  
Drowns in blood the smiling plain,  
Vain the deeds of bravest heroes,  
Swords and bucklers—all are vain.  
Be our buckler, Thou whose pity  
Bore the shame upon the tree:  
Man of sorrows! in our sorrows  
We can only trust in Thee.

"On the darkly heaving billows  
Thou didst walk, and they were still;  
Thou canst stay the proud invader,  
He is servant to Thy will.  
Thou alone art King of nations—  
Lord of death or victory:  
Man of sorrows! in our sorrows  
We can only trust in Thee.

"O! subdue our hearts' rebellion,  
That we faint not or repine,  
Nought of evil can befall us,  
That comes down from hand of Thine.  
May we, like Thy great disciple,  
Meet Thee on the swelling sea:  
Man of sorrows! in our sorrows  
We can only trust in Thee."

*Congregational History, 1567-1700, in relation to Contemporaneous Events, and the Conflict for Freedom, Purity and Independence.* By John Waddington, D.D. London: Longmans. 1874.

READERS of Dr. Waddington's *Congregational History from 1200-1567*, will not be surprised to meet with a portly octavo volume of some 700 pages from the same pen characterised by the same laborious research. The precursor of the present work embraced a more extensive range, both as regards time and place, in the endeavour to trace in the various states of Europe the existence during the Middle Ages of congregational principles originating in the times of the Apostles, and to show that their maintenance and application were clearly discernible in the lives and writings of the great Reformers, both before and at the Reformation.

The volume before us traverses England and America, casting a brief glance at Holland, the house of refuge, the Pella, of proscribed and persecuted Dissent in this age. It lacks the interest attaching to a record of the stirring scenes enacted in the earlier half of the 16th century on the stage of religious history. Closely interwoven as they are, it is the political rather than the religious history of this later period which absorbs our chief interest. The struggle is not now between the gross darkness of the Papacy and the Gospel light rekindled and diffused by Protestantism; the question is whether that light, acknowledged by the great estates of the realm, shall only be allowed to reach the people through the artificial media of Church ceremonies, by the aid of episcopal organisation and priestly intercession, or be permitted to strike its penetrating beams direct from heaven itself.

Accordingly, the point of departure chosen is the year of the constitution of Richard Fitz's Church in the Bridewell of the City of London, the first Church of the Congregational order at the English Reformation of which we have information. To the restoration of property under Mary, and the exalted notions of royal prerogative entertained by the last of the Tudors and her two immediate successors of the Stuart line, were due the persistence and active development of Puritanism, and especially of that form of Puritanism the history of which, under many names, Dr. Waddington has undertaken to relate. The refugees on the Continent, who escaped the fires of Smithfield under Mary, caught the inspiration of the Continental reform, and with it the tendency to a democratic Church order, the maturity of which it was for Elizabeth to accomplish by instrumentalities strangely akin to those employed by her sister. Constrained exile, banishment, imprisonment, and death itself, were the appointed order of things under that sagacious Queen, her hypocritical successor, and his ill-fated son. In Grindal, Bancroft, Whitgift and Laud,

these rulers found men willing to undertake the pleasing office of persecutor, not loath to condemn the liberty of the subject so as to gain the favour of their sovereign or accomplish their own ecclesiastical projects. But High Commission and Star Chamber, Proclamation and so-called Legal Process, Conferences that were never meant to decide anything, and Concessions, only granted to be immediately withdrawn, served but to give volume and impetus to the wave which was to submerge crowned and mitred heads together.

The earlier portion of this volume is devoted to a detailed history of the persecutions suffered by those who passed under the name of Brownists, Separatists, Barrowists, &c., the enunciation of the principles by which they were guided, and the objects they were resolved to effect, and to an account of the formation of Congregational Churches in such places as Bury St. Edmunds, Southwark, Islington, Gainsborough, and Exeter—a history of “units” which the subject from its very nature involves. Dr. Waddington sets the dark designs of the Papal emissaries in striking contrast with the hearty loyalty of these simple men. A Memorial addressed by the latter to the Lord Mayor of London, deserves to be thus brought to light :—

“Marvel not, then, at our state; but pity us and help us, wherein you know it to be amiss. Behold a people wholly bent and devoted to serve the God of heaven in that course which they may perceive to be most tending to holiness and righteousness. If your Honours and Worships can bring any to show us that we shall do more true service to our God, our Queen and country, by coming to the parish assemblies, verily, we will hearken to them without obstinacy and go, that some of you would be the witnesses and judges. Alas! it is not our worldly ease to be thus tossed as we are. It is not only this matter of conscience that causeth all our sufferings and your troubles with us. Wherefore for Christ’s sake, whose true subjects we are; for England’s sake, whose loving countrymen we remain; and for the honour of your own names and health of your own souls, let no man cause you to fix your eyes and thoughts wholly upon our supposed faults; but rather upon some merciful means whereby this our too much heat may be cooled and tempered, if it be advised, in all meekness and love. How? *As becometh them that would spend their blood against the Pope and Spanish King, &c.*”

“That such was not the sentiment of intolerant bigotry,” Dr. Waddington adds, “will be seen by anyone who will carefully look into the original documents that reveal the designs of the Papacy in conjunction with the Spaniards.” “Then follows the scheme of Parsons, the Jesuit, in which the opinion is expressed that ‘*in no way should liberty of religion be permitted to any person or to any Christian Commonwealth.*’”

Dr. Waddington does not rest his claim for a hearing on any beauties of style. The picturesque finds no place in his narrative. He is concerned simply with the statement of evidence, oral and written, which is left to produce its own effect. The story of the Pilgrim Fathers, if we except a few added details of the initiation of the scheme, is told by the simple but manly "relation" of Governor Bradford. Such a plan, while it detracts from the charm of a narrative, conduces to the faithful delineation of character, which is exemplified in the accounts of John Parry and Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians." In the former case, Dr. Waddington quotes in his letter to his wife his confession of faith, his statement to the judges, proposals for a conference, valedictory address to the Church, and his appeal followed by a protestation to Lord Burghley, with the good result of enabling us to comprehend thoroughly the man's character. The contrary effect is produced by a perusal of the chapters devoted to Puritan colonisation. We wander hopelessly among sermons, articles, dialogues, letters of spiritual counsel, addresses and confessions of faith. Dr. Waddington might be writing the History of Religion.

Coming to the period of the Commonwealth, we find our author declining for a singular reason the task of dealing with ecclesiastical organisation. "We cannot enter into the labyrinth of Republican politics. The intention of the Protector was to meet the ecclesiastical emergency in the best and most impartial manner. But there is ample proof that Ministers appointed and salaried by the State were placed in a most unhappy position." Then follows a treatment of the subject after the "unit" fashion, after which a review is taken of the contest between the early Quakers and their opponents. Of the controversial writings of the former, he says, "They are often so confused and vituperative that it is difficult either to understand their meaning, or to give a fair account of them to others."

All this is very unsatisfactory. The labyrinth of the Commonwealth Dr. Waddington should be quite competent to tread, and when he informs us in the preface that "The most zealous Liberationist might learn something from the experiment of partial disestablishment without complete disendowment in the ecclesiastical chaos of the Commonwealth," we expected something more than this withdrawal. Whether weariness of his task, or the fear of passing the limit of a single volume, withheld him, we find a very meagre treatment of that eventful period which immediately succeeded the Restoration. There is no allusion to the Proclamation of Jan. 1661, which followed Venner's insurrection, and put an end to all liberty of public worship and confined it within the walls of the parish church.

There are defects in the volume which are palpable even to the ordinary reader. Quotation follows quotation without the

slightest clue to the source from which they are derived. The references that are given are of a most insufficient description. The documents referred to are multifarious ; State Papers and Historical MSS., printed books, Church and Corporation records ; but without a faithful system of references the value of the book is greatly diminished. A "correspondent of the period" is sometimes our only authority for a page of print. Again, quotations printed for the most part in smaller type continually run into the text of the work ; and the love of inverted commas and parentheses amounts almost to a mania, e.g. "thereabout" (p. 23), "beloved" (p. 128), "exiles" (p. 119), "let" (hindrance), (p. 128), &c. In the citation from Milton's *Areopagitica*, pp. 434-89, there are at least six errors.

Despite blemishes of style and arrangement, the volume before us is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. After patient delving in many soils, Dr. Waddington has presented us with treasures of historical evidence of great worth. "The witnesses are allowed to appear in regular succession in their proper garb, and to speak for themselves in their own manner." The student of ecclesiastical history will be grateful to Dr. Waddington for this attempt to bring to light the less known facts of Congregationalism.

*Ecclesiastical History of England. The Church of the Revolution.* By John Stoughton, D.D. London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

THIS volume of Dr. Stoughton's History is of very great interest and value. It deals with a period of remarkable importance. When the word "Revolution" accurately represents the spirit of an age, there will be much to attract the thoughtful reader. The civil aspect of the English Revolution has been sufficiently sketched by Macaulay ; and now, under Dr. Stoughton's guidance, we are invited to survey its ecclesiastical side. When we say that this volume gives us a Dissenter's view of the events of the reign of William III., we do not intend to cast any reflection upon the writer's impartiality. Upon the whole, the history is written with fairness ; still it is not impossible to discover the direction in which the narrator's sympathies lie. The book is written in a very readable style, and the narrative is frequently enlivened by well-drawn pictures of places and men. We have been specially struck with the quiet beauty of the scenes in the midst of which the last days of Archbishop Sancroft were spent. No doubt all this picturesque writing is an abomination to the soul of Dryasdust ; but readers heartily welcome it. Sometimes, however, Dr. Stoughton errs in this respect ; the names of certain places are to him mighty spells, conjuring up the spirits of the

past, and his recollections becoming bewildering. For instance, we meet with such a sentence as this :—" At Newcastle and Hull—ground covered by Commonwealth memories—demonstrations occurred in favour of a free Parliament. In the fine old market-place at Norwich—abounding in Puritan associations—the Duke of Norfolk addressed the Mayor and citizens, and talked of securing law, liberty, and the Protestant religion. Just afterwards, the townsmen of King's Lynn—where one meets with the shades of Oliver Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester—responded to the Duke in a strain like his own " (p. 50). A very uncomfortable sense of ignorance of " Commonwealth memories " and " Puritan associations " is apt to make its appearance in a reader's mind on perusing such sentences, and some time passes before he can forgive the author and his recollections. The sketches of the meetings of Convocation in the year 1701 are very spirited. Dr. Stoughton's pen moves freely when describing the quarrels of the Upper and Lower Houses. The restless figure of Atterbury darts across the page, and more than once a stampede of " wild " clerics is witnessed. We fear that the task of describing these ecclesiastical hurlyburlies is a congenial one; we fancy that we catch the twinkle of the Dissenter's eye as he writes the following lines :—" The clergy on the 20th of January assembled early in the cold nave of the Abbey, after which they proceeded to prayers in the Jerusalem Chamber; thence they returned to Henry VII.'s Chapel, where they found the floor matted and curtains hung—no small comfort on a frosty morning. If their feet were as warm as their tempers, they had no reason to complain, for no sooner had they taken their places than it was proposed to have prayers over again by themselves, to show their independence." The volume is made of especial value by the insertion of extracts from comparatively unknown local Church histories, and by the final chapters on religious societies and the condition of the Nonconformists.

Dr. Stoughton has done good service by his description of the attempt at Comprehension in the year 1689. In a time of Revolution many precedents are examined and abolished, or amended in accordance with the demands of the age. In the English Revolution the condition of the Church was so examined, and a very interesting attempt was made to amend its form. In the French Revolution the examination led to a determination to abolish it altogether. Fortunately we were saved from such " blind hysterics." The leaders of the Established Church, in order to reconcile Nonconformists, took into grave consideration their grievances. They learned that the difficulties in the way of union lay, to a considerable extent, in the Prayer Book; and so, after a Bill had passed the Houses of Parliament, a Commission was appointed to examine the whole question. The Book of



Common Prayer was subjected to rigid criticism, and, as a result, it was discovered that about six hundred alterations ought to be made therein, "even if," as Dr. Stillingfleet affirmed, "there were no Dissenters, as they would be for the improvement of the service." This scheme, that seemed to promise so well, finally perished amidst the controversies of Convocation. The whole account is well worth the perusal of Churchmen and Nonconformists. Macaulay has assigned a reason for the failure of the attempt that does not limit the blame to the clergy; but Dr. Stoughton seems to repudiate the charge. It will be remembered that Macaulay suggests that there was no real desire on the part of Nonconformist ministers to become reconciled to the Church. According to his theory, Comprehension was looked upon by them as a terrible disaster. He describes the comfort of the popular Presbyterian minister with touching effusiveness:—"The best broadcloth from Blackwell Hall and the best poultry from Leadenhall Market were frequently left at his door. . . . While a waiting woman was generally considered as a help meet for a chaplain in holy orders of the Established Church, the widows and daughters of opulent citizens were supposed to belong, in a peculiar manner, to Nonconformist pastors." What wonder, then, that these fortunate men objected to be comprehended? We quite agree with the historian's conclusion:—"He might, therefore, on the whole, very naturally wish to be left where he was." Dr. Stoughton demurs to this. He says:—"Selfishness has been assigned as a motive. The balance of temporal advantages certainly inclined on the side of a nationally endowed Church, rich in tithes and other revenues, richer still in rank and prestige. It is unfair to suppose that, except in very rare instances indeed, an eye to income retained men in Nonconformist positions. Beyond all doubt, had Dissenting ministers been generally zealous in supporting the measure, they would have been charged by their neighbours with looking after the loaves and fishes" (p. 111). The force of this passage is somewhat mitigated by another which occurs on p. 330:—"At that time, a mean-looking parsonage was the rule, not the exception: and even in the parish of Kensington, though honoured by the presence of Royalty, the vicarage is described as having been of a very humble character, with lattice windows. A large proportion of the livings were very poor, some as low as £14 or £15 per annum. Wesley's first income was £30 a year from a curacy in London; and if so small a sum was paid in the metropolis, what must it have been in some of the provinces? The pitiful condition of clergymen under Charles II. could have undergone no great improvement under William III." We think that the reasons of failure will have to be sought in another direction. It seems to us that well-meaning, charitable men, in their attempts

at "Comprehension," overlook the necessity of human nature for diverse expressions of the religious life.

We are glad to find that, in these days of false liberalism, Dr. Stoughton takes up a decided position on the Protestant question. In commenting upon the "succession" theory, he says:—"A Popish claimant is the subject of another and an ambitious power, which associates temporal with spiritual authority, and exercises assumed prerogatives after an elastic fashion which can contract or expand them with exquisite cunning, as fear darkens or as hope brightens the prospect of futurity. A Roman Catholic sovereign is involved in complications intolerable to a Protestant people, with a history full of warning against foreign interference. . . . Taught by the story of the past, our ancestors guarded against Romish intermeddling; and it is well for the fortunes of this country that, acting on this maxim, our fathers did not, in a fit of blind generosity, mistaken for justice, open, or keep open, a door of mischief which, in some perilous hour, it might be impossible to shut."

We shall look forward with great interest to the next volume of Dr. Stoughton's History, in which he hopes to deal with the great religious movements of the eighteenth century.

*The Higher Life: its Reality, Experience, and Destiny.* By James Baldwin Brown, B.A. Minister of Brixton Independent Church. Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

THE title of this book will lead some to look for a different class of subjects from those which it contains. The term "Higher Life," used by Mr. Brown, has by some been made synonymous with a certain state of religious experience, and those who have been accustomed to use the phrase in a restricted sense may, perhaps, be disappointed as they glance through the list of topics here dealt with. A further consideration will remind them of the varied and ever-multiplying types of Christian thought and excellence, and the manifold operations of the "same Spirit." As the initial crisis in the Christian life comes in the same way to perhaps no two men, while the same change, in its essential principles, passes over all who are "born of the Spirit," so, in rising to the higher stages of Christian experience, the complete consecration, the deepened insight, the intenser realisation of truth and more diffused interpenetration of the life with its principles will find in men of different temperament, thought, and education very different expression. "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow" may have been the conclusion of a disappointed man. Our author shows us that he who increases knowledge or develops any of the powers of spiritual life, increases sorrow—a sorrow, it may be, so chastened and refined as to have lost much of its bitterness; a sorrow, it may be, which

shall pass in its turn into more exquisite joy—but sorrow still. “Ye shall be sorrowful . . . Ye now, therefore, have sorrow,” were the words of the Man of Sorrows to His followers, while in the same breath He gave the illustration which showed that of such travail-pangs great things should be born.

And this leads us to say that the spirit which breathes through this book is thoroughly Christian. It presupposes, for its full effect, a soul more or less prepared for its lessons, prepared by the discipline of life, and the earnest, brooding thought such discipline engenders; but to such a reader its truth will abundantly commend itself. And none but a follower of Christ, so disciplined, so earnestly inquiring, so patiently trusting, can either gather or convey the lessons of the “fellowship of His sufferings.” Very finely the author says, in his sermon on 2 Cor. i. 5 :—

“There is a suffering which belongs to life under its highest conditions in this world, which is known in its fullest measure to the purest and loftiest natures—God’s priests and kings. The kings who live delicately, who wear soft raiment, and are the regulating wheels in the machine of State, wear golden diadems. The kings whose toil of brain forecasts, and whose toil of spirit clears the way for human progress, whose work lies far in advance of the great host which struggles on in their tracks, and who, in the course of generations, get recognised as the master-spirits, wear mostly the crown of thorns.”

The strain recurs again and again: not wearisomely iterated, but, like the plaintive music of Bach’s “Passion,” charming the ear with its persistent, melodious monotone. “Thy heart shall fear, and be enlarged,” “Followers of us and of the Lord, having received the Word in much affliction with joy of the Holy Ghost,” “Better that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing,” “As the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ”—such are some of Mr. Brown’s texts, and fair samples of the lessons of “Higher Life” which he earnestly and persuasively inculcates. And as he himself gives us in a few words the “core of his theology,” we will extract the passage from the beginning of his sermon on “They that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country,” so that our readers may judge for themselves :—

“Who that aims at the higher life is at rest and satisfied, in the inmost heart of him, with anything which he can see, or hope for, or dream of as possible, in such a world as this? It is a strange, sad life, which asks the heaviest sacrifices of its noblest children, and inflicts on them the keenest pain. There would be no key to it—no possible means of understanding such a history of sacrifice and suffering as this chapter records, and which every faithful soul through all the Christian ages repeats—if God Himself had not come down to live it, that He might make it

visibly the vestibule of an eternal life, wherein all that is dark will be revealed, all that is wrong will be righted, and the sufferers for righteousness' sake will be justified and glorified for ever. I confess that this is the very core of my theology—that is, of such notions of the nature, methods and purposes of God as I have been able to work out from my experience of life and my study of His Word. It would all be dark to me, utterly, hopelessly dark, if I did not believe that the travail of life and of the creation is, not watched and pitied only, but shared to its uttermost depths of pain, by the Lord."

It is in anything but a critical spirit that we desiderate in such a book more of the teaching, "In me ye have peace." The joy and the consolation that comes by Christ is touched on, here and there dwelt on, in these sermons, but it hardly rules, nor does the writer evidently mean us to expect that here it should rule. It is indeed vain for one disciple of Christ to urge one part of the Master's teaching against another, especially when, as in this case, the very essence of his acquaintance with grief is so finely touched, and His disciples lovingly urged to watch the hour with Him as He agonises in the garden. Still, we feel compelled to record our impression, in closing this volume of touching and stirring words of exhortation, that the ringing note of triumph which becomes those who believe in a Risen as well as a Crucified Saviour, hardly predominates as we could wish. Not yet is the redemption of the purchased possession complete, but there is a peace of trust that passes understanding, which may keep our hearts and minds; not yet is the triumph complete, but there is a note which the followers of the Conqueror may sound as they antedate that day, and a tempered joy which may *rule* the soul of the most anxious and sorrowful of Christ's friends. The nature of that joy is admirably sketched in the comments on the "joy in the Holy Ghost," in the sermon on the "Noble Army of Martyrs."

"It is the joy of the man who has found the true Lover and Lord of his being, whom he can serve with perfect loyalty, love with passionate devotion, and obey with supreme delight. It is the joy of the lonely widowed soul, which has discovered its kindred; of a sick man, who feels within himself that the spring of his life is healed, that his vigour and vital energy are restored. . . . Circumstances are nothing. 'I have found Him whom my soul loveth' is the cry; and nothing can kill, nothing can even dash, the joy which that consciousness quickens within."

That the true nature of the blended joy and suffering of the Christian is represented, the reader will gather from the following passage, contiguous to the above, describing the contrast between the suffering with Christ, and the suffering of the world:—

"And let the careless reader understand, that the choice in life

is mainly between suffering with joy of the Holy Ghost, and suffering without it. Do not let the devil cheat you into the belief that the choice is between an easy, merry, careless, pleasant life-course, and the struggles and sorrows of the Christian, lightened and sweetened by the joy of the Holy Ghost. Life is no merry march or holiday pastime for any of us; but the true agony of life must be with those who are without God and without hope in the world. God sets no such choice before us as the pleasures of sin and the pains of godliness. The choice, as I have in the next discourse set forth more at large, is simply between the sorrows of sin and the sorrows of Redemption; the one embittered by the frown, the other illumined by the smile of God. There is sorrow with a curse in the heart of it, and sorrow with a blessing; sorrow with the devil for a comforter, and sorrow with God for a friend; sorrow with the fiends for comrades, sorrow with Christ as the elder brother of the spirit; sorrow with hell at the end of it, and sorrow with heaven."

The only other characteristic of this book which calls for notice is the appreciation with which the preacher enters into the problems of the day, concerning the origin and destiny of mankind. No doubt there are theologians who keep their ears closed against the questionings raised in the hearts of many by the tendency of modern scientific thought, as there can be no doubt many (may we not say most, by their own confession?) scientific men keep their ears closed against the pleadings and reasonings of theologians. But it is vain for either side to ignore the problems raised by the other; the knot may not be untied in this generation, but to cut it is to cut the knot that holds fast our life. And in Mr. Brown's book we have the point of view indicated from which we can discern the two sides of the shield about which the disputants are contending. Of course in the compass of a few sermons nothing more is done than to indicate and suggest, but none can read and think out for himself these suggestions without profit.

The style of these sermons is, as becomes their subjects, glowing and earnest, but not overwrought; the pitch is well sustained, and the interest not suffered to flag; and if our space permitted, we might quote many specimens of apt and original illustrations, which bring well home the lofty spiritual truth which it is the aim of the preacher to enforce. The class whose "difficulties, burdens, and needs" the author has aimed at meeting, viz., "those who are hardly pressed by the battle, or sharply exercised by the discipline of life," will find strength and solace in the teaching of this volume.

*The Spirit and Word of Christ, and their Permanent Lessons.*  
By Vance Smith, B.A., Philos. and Theol. Doct.,  
Minister of St. Saviourgate Chapel, York. Longmans.  
1874.

It is to us a purely painful task to comment on this book. That the writer of it is sincere, in the best sense, we have not the slightest doubt; that he is earnest we can well believe, though there is not in his pages the glow of religious feeling which pervades the pages of Channing, Martineau, and others, who share his views; but it cannot be other than painful to any who find so much more in the "Spirit and Word of Christ" than does our author, to be compelled strenuously to differ on a point of such vital importance.

This volume is an expanded "Tract," intended to give "a short account of the ministry of Christ, more especially as viewed in its practical, moral, and religious aspects . . . simply written, and suitable for the use of unlearned readers more particularly." The author's name is so well known, that we need hardly add that one principal aim of the book is to counteract the "strange and superstitious extreme of orthodoxy," which represents Christ as the Christian's Lord as well as his Teacher, David's Lord as well as his Son, and to make (see p. 3, note) the "Master" of the Gospels simply one of the masters of the schools. We are compelled to add, that the plan of the book, as written chiefly for unlearned readers, is anything but clear and consistent. It is competent to the writer, on grounds well stated, altogether to reject the testimony of the Evangelists and St. Paul as to the Person of Christ, and represent all alike as deluded in their views; or to accept their statements, and show that in no instance do they imply the Divinity of our Lord; or to accept some of their statements and reject others, due and reasonable grounds being given for making the distinction. None of these alternatives is, however, chosen, but the testimony of the writers of the New Testament is used or refused according to the pleasure, we will not say caprice, of the critic. Where words can be explained in the sense he would give them, an attempt is made so to explain them; where that is impossible, the testimony in itself is slighted, as being mere admixture of heathen philosophy, or pardonable ignorance and superstition. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example (p. 82), is unceremoniously discarded, as his "characteristic expressions are found nowhere else in the New Testament" (?), and these "may safely be left out of the account." The same method is adopted in dealing with the Fourth Gospel, and the statement made (p. 87), that "it is hardly conceivable that the same mind should have expressed itself in the simple and natural language of that [the Lord's] prayer and

in the form of the prayer attributed to Jesus in chapter xvii. of this Gospel"! Either the writers in the New Testament are wholly trustworthy, in which case their language is to be studied in a very different spirit from that here displayed, or wholly untrustworthy, in which case all discussion of their words is at an end; or in dealing with their various utterances, on a subject so momentous as the one in question, a canon of some sort should be laid down, to enable the "unlearned reader" approximately, at least, to separate kernel and husk, spirit and letter. This, at all events, Dr. Vance Smith does not supply.

So much for the plan as a whole. In descending to the details of exposition, we are puzzled to know which of the many specimens afforded to select, in order to enable any reader fairly to judge between the enlightened critic and the "strange and superstitious orthodox." Perhaps the discussion of the Baptismal Formula (p. 99) may be taken as a typical instance.

"Baptism, then, into a person or object, included the recognition or confession of either, in whatever religious character properly belonged to them. Hence, 'into the name of Jesus,' it implied the confession of him as the Christ, in other words, the confession of him as the 'Son of God,' a well-understood appellation of the Messiah. Thus, too, the injunction to baptize 'into the name of the Father,' signified and included the acknowledgment of the Almighty Father as revealed by Christ; the acknowledgment of Him as the One God and Father of all men alike, without respect of persons. The acknowledgment of the Holy Spirit, too, was of especial importance in the early days of Christianity. By many it had been denied that our Lord did his mighty works by Divine power, and they referred them to evil spirits. In later times the Spirit is said to have been given to the disciples. Hence, again, the convert was baptized into the Holy Spirit. He was thus taught to recognise a twofold fact; first, that it was the Spirit of God Himself in Jesus, and not any evil spirit that was with him throughout his life; and secondly, that the same Divine help and power was, in still later times, given to his disciples."

And such is given us as the only "ideas which this form was intended to embody and convey." Let us then substitute (and if there seem to be irreverence, it must be chargeable to the author's interpretation) the name of any merely human teacher for that of Jesus of Nazareth, and ask if any can conceive a baptism in the name of the Father, John the Baptist (or Paul or Peter) and the Holy Ghost! Well may Paul ask, as a conclusive appeal, needing no answer, "Were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" And we are at a loss to know what name to apply to the exposition which can explain away the meaning of words after the fashion of the above extract.

Of St. Paul we read (p. 137), that "the passages in the Pauline Epistles which appear to speak of Jesus Christ as God, are two in number,(1) and in reality they require a different interpretation." But into the discussion of St. Paul's testimony we must not now be led, nor can we comment on the few (perhaps necessarily so) and unsatisfactory words our author gives to the doctrine of the Logos in the Fourth Gospel. We find, however, as specimens of his interpretation of St. John's language, the current

John viii. 58, "Before Abraham was, I am" *he*, i.e., the pre-ordained Messiah; and John x. 30, "I and my Father are one," for which the Jews took up stones to stone Him, is "intended simply to convey the idea of Divine power in Jesus, as also is John xiv. 9 (p. 94). The marvellous conjunction in John xvii. 3, "This is life eternal," &c., seems to the writer, if we may judge from the way in which he quotes it, a perfectly natural expression to use of a merely human teacher.

But we are travelling over ground too well trodden, and trodden, alas! by opposing feet. We are glad to read at the close of this volume, which it has given us hardly anything but pain to read, of the "sympathy, admiration, and reverence due from the disciple to such a Master." Is it too much to hope and pray that a deeper, more sympathetic, more reverent study of the character and Person of Him whom, with our varying ideas, we delight to honour, may make even now each sincere but unbelieving Thomas fall and cry, "My Lord and my God."

*Memorials of the Rev. William Toase, with an Introduction by the Rev. W. Arthur, M.A. Wesleyan Conference Office. 1874.*

THIS volume has a double interest. In the first place it is valuable for the light thrown on the planting of Methodism in France. It was while labouring in the Doncaster Circuit that William Toase began to study the French language. His first teacher was a refugee, one of the emigrants under the first Revolution. His only motive to the study was a vague impulse, unaccountable at the time, but explained afterwards. In his next appointment, Guernsey, he obtained a better command of the language, as well as a good wife. In the Sevenoaks Circuit, 1809, he first found use for his new acquirement. Touched with pity for the thousands of French prisoners of war confined in the hulks on the Medway, he instituted services, reading-classes, and libraries for their benefit. The field of labour was needy, interesting and fruitful. Some idea of the state of ignorance may be formed from the reply of a prisoner to a priest who spoke to him about his soul, "I know of no such animal." The labours of Mr. Toase and his helpers were amply rewarded in the knowledge



imparted, in conversions, happy deaths, and the gratitude of the prisoners. This portion of the book will be found not the least interesting. In 1815 Mr. Toase was again appointed to Guernsey, with the general direction of the French work. He made several journeys in France with the object of discovering a favourable opening for labour, but apparently with little success. Facts come out which partly explain the languishing state of French Protestantism. Much of the blame lies at the door of an inefficient and careless pastorate. It seems to have been common for pastors to rest one Sunday in three, or preach only once a fortnight. Afterwards Mr. Toase travelled in several English Circuits. This part of his life is left somewhat indistinct. What is clear is that he still kept up his interest in France, often paying visits to it. In 1836 he was appointed to Boulogne, and the following year to Paris, where he laboured till 1848. He was not blind to all good in Roman Catholics. "1837, Feb. 14th. Heard an excellent sermon in the Roman Catholic Church, very forcible and faithful, containing nothing objectionable, except when the preacher called the Protestants *nos frères égarés*, and their Bible *les Bibles falsifiées*." There are touches of another kind. "There was lately living in the neighbourhood of Orleans an aged woman who gave all her earnings to the clergy. In the papers which were rendered to the civil authorities, according to law, it was proved that the priest had given in exchange, 'a place in Paradise, No. 7, on the left-hand side on entering.'" "Our servant, when preparing for her first communion, went to the priest on Saturday for a ticket. He and his friends were at supper on meat. She was startled and mentioned it to his servant, who told him all. At the next confession he accused her. She said she was surprised, &c. 'My child,' he answered, 'I baptized the meat into a cod.'" It was no doubt owing to Mr. Toase's quiet wisdom and tact that the work of Methodism in Paris owed its safe progress as well as its freedom from Government interference. After four years spent as a supernumerary in Guernsey, he was again appointed to the English Chapel at Boulogne, and died on French soil.

But the chief interest of the volume is a personal one. Most Methodists will be glad to have a nearer view of one whose name was so familiar. From his life-long association with France, we had thought of him as at least half French. Behold, he is a stalwart, ruddy Yorkshireman of Yorkshiremen from the extreme north of the North Riding. What strikes us in his character is his goodness. This, and not intellectual power, was the secret of his success, and of the reverence which gathered round his name. Even Roman Catholics, who marked his perfect walk, thought that he would be saved "by an act of special grace." He was canonised during life in the only way known among Wesleyans,

as "Father Toase." May such "saints" never fail from among us! The introduction by Mr. Arthur is worthy both of the writer and the subject. The book lacks one essential of a complete memoir, a portrait. We hope that the work will help to increase interest in French Methodism, just now so sorely in need of prayers and practical sympathy.

*Bishop Asbury: A Biographical Study for Christian Workers.*  
By F. W. Briggs. Wesleyan Conference Office.

TEN years hence will be the centenary of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. After ninety years of separate work, it can show three millions of Church members, seventy Conferences, ruled by thirteen bishops, twelve editors superintending its literature, with schools, colleges, and missions on the same scale. Such growth, unsurpassed in Church history, reveals sympathy between the Church and nation, the same genius in both. And the spirit of American Methodism is that of its first pioneer bishop, a wonderful blending of freedom and energy. Asbury is another instance of a man raised up by God in the Church for a special work. The hand of Providence is seen at every turn of his life—in the hardy physical training which fitted him for the rough work of an evangelist in the backwoods and among the primitive settlements of America; in the five years of circuit life at home, which gave him an insight into the working of Methodism, as well as opportunities, well-used, of acquiring necessary theological knowledge, in the clear intuition by which, on his landing in America, he saw that what was wanted was, not a settled pastorate, but a restless evangelism; in his decision at the Revolution, when his brethren returned to England, to abide alone by his work, and cast in his lot with the new country; in the unerring prudence with which, in drawing the lines of the new Church, he avoided the two extremes of narrowness and laxity; in the fact that, for forty-five years, he was spared, amid weakness and suffering, to go through labours one-fiftieth of which might have killed ordinary men, and to see the work he had begun co-extensive with the States. Asbury never revisited his native land. He avoided Wesley's one mistake—marriage—in a position like his. His labours were truly Herculean, or better, apostolic. His travelling averaged 6,000 miles a year. Rivers, forests, mountains, swamps, winter cold, exposure by day and night, savage Indians, did not hinder him from following the English settler, west and south. Yet, in his long, weary rides, he never neglected communion with God. Out of an income of 64 dollars a year, he helped a poor mother till his fifty-seventh year. His wisdom was as remarkable as his energy. He managed so to delay the separation from Home-Methodism that it took

place at the same time as the separation of the countries. American Methodism owes its episcopal system to Wesley, but the title of "Bishop" to Dr. Coke. Wesley's title was "General Superintendent." Asbury's *Journal* has many touches of humour: as where he complains of the "ticks, chieftoes, and such insects," in the woods, interrupting his devotions, and expresses an earnest wish for "a plain, clean plank" to sleep on. Of one road he says, "those who wish to know how rough it is may tread in our path." His last will, too, reminds us of Wesley:—"If I do not, in the meantime, spend it, I shall leave, when I die, an estate of 2,000 dollars, I believe: I give it all to the Book Concern."

The biographer has done his work in a practical, sensible way. The story goes straight forward. The moral, which, by the way, appears sufficiently in the life, is limited to the introduction and last chapter, and does not break the flow of the events. The biography is too short, rather than too long—a rare fault in these days. It will make better known, we trust, to English Methodism, a noble character and a noble Sister-Church.

There are some faults. An "indiscrete man" (p. 74), like "unanimously" (p. 117), is, doubtless, a printer's mistake: but not so the implied comparison of the American struggle for independence, which all England now approves, with the present clamour for "*Home-rule*" (p. 86), which all England condemns. The passage is an unfortunate one. Again, why does Mr. Briggs quote that mysterious eulogy on Asbury—"This great and grand, because good, old man" (p. 2), when he gives the much truer, and certainly more intelligible one, by Dr. Coke (p. 137), "I exceedingly reverence Mr. Asbury; he has so much wisdom and consideration, so much meekness and love; and under all this, though hardly to be perceived, so much command and authority?" We notice also, what so many books suffer from, chariness in giving dates. Thus, Ch. XI., describing the important action of the Leeds Conference of 1784, omits the date. True, it can be inferred by looking farther on; but this should not be necessary. A few such corrections, and the alteration of a few infelicitous sentences, would make a good book still better.

*Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa. With an Account of the First Successful Ascent of the Equatorial Snow Mountain—Kilima Njaro—and Remarks upon East African Slavery. By Charles New, of the late Livingstone Search and Relief Expedition. With Maps and Illustrations. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1873.*

EASTERN and Central Africa will hereafter have a new interest to all England. Our great countryman, David Livingstone,

honoured more by his own labours than by any tributes that his country can pay him, has, by his heroic toil and sacrificial service, chained the attention of the whole civilised world to a people, whose elevation it now becomes the duty of all more favoured races to promote. Waiting anxiously as we do for the records of the brave work done for Africa, we gladly catch any stray words which may better prepare us for the great work. On this account the present volume is seasonable, dealing as it does with a district of the country contiguous to that traversed by the great explorer. It has its own intrinsic worth as the record of humble, earnest, charitable efforts to convey the blessings of Christianity to tribes of men hitherto imperfectly known.

We are at once carried back to Dr. Krapf, and to a work published by him some fourteen years ago, the perusal of which led to the enterprise of which this is a record. A just tribute, drawn from facts, is paid to the labours of that honoured pioneer in East African exploration, whose work, followed by Rebmann, led to the investigations of Burton, Speke, Grant, and Baker, and, finally, Livingstone. No, not finally; Africa will surely never again be forsaken by either enterprising traveller or faithful missionary, so long as the name of our great missionary-explorer is remembered, in whose labours the harmony of the interests of Religion and Science is so brilliantly exhibited.

Mr. New is a missionary of the "United Methodist Free Churches." His book gives a brief simple narrative of the commencement and early trials of the mission, and of about ten years' labours, experiences, and travels in the wilds of the eastern seaboard of Central Africa. It was early pioneer work, and in the modest allusions to it we are able to see what kind of work it was; though it is less a record of missionary toil than a graphic description of the country and people among whom it was carried on. In the most artless way Mr. New details incidents and scenes with a minuteness which makes them almost visible. A very painful view is given of East African slavery, and some account presented, partly in self-defence, of the Livingstone Relief Expedition.

The book is illustrated with good lithographic views, and a clear, well-drawn map, and a small contribution to science is appended in the list of plants collected from the Alpine zone of Kilima Njaro—the first specimens that have reached this country—Mr. New having made the first successful attempt to ascend this snow-clad mountain. His description of the effort is not without interest. An apology, in good taste, is made for the style of the writing, which is confessedly faulty; notwithstanding which it is an interesting and readable book, written with a view to commend Africa and Africans "to missionary societies, philanthropists, practical statesmen, men of science, merchants, and our

Christian countrymen generally, in the hope of deepening the interest already felt in the country, and of largely increasing that sympathy for the people which has been so largely evoked, chiefly by the unparalleled and self-denying toils of Dr. Livingstone."

*The Church and the Empires. Historical Periods.* By Henry William Wilberforce. Preceded by a Memoir of the Author by J. H. Newman, D.D. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

THE Essays in this volume are reprinted from the *Dublin Review*, and cannot be said to possess much permanent value. The writer's mind moved only within the lines of Ultramontane thought, and his theories of the Church and the Empires have all the characteristics of the school that we are beginning to know so well. It is useless to examine writings of this sort critically, to question the premisses, or to deny the conclusions. Mr. Wilberforce himself points out that the Catholic and the Protestant mind approach a subject from opposite sides, that the latter "are unable so much as to understand the posture of mind of those who retain the old faith." We are inclined to think so too. We cannot understand the posture of a man's mind, the son of William Wilberforce, himself for many years an English clergyman, who can write as follows:—"I by no means believe that Louis XIV., despotic as he was, could have renewed the work of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and have made France a Protestant nation. They were assisted by a combination of circumstances which had gone by before his time, and which, in the nature of things, can never return. Protestantism, in their day, was just rushing out from the open gate of hell (like the winds from the cavern of Æolus), a living energetic power of Satan. Such is the nature of all heresies. But not less is it their nature very soon to sink into indifference and languor, and from thence to utter death. Protestantism, which is now dead, and only dangerous by the pestilence engendered by its corrupting corpse, was already sick to death at the end of the seventeenth century." We can imagine a monk who had never stirred from a cloister in some fifth-rate town in Spain or Italy writing thus, but when an educated Englishman can do so, it is only a proof of the intellectual and moral price at which he has exchanged his English for a Roman citizenship.

Dr. Newman's brief memoir shows how, after leaving Oxford, Mr. Wilberforce held successively three parochial cures, how he gradually came to have misgivings as to the Divine authority and mission of the Anglican Church, and at length saw clearly that the "Church universally called Catholic was the Fold of Christ, the Ark of Salvation, the Oracle of Truth, and the Anglican

communion was no part of it." This is a story which we have read many times, and which still awakens our wonder and our pity.

*The Young Christian Armed; or, the Duty he Owes to God.*  
A Manual of Scripture Evidence, Faith, and Practice  
for Youth. By the Rev. Charles Hole. London:  
Longmans. 1874.

THE first part of this work has to do with Christian Evidence, and contains chapters on Inspiration, Miracles, &c., in which the usual lines of argument are laid down. In the second part the writer deals with Christian faith and practice as taught in Holy Scripture, and gives a fair outline of doctrine and duty. The general tone of the whole is orthodox and evangelical, as those terms are generally understood in the Church of England. The author modestly "ventures to believe his volume may be found suitable for placing in the hands of members of Christian Evidence and of Bible Classes," and for such purposes we do not hesitate to recommend it.

*Texts and Thoughts for Christian Ministers.* By Bishop Harding. London: Longmans. 1874.

THIS is not a book of pulpit helps, but something of much greater value. The author has gone through the Scriptures, noting the passages that touch upon the duties, responsibilities, and privileges of Christian ministers, giving a short exposition or meditation upon each. The plan is well conceived and admirably carried out. Nothing can be better than the strong sense and pious feeling everywhere manifest. It is extremely likely to be of use to young ministers, to whom we can commend it, not merely without misgiving, but with more than usual pleasure.

*The Poems, Plays, and other Remains of Sir John Suckling.*  
A New Edition, with a Copious Account of the Author,  
Notes, and an Appendix of Illustrative Pieces. Two  
Volumes. London: Frank and William Kerslake, 13,  
Booksellers'-row. 1874.

MESSRS. FRANK AND WILLIAM KERSLAKE, of whose reprint of Cunningham's *Traditions of the Scottish Peasantry* we had occasion to speak favourably some little time since, have now issued an elegant and entirely admirable collection of the whole known works of Sir John Suckling.

It is, to say the least, strange that the works of this brilliant wit and charming love-lyrist have not been collected at all this

century, nor ever before now in a complete form. There was, indeed, a small selection from his works published in 1835, with a *Memoir* by one of Suckling's family, the Rev. Alfred Suckling, which *Memoir* has been adopted by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt in forming the present edition. There is much of Suckling's work that has served only too well as model for such writings as those which Moore published as *Poems by Thomas Little*; but there is also much that is free from any such taint; and for lyric impulse and brilliancy, the minor poems of Sir John Suckling are not surpassed by those of any one contemporary with him in that troubled political time that saw the execution, first of his friend Strafford, and ultimately of his king. It is, on the whole, well that Messrs. Kerslake and their editor have had the courage to publish these works unabridged and untampered with: such books are more particularly for the historical and critical student, and not for girls and boys; and, while Sir John's works are, if truth must be told, in keeping with a somewhat licentious age, it is at the same time quite impossible for the historical and critical student to arrive at a fair estimate of the man's moral and artistic worth with anything less than a complete edition of those comparatively few works for which alone his brief and unfortunate career left him time.

Until within the last twenty years or so, that admirable periodical, *The Retrospective Review*, complete sets of which have become extremely scarce, was the principal means of forming a kind of limited acquaintance with a number of inedited British classics of the standing of Sir John Suckling; and the estimate formed by the careful and learned writers who were engaged in that critical and antiquarian repertory is still, as a rule, of some value. Concerning the particular works under discussion *The Retrospective Review* has the following pithy passage:—

“For a perfect specimen of those men of wit and pleasure who were about town during the first Charles's time commend us to Sir John Suckling, the gay, the graceful, the accomplished, the witty, the courtier, the soldier, and gentleman.”

This hits off Sir John pretty closely: he was before all things a man of wit and pleasure; and if there is not much to learn from his witty and pleasant writings, they are still excellent models of bright, sparkling versification, and light, pleasing rhetoric. There is a great deal of detachable lyric work which deserves a far wider popularity than can be reasonably expected for the two choicely got up and carefully edited volumes of Messrs. Kerslake, because the million do not care for complete editions of mere than some dozen or so of writers; for the million, the studious and critical reader has to select what is most likely to please the many-headed monster from each man's works; but without such valuable intervention as the issue of

sumptuous collections like this, the student and critic would be sadly hampered in their work of studying, criticising, and catering, for the wider audience. At the same time, the studious, would be studious, and *quasi-studious*, form, of themselves, a pretty wide class; and this class should amply suffice to repay the publishers for such a reprint as the present, and encourage them to produce others of like character. The kind of songs which students will find and detach for the popular benefit is not here of a profound nature, but eminently pleasure-giving, such, for instance, as the following :—

- “ The crafty boy that had full oft assay’d  
 To pierce my stubborn and resisting breast,  
 But still the bluntness of his darts betrayed,  
 Resolv’d at last of setting up his rest.  
 Either my wild unruly heart to tame,  
 Or quit his godhead and his bow disclaim.
- “ So all his lovely looks, his pleasing fires;  
 All his sweet motions, all his taking smiles;  
 All that awakes, all that inflames desires,  
 All that by sweet commands, all that beguiles,  
 He does into one pair of eyes convey,  
 And there begs leave that he himself may stay.
- “ And there he brings me, where his ambush lay,  
 Secure and careless, to a stranger land;  
 And never warning me, which was foul play,  
 Does make me close by all this beauty stand.  
 Where first struck dead, I did at last recover,  
 To know that I might only live to love her.
- “ So I’ll be sworn I do, and do confess,  
 The blind lad’s power, whilst he inhabits there;  
 But I’ll be even with him nevertheless,  
 If e’er I chance to meet with him elsewhere.  
 If other eyes invite the boy to tarry,  
 I’ll fly to hers as to a sanctuary.”

The final conceit, lightly and prettily as it is turned out, has an element of tenderness in it that redeems the verses from levity, and makes the charm of them legitimate. The following is quite of the same class :—

- “ When, dearest, I but think of thee,  
 Methinks all things that lovely be  
 Are present, and my soul delighted:  
 For beauties that from worth arise  
 Are like the grace of deities,  
 Still present with us, though unsighted.
- “ Thus whilst I sit, and sigh the day  
 With all its borrowed lights away,  
 Till Night’s black wings do overtake me,  
 Thinking on thee, thy beauties then,  
 As sudden lights do sleeping men,  
 So they by their bright rays awake me.



"Thus absence dies, and dying proves  
No absence can subsist with love,  
That do partake of fair perfection;  
Since in the darkest night they may  
By love's quick motion find a way  
To see each other by reflection.

"The waving sea can with each flood  
Bathe some high promont that hath stood  
Far from the main up in the river :  
O, think not then but love can do  
As much, for that's an ocean too,  
Which flows not every day, but ever!"

These two songs are not, like some of their companions, touched by the coarseness of the time. There are some, however, so far touched by that coarseness (and indeed by an additional coarseness of Sir John's own) that should keep the collection out of the hands of young people ; but no library of any pretensions, public or private, should be without the volumes.

*Poems of Later Years.* By Henry Sewell Stokes, Author of "The Vale of Lanherne," "Memories : a Life's Epilogue," &c. London : Longmans, Green, and Co.

BESIDES the two volumes of poetry specified in the title-page of this last work of Mr. Stokes's, there is another volume quite as worthy of being recalled to the public mind—the *Rhymes from Cornwall* of the same author ; and all three volumes have deservedly met with a very good reception by those who pursue our native poetic literature beyond the limits of the works of two or three stars. The *Poems of Later Years*, now before us, are quite as meritorious as the former volumes, and one poem in particular, "The Chantry Owl," is particularly bright and pleasing. This, with a light, airy touch, puts into the mouth of a very wise owl a great many things worthy of a far higher wisdom ; and when the owl relates a tale bearing on the fall of the superstitious Popish faith from its regency in England, we see, through the witty disguise, the sterling, keen, but kindly bent of the author's mind. The following verses are fair samples of a great many in his poem :—

"Perch'd near the porch one winter night,  
From a snug niche I heard the chant,  
While in the candle's misty light  
Each burley monk look'd pale and gaunt.  
I thought they wished themselves not there,  
So fast they go through psalm and prayer ;  
And, when they hasten'd to retire,  
A young lad darted from the quire.

"With twinkling eyes and taper chin,  
The shrine where I was perch'd he reach'd,  
When I flew out right over him,  
And like a scalded hound he screech'd

The monks rushed out with a wild shout,  
And the last had the Sacrist's snout,  
Like Jack-o'-lantern in a bog,  
Or a torch flaming in a fog.

"A fiend! cried some,—a ghost! cried more,  
As they push'd and crush'd and tumbled forth;  
But some stuck fast in the narrow door;  
And not a few then proved the worth  
Of stalwart arms and sturdy shanks,  
And cuff'd and kick'd and had rough thanks;  
And, when at last they all got clear,  
Like squattering ducks they quaked with fear.

"I saw a greater rout than that  
When Hal became Old England's Pope,  
While on his knee fair Boleyn sat,  
And did with Rome's best scholars cope.  
He hesitated at the first,  
But her sweet lips his doubts dispersed;  
And so he changed his faith and wife,  
And led some time a merry life.

"The Pope call'd Hal a heretic,  
And his young sweetheart something worse;  
Indeed, had she espoused Old Nick,  
He could not more devoutly curse.  
For her, alas! the curse came true;  
Jealous the savage Redbeard grew;  
Anna's white neck was chop'd like chaff,  
And Hal with another wife did laugh.

"But to my story. On a day  
I heard the jeering rabble tell  
Strangers had come, but not to pray,  
And who would no indulgence sell:  
But when the chimes for vespers rang,  
Amid the trumpets' horrid clang  
Came forth the Prior and Monks once more,  
And sang more sweetly than before.

"I never heard them sing again!  
Next morning, on the convent wall  
I watch'd and waited, but in vain;  
The chimes did not for matins call:  
Later, when loud the hubbub grew,  
They shambl'd out—Tu-whit! Tu-who!  
Bleating like sheep that leave the fold  
To wander on the mountains cold."

But it is not only at old and exploded errors of thought and practice that Mr. Stokes lets fly the arrows of a satire at once keen and free from rancour: he takes a wide range, even in this one poem; and we cannot say we think him unduly severe in the following shot at our *battus* "sportsmen," as they call themselves:—

"Were game extinct they'd shoot the fowls,  
The ducks, the geese, and clear the styes;  
They would preserve the crows and owls,  
And have battues of butterflies.

Killing's the Englishman's delight,  
 He's at it morning, noon, and night;  
 A butcher born, yet owns the creed  
 That God of sparrows taketh heed."

Perhaps the unqualified word "Englishman" is open to misconception; but we take it Mr. Stokes would have said "English Sportsman" but for metrical necessities. Perhaps, after all, the the most admirable features, not only of "The Chantry Owl," but of the volume generally, are the feeling, well-expressed, melodious little bits of out-of-door nature. Such finely-touched landscape passages as the following are by no means rare in this volume:—

"The mist  
 Was spreading, mythlike, through the vale,  
 The silent woods were dark and trist,  
 And e'er the hill the moon rose pale:  
 The rocks were in the elm trees hoased,  
 The ploughboys on their pallets drowed;  
 I met no creature on my road  
 Save droning beetle and squat toad."

We would willingly, with ampler space at command, refer at large to much more of the volume: we must be content, however, to note that "Thrasia" is well worth attention, to commend specially "The Hymn of Cleanthes," and to add that "The Refuse of Avignon," which we think we recollect seeing in *The Civil Service Review* the week after the death of the man it celebrates (John Stuart Mill), is a very good specimen of what is called "occasional poetry."

*Morris's Epochs of History. The Era of the Protestant Revolution.* By F. Seebohm. *The Crusades.* By the Rev. G. W. Cox, M.A. *The Thirty Years' War, 1618—1648.* By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. London: Longmans. 1874.

THE series of books to which these volumes belong has so much in common with Messrs. Macmillans' "Historical Course for Schools," edited by Mr. Freeman, that the aim of both may be described in the same terms: "to put forth clear and correct views of history in simple language, and in the smallest space and cheapest form in which it could be done." But while Mr. Freeman's series deals with the history of each nation separately, Mr. Morris says, in his preface, "It is generally allowed that the complete picture of any short period is of more value, in an educational point of view, than a mere outline of the history of a nation," and further, that "it is not possible to understand thoroughly the history of even one country, if it be studied alone." In selecting *periods* of history, therefore, rather than the

history of separate nations, the writers of this series aim at giving an account which, in outline at least, shall be tolerably complete, of the principal incidents and features of any epoch, and of the common agencies and influences in operation at the same time, amongst various peoples. The two first volumes on the list may illustrate the advantages of this method. The Protestant "Revolution," as Mr. Seeböhm prefers to call it, cannot be adequately discussed in any national history. The forces from which it arose were at work in various proportions, and with different degrees of success, in every country in Europe. In such a case, the unity of historical narrative lies in intellectual and moral, not national progress. Similarly, the crusades sprang from ideas common to the whole family of Western Christendom, and their history is a part of the history of every nation included in that family.

Mr. Seeböhm gives a wide and trustworthy survey of the causes that led to the Protestant Revolution, more especially those of a social and political nature. In the ordinary run of histories of the Reformation, these have hardly had sufficient importance ascribed to them; the modern scientific mode of treating history is, perhaps, in some danger of regarding them too exclusively. It is true that the train of general causes reached back into the remote past, and included agencies of many kinds, but the personal qualities of individuals, and the almost boundless might of religious convictions, must not be overlooked. The Reformation was, primarily, an event within the domain of religion, and it must be contemplated from this point of view in the first place, whatever indirect and secondary causes may be subsequently admitted. Mr. Seeböhm seems to us here to show a somewhat defective insight. His outline of the struggles for popular liberty which had been maintained with different degrees of success in various European countries, is admirably drawn, but his statement of their historic connection with the Reformation hardly does justice to the direct spiritual forces that gave birth to the Protestant Revolution. The transition from feudal to modern social organisation was profoundly influenced by, and at the same time contributed much towards, the Reformation; but we must claim for the latter a more immediate relation to religious convictions and aspirations than is suggested in the little hand-book before us. Mr. Seeböhm, in summing up the results of the era, mentions, though only sixth in order of enumeration, its influence on popular religion: "It made religion less a thing of the clergy, and more a thing of the people. It gave the people religious services in their own languages, instead of in an unknown tongue. By placing within their reach the Christian Scriptures in their own language, it led them to think for themselves, and to be directly influenced by Christianity, as taught by its Founder and Apostles. It tended to strengthen individual conviction and con-

science; and so ultimately it led, though with many drawbacks, to further steps being gained towards freedom of thought. It is well to mark, also, that this bringing of religion nearer home to the individual conscience of the masses of the people, and cultivation of individual responsibility, rather than reliance on a priesthood or a Church, tended to bring it more into harmony, not only with the tendencies of modern civilisation, but also with the essential character of the Founder itself." We think that it would have been better to give some of these things a prominent place among the *causes* of the Reformation, than to put them rather low down in the list of its results. The Reformation was a religious revolution, in which "individual conviction and conscience," "the sense of personal responsibility rather than reliance on a priesthood or a Church," and the demand that "religion should be less a thing of the clergy, and more a thing of the people," were the most powerful forces at work. Subjective, personal conviction rose in revolt against an authority in matters of religion that had come to be intolerable. Mr. Seebohm's treatment of the political and social aspect of this great movement, as the close of an old and the rise of a new period in the history of civilisation and culture, is all that could be desired.

We have only to express our approval of the plan of this series of histories, and our hope that the promise afforded by the first three volumes will be sustained by those that are to follow.

*The Life of Christ.* By Frederic W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S.  
Two Volumes. Second Edition. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

THIS *Life of Christ* is avowedly and unconditionally the work of a believer. The writer has no new theory to propound, no results of original criticism to add to the curious, melancholy store already existing, but, with all the available aids of sound scholarship, seeks to give a vivid picture of the human surroundings of the life of the Son of God. His work is not in any considerable degree controversial; it only deals indirectly with sceptical objections, and the abundant literature of doubt and denial with which most tolerably well-read persons have some acquaintance. It would, indeed, be at once a mistake and a misfortune if Christian scholars were to give themselves entirely to polemic writing. Christendom is not, after all, so honey-combed with doubt, but that, on most occasions, the fundamental truths of Christianity may be assumed without apology. It would be paying too great a compliment both to the number and the weight of unbelievers to suppose it necessary to be always laying again the very lowest foundations of our faith. The Fourth Gospel may yet be quoted without an elaborate vindication

of its authenticity, and an author may profess his belief that Jesus is the Son of God without asking permission from the learned world. While Dr. Farrar does not address himself to sceptics, he has not lost sight of the real or imaginary difficulties in the Gospel history which perplex some honest minds and give the desired occasion to many of the enemies of the Christian faith. They are candidly referred to in passing, and the materials for completer discussion are generally given in the notes, but the writer's aim throughout is to give prominence to the positive evidence of the narrative itself. With this mode of procedure we have fullest sympathy. The Gospels themselves are the real life of Christ. They are not apologetic or controversial, but narrate with calm, untroubled confidence the words and works of the Lord Jesus. And in this respect at least they may be imitated by Christian writers. The latter are not always "speaking with the enemies in the gate," and even when they are, they will perhaps accomplish as much towards securing conviction by showing the actual character of the New Testament miracles, as by discussing their *a priori* possibility. The life of Christ is, after all, its own best witness, and the enduring majesty and serene truthfulness of the four Gospels will be more profoundly felt each time the reader turns to them from the discordant, mutually-destructive lives of Christ that issue from the schools of modern criticism year by year.

The style and mode of treatment in these volumes is popular. Designed for ordinary readers, there is no parade of learning, no lengthy discussion of those minute questions of controversy and scholarship which cannot be passed by in works designed for the professed student; but the results of long inquiry are often compressed into a few lines, and the light of much research thrown upon a subject without recounting the steps, often most laborious, by which it has been arrived at. The contributions of recent scholarship towards illustrating the Gospel history are both great and manifold. In geographical research alone, we have the works of Robinson, Thomson, and Lynch, of America, our own Dean Stanley, Grove, Porter, Tristram, and the gentlemen of the Palestine Exploration Fund, together with European scholars like Ritter, and travellers such as Van de Velde and De Saulcy. Indeed, the wealth of illustration now available for a writer on the Gospels is such as to call for very considerable scholarship, together with that judgment for lack of which the abundance of materials becomes a positive embarrassment and hindrance. Dr. Farrar appears to us to show great skill in handling his resources. Archæology, history, geography, philology, and the writings of the best critics and commentators are laid under contribution; but the narrative is not overloaded, nor does the devout tone proper to the theme fail to be sustained

throughout. Occasionally the style glitters a little too much, and sometimes a curious effect, rather disturbing to our taste, is produced by very modern phraseology put side by side with the stately English of our Version.

For instance, we have the Scribe's offer, "Lord, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest" (Matt. viii. 19), and then an explanation of the Lord's reply to this effect: "But in spite of the man's high position, in spite of his glowing promises, He who cared less than nothing for life-service, and who preferred 'the modesty of fearful duty' to the 'rattling tongue of audacious eloquence,' coldly checked His would-be follower." There is a slight over-readiness of quotation in the author which gives the sentences now and again, like the one above, a somewhat tessellated appearance. This is indeed but a small fault, and if we have discovered one or two others we do not care to name them, such is their insignificance compared with the sterling merits of the work. Learned but not pedantic, sound and thorough in its loyalty to Christian doctrine, without narrowness or sectarian feeling, always reverent, and sometimes quickened into fervour and the eloquence of high emotion, Dr. Farrar's *Life of Christ* is, in our judgment, a valuable contribution to a noble branch of Christian literature. We have only space for one extract, the closing passage of the second volume.

"A cloud received Him out of their sight. Between us and His visible presence—between us and that glorified Redeemer who now sitteth at the right hand of God—that cloud still rolls. But the eye of faith can pierce it; the incense of true prayer can rise above it, through it the dew of blessing can descend. And if He is gone away, yet He has given us in His Holy Spirit a nearer sense of His presence, a closer infolding in the arms of His tenderness, than we could have enjoyed even if we had lived with Him of old in the home of Nazareth, or sailed with Him in the little boat over the crystal waters of Gennesareth. We may be as near to Him at all times—and more than all when we kneel down to pray—as the beloved disciple was when he laid his head upon His breast. The Word of God is very nigh us, even in our mouths and in our hearts. To ears that have been closed His voice may seem indeed to sound no longer. The loud noises of war may shake the world; the eager calls of avarice and of pleasure may drown the gentle utterance which bids us 'Follow Me;' after two thousand years of Christianity the incredulous murmurs of an impatient scepticism may make it scarcely possible for faith to repeat, without insult, the creed which has been the regeneration of the world. Ay, and sadder even than this, every now and then may be heard, even in Christian England, the insolence of some blaspheming tongue which still scoffs at the Son of God as He lies in the agony of the garden, or breathes

His last sigh upon the bitter tree. But the secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him, and He will show them His covenant. To all who will listen He still speaks. He promised to be with us always, even to the end of the world, and we have not found His promise fail. It was but for thirty-three short years of a short lifetime that He lived on earth; it was but for three broken and troubled years that He preached the Gospel of the kingdom; but for ever, even until all the æons have been closed, and the earth itself, with the heavens that now are, have passed away, shall every one of His true and faithful children find peace and hope and forgiveness in His name, and that name shall be called Emmanuel, which is, being interpreted, 'God with us.'

*The Ministry and Character of Robert Henry Hare, Wesleyan Minister.* By John Middleton Hare, his Brother. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1874.

It requires very considerable skill to write the life of the ordinary Wesleyan Minister. It is possible to brighten the pages of his biography by sketches of scenery and character, and to give them a permanent interest by introducing facts relating to the establishment and progress of Methodism in the different Circuits in which he travelled; but to the general reader, who looks for incident, the book must too frequently be bald and flat. And yet few men are more worthy of honour. Doing the work of God ennobles a man, wherever the work is done. And often the noblest work is done in obscurity. When, however, it becomes a question of portraying a quiet and unobtrusive life, difficulties abound.

In writing the life of his brother, Mr. Hare has been placed at a disadvantage by lack of incident and adventure. He has certainly done his best to supply this by vigorous correspondence with numerous colleagues, but the results are comparatively small. An uneventful life, well spent, is our comment when closing the book. This poverty of incident perplexes the author sadly. He is driven to give us short biographies of various ministers with whom his brother travelled, together with those of the chairmen of the districts in which he happened to reside. Once he fills up his space with an extract from a "Confessional Album," and sundry remarks thereon. It would have been better to have aimed at writing a little book, in which case many of these difficulties would have been avoided.

The style of the work is not unpleasing. Mr. Hare has not, however, succeeded in perfectly submitting himself to the law of simplicity; now and then we meet with a specimen of fine writing, which mars the beauty of his performance. One of the most interesting and best-told stories in the book is that of his blind



sister, Isabella, and yet we find this sentence in it :—"After that, a cerebral malady of portentous character showed itself in Isabella, which, though suspected of an injurious tendency upon the brain, never actually disturbed the intellectual faculty, though it resulted in the total loss of visual discernment." The history of Isabella Hare is so pathetic in itself that it only needed to be told more simply to win all hearts.

The book cannot fail to do good to those who are willing to listen patiently. We hope that another edition will be called for, and that the author will relentlessly compress his matter into a much smaller space.

*The Bible Educator.* Edited by the Rev. E. H. Plumptre, M.A. Vol. II. London : Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

THE high character of this work is well sustained by the second volume. Every department of scholarship devoted to the elucidation of the Scriptures is well represented, with the exception of that belonging to theology proper, which the plan of the work does not include. The illustrations of Scripture, from coins, medals, and other antiquities, are particularly copious and good. The natural history and geography of Bible lands are also treated with much thoroughness. Mr. Heard's articles on Biblical Psychology deserve the attention of readers unfamiliar with the larger works on the subject.

*Society for the Promotion of Scientific Industry. Artisans' Reports upon the Vienna Exhibition.* London : Simpkin and Marshall.

ONE of the objects of the Society for the Promotion of Scientific Industry "is the increase of the technical knowledge and skill of those engaged in the various industries." As a means of advancing this object, the Council of the Society determined, in the spring of last year, that "a number of selected artisans engaged in the principal industries of the country should be sent out to visit and report upon the International Exhibition then about to be held at Vienna." Great care was exercised in the selection, so that only those possessing the necessary experience, information, and intelligence, and a capability of observation, were sent. Indeed, it was determined that "every reporter should be *bonâ fide* a working man, earning his living at his trade." The result of the action thus taken was, that some thirty-four artisans of this kind were sent to examine and report on the contents of the Vienna Exhibition. The reports of these artisans are published in the volume before us, and we can conceive of few things better calculated to promote the design of the society than the

diffusion of these reports among the working men of England. Fifteen men were sent from Birmingham, whose reports relate to the various industries connected with that locality. Among the subjects of the other papers, we may mention "Woodwork and joinery," "cutlery," "cotton-spinning and weaving," "cotton-spinning and manufacturing," "a survey of the exhibits connected with the cotton manufacture," "designing in wood, metal, and stone," "woollen carding," "paper manufacture," "machinery in general," "social and working habits and customs of German workmen," with several others on machinery and tools of various kinds. The mode of treatment and the style of these papers differ widely, but throughout they are marked by a practical knowledge of details which shows that they are the productions of men who understand the subjects upon which they write. The objects exhibited are well described, their special nature explained, and the workmanship criticised in an intelligent and fair spirit. Papers of this sort are precisely the accounts of Exhibitions that enable us to understand their value, and to judge of the progress going on around us. These reports should not only be studied by the artisans engaged in the different industries reported on, but should be read by all who are interested in the prosperity of the country. To those engaged in manufacturing and industrial pursuits, this volume must be peculiarly interesting and instructive. We hope it will be placed in every library in the country to which artisans have access.

*A History of the Welsh in America.* In Three Parts. By the Rev. R. D. Thomas. Utica. 1872.

THE author of this volume is an Independent Minister in America. For more than twenty years he has given much attention to the matter of emigration from Wales to America, and has visited all the Welsh settlements on the great Western Continent, collecting materials for this volume and for another which he proposes to publish. From the volume which he has issued, we find that there were emigrations from Wales into America early in the seventeenth century, but that no Welsh settlements existed until the latter part of that century, when some people from Wales bought land from William Penn; and settled on the banks of the Delaware. William Penn is claimed as a Welshman, and a descendant of the Tudors of *Pen-mynydd* (mountain top), Anglesey. Many of these early settlers, like the Pilgrim Fathers, emigrated to America quite as much in search of religious liberty as of temporal prosperity, not a few of them being, like Penn, of the Quaker persuasion.

Emigration to America was greatly checked by the revolutionary wars consequent upon the Declaration of Independence

in 1776, but revived again with the restoration of peace, and has continued steadily to the present day. On page 11 (Third Part), Mr. Thomas furnishes a statement of the number of Welsh people dwelling in the United States. By far the greater number are found in the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin. He says there are about 200 Welsh settlements in America, and above 100,000 persons capable of understanding and speaking the Welsh language, scattered from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, and from the Northern Lakes down to Mexico. The Welsh population is but small compared with the Irish, German, and French, and forms but an insignificant proportion of the aggregate population of the great Republic. The Welsh settlements are small everywhere, except in a few coal districts, whilst not a single Welsh town or village is to be found on the entire American Continent.

The Welsh Churches in America appear to be few and feeble. The number of Churches belonging to all the religious denominations in the United States is 384; deacons and leaders, 885; ministers, 255; preachers, 104; members, 21,160; Sunday scholars, 26,161; hearers, 50,053. Utah is not included, but we fear that not a few people from Wales have been drawn there by the Mormon delusion.

The government, the commerce, the education, the legislation, of America, are all carried on in the English language, and to these must be added the Press, as the books, periodicals, and journals of the country, with small exceptions, are issued in the same language. Mr. Thomas admits it is almost impossible for a non-English speaking people to employ their native language, and maintain their distinctive nationality, for any length of time in America. He is of opinion that the all-prevailing, all-absorbing English, will ultimately be the one language spoken throughout the entire continent. And he is an enthusiastic Welshman, who throughout his volume laments the steady inevitable decline of the Welsh language in the United States, and pathetically appeals to his countrymen in all the settlements to adhere to their ancient tongue. Had Mr. Thomas proved that the English language in any way injured the Welsh people in America, we might join in his protests against its adoption; but doubtless Welsh emigrants learn to employ the English language, because they find it to their advantage, temporally, intellectually, and often spiritually, to do so. The Welsh is becoming an inconvenient and expensive language. It is maintained in Wales at a great loss to many every year. Excessive zeal for any language, doomed to die in a few generations, seems to be a mistake. Let things take their course. Why attempt to frustrate the order and intention of Divine Providence? Why endeavour to perpetuate the curse of Babel?

We fear, also, that the tendency of many remarks in this volume is to foster rather than suppress national prejudice, an evil to which no countenance should be given. Mr. Thomas has appropriately inserted a text on his title-page, which reminds us of the common origin of men: "And hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth," &c. This great truth is too much overlooked. National prejudice still exercises great sway, and is a powerful element of evil in the world. Emigration to a vast continent like America, affording ample room for a multiplicity of peoples to breathe and thrive, will tend, we trust, to cure men of narrow national suspicions and jealousies, and enable them to regard themselves as belonging to the great citizenship of the world.

Notwithstanding these strictures, we can heartily recommend Mr. Thomas's volume to all Welshmen contemplating emigration into America or desirous of becoming acquainted with that great country, as a comprehensive manual, evincing much industrious, careful—would we could add—*remunerative* labour.

*Missionary Enterprise in the East, with Especial Reference to the Syrian Christians of Malabar and the Results of Modern Missions.* By the Rev. Richard Collins, M.A., late Principal of the Church Missionary Society's Syrian College, Cottayam, Travancore, South India. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1878.

THE most surprising chapter in this book is the fifth, which treats of the early work of the Church Missionaries among the Syrians, and of the spirit of compromise in which it was carried on. The Church Missionary authorities hoped that by associating the preaching of the missionaries with the corrupt worship of the Syrians, they would gradually eliminate the errors and purify the practice of the latter. In illustration of this, a scene is depicted which provokes a sad smile: the late good Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, when visiting Cottayam, was present in the Church "when Mass was said according to the usual form . . . the wafer was consecrated and elevated," &c.; after which the Bishop preached a sermon, "but it is to be feared that those who heard it left the church with their convictions unshaken that their Church was pure enough, though humble; and that the Bishop of Calcutta would not have worshipped at the Mass had there been in it such unscriptural doctrines as some had maintained." Mr. Collins manfully denounces this compromising theory of missionary enterprise, shows how it failed, and how the Mission flourished when the missionaries "were free to rebuke error, and fully to unfold the whole mystery of God, without compromise." His remarks, too, in chapter six, on the necessity

and the value of a native agency, are very sensible, instructive, and timely, while those in chapter seven, on caste, are discriminating and corrective. As a narrative of missionary enterprise, this volume is above the average. It breathes the true missionary spirit, its style is scholarly and chaste, the illustrations are appropriate, and it has an appendix of Meteorological Notes, which, for men of science at least, adds to the attraction and value of the book.

*The Story of the Lifu Mission.* By the Rev. S. M. M'Farlane, Missionary of the London Missionary Society. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1873.

WE have read this "Story" with continually increasing interest, and the reading has deepened our sympathy with the earnest, painstaking, successful enterprises of the London Missionary Society in the South Seas.

Mr. M'Farlane's book treats of the difficulties, persecutions, and triumphs of those Missions on the Islands of Lifu, Urea, and Mare. Its faults are those common to missionary writers and speakers, who seem to think that a minute description of the situation of their part of the mission field, of the appearance, character, social customs, and superstitions of the people, is absolutely necessary to an intelligent apprehension of the nature of their work. The structure of the story, too, is somewhat loose; a little artistic skill would have lessened the number of the pages, and yet have given the reader a more intense, because condensed, interest in the subject. We admire the manly, outspoken way in which Mr. M'Farlane speaks of the relations that have subsisted between the natives and some Europeans, relations which reflect disgrace upon the latter, and which serve to explain and to extenuate some of the atrocities committed by the former. Of the motives which prompt the natives to embrace Christianity, and of the methods which should be employed in approaching them—"a fish-hook is often more effective than a sermon." The pith of the story is found in the chapters which treat of the interruption and persecution suffered at the hands of French priests and soldiers, and of the true reasons for this wicked interference—the French love of glory and dread of English influence, the notion that in order to be French the natives must become Roman Catholics, the domination of the priests, with their unscrupulous intrigues and malicious tricks. These are all vividly set forth, and cause us to mourn that men, calling themselves Frenchmen and Christians, could be so blind and so base. But the sequel is full of encouragement to the true friends of Christian Missions, who, we are sure, will be instructed and cheered by the perusal of this story. Mr. M'Farlane's remarks

on the importance of an "educated native ministry" we cordially endorse.

*Christian Dogmatics: A Text-Book for Academical Instruction and Private Study.* By J. J. Van Oosterzee, D.D. Translated from the Dutch. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

THIS second publication of the Theological and Philosophical Library maintains the high standard with which the series commenced. If its enterprising projectors can secure a succession of works like Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy* and that now before us, they will earn the gratitude of English students; and these will hardly fail, we trust, to give the publishers that practical support which an undertaking of the kind requires.

Dr. Van Oosterzee, Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht, is favourably known to English readers of theology by his Commentaries on St. Luke's Gospel and the Pastoral Epistles, and by his admirable *Handbook of New Testament Theology*, published in this country four years ago. The present volume is intended as a companion to the latter, and resembles it in arrangement; but it is in every way a more considerable work, possessing a larger outline, and involving far more labour. Should the author be able to carry out his intention of adding to these two handbooks a third on Practical Theology, he will then have fulfilled, to use his own words, "the promise of his devotion to theological science, made in silence some thirty years ago, when the degree of Doctor was conferred upon him." For his own sake, for the sake of a purpose so long and devoutly cherished, and for the sake of theological science, we trust the writer's wish may be gratified. Meanwhile, what is already accomplished is complete in itself, and is therefore not dependent for its value upon any of those contingencies which decide the completion or non-completion of a great work produced by instalments.

Dr. Van Oosterzee considers that the spirit of the times is against Dogmatics, that it is a science which, "in the opinion of many, has no right to exist." Doubtless there is truth in this remark, but a little explanation seems necessary before it can be rightly understood. We understand by Dogmatics the scientific presentation of Christian Doctrine. Its aim is to investigate and develop the contents and ground of the religious truth confessed by the Christian Church as a whole, or by any Christian community in particular. Amongst those to whom the author refers as denying to this science the right of existence, we may distinguish two classes. There are those whose opposition is not to be conciliated by any explanations, because it is radical, and has reference not to the scientific method, but to the subject-matter of

the science itself. Christianity, in their judgment, is, if not disproved, at least incapable of proof, and it is therefore useless to speak of the scientific presentation of doctrines to which there are no corresponding realities. With those who, on philosophic grounds, have given up belief in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, the questions of positive theology cannot be discussed, for it is not within the sphere of Christian Dogmatics to lay the metaphysical and psychological foundations on which such objectors insist.

But there is a prejudice existing against Dogmatics in a different region, and of quite another sort. It is often maintained, for example, that Jesus Christ Himself taught religion, but that His Apostles and their successors taught theology. The one is represented as all life and freedom, the other as a thing of formulas and scholastic definitions, altogether alien from the spirit of the former. If this objection be urged in good faith, it is the expression of an ignorance that deserves to be enlightened. It is often, however, the language of something worse than ignorance, of that secret contempt for the whole question which finds it easier to disparage theology as a science than to look steadily at the subjects with which it has to do. The presumption that religion and theology can be separated will not bear examination. Religious feeling, even of the vaguest sort, has something for its object, and as soon as the attempt is made, even to oneself, to state what is believed or disbelieved, and why, there is the beginning of a theology. The very meagrest sentiment of worship or of duty towards a higher power involves bases of belief, and theology is but the explicit statement of what is already implicitly held as religion. Dogmatics is, in fact, the formulating of beliefs, and since it is an intellectual necessity that every man should, in some sort or other, formulate his beliefs, the only consistent objector to the theological method is he who has no beliefs. A process which all who come into the slightest contact with religious sentiments and beliefs are carrying on from time to time, ought not to be so entirely misapprehended as it is by those who say, "Let us keep clear of theology and confine ourselves to religion." But it will be found, as a rule, that they who decry Dogmatics are not so indifferent to its conclusions as they seek to appear. Indifference to the clear statement of any doctrine, as for instance that of our Lord's Divinity, is often linked to the assumption of its falsehood, or is at least the sign of an unwillingness to accept the conclusion which such a statement would present.

We quote the following passage on the value of Christian Dogmatics from the introduction to the present work: "From the nature of the case, Christian Dogmatics can only have a relative value, since we cannot call any development of the

subject-matter and grounds for the doctrines of salvation an entirely accurate and complete expression of Christian truth. And yet our science is of weighty importance for every thinking member of the Church, still more for a genuine theologian, most of all for a future minister of the Church; and, far from this value being diminished or done away with in these times, many a sign of the times calls for its progressive study. . . . For the theologian, specially, no other branch of investigation exceeds this in value. It stands in relation to the others as the Queen to her retinue, the Sabbath to the other days of the week. In proportion as Dogmatism may be dangerous, is a thorough Dogmatics indispensable. The pastor and teacher, who will teach his flock with blessing, cannot do without it. It is necessary for him and for it that he should have a clear consciousness of the relation in which his personal convictions stand to the consciousness of the Church's belief. From various causes we may say that the present time is as unfavourable as possible for Christian dogmatic studies. And yet these studies will be among the means by which many a suspicious phenomenon in the domain of Church and science will be combated with good success. Moreover, there is not an entire absence of more favourable signs. The powerlessness of negation to satisfy the deepest wants of man is more evident than ever; a renewed thirst after truth exhibits itself in various ways; the striving after Church Reformation, at the same time, excites interest in the investigation of her creeds, and excellent guides appear to give us light for the prosecution of our investigation."

The following is an outline of the author's method. An Introduction, occupying four chapters, deals with the character, sources, history, and claims of Christian Dogmatics. The second part consists of seven main divisions:—

1. *Theology*: including the nature and works of God.
2. *Anthropology*: man, his origin, present condition, destiny, &c.
3. *Christology*: the Person of the Redeemer.
4. *Soteriology* (objective): the redemptional acts and offices of Christ.
5. *Soteriology* (subjective): the demands of the Gospel, and the work of Grace.
6. *Ecclesiology*: the Christian Church and Sacraments.
7. *Eschatology*: resurrection, future life, and the consummation of all things.

This is a sufficiently clear and intelligible outline, and lends itself more readily to a student's requirements than the method pursued by Bishop Martensen in his admirable work on the same subject. We cannot say that, in our judgment, the author has always observed due proportion throughout his work. The In-



roduction and "Apologetic Foundation" occupy 228 pages, compared with which, the hundred pages given to the Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, the Redeeming Acts and Offices of our Lord seem a somewhat scanty allowance. On the cardinal doctrines of the Christian Faith the reader will find the author in general harmony with the great Evangelical confessions. He does not "affect a Christianity raised above diversities of belief," but has sought in this handbook to subordinate "the churchly to the Christian element." He maintains the sacrificial and expiatory character of our Lord's death, as may be seen in detail in Section CXI., "On the High-Priestly Office of Christ:" "On earth Christ offered the sacrifice of Atonement, according to the counsel of God, by the perfect obedience with which, during His whole life, but especially in His sufferings and death, He wholly voluntarily fulfilled the Law, and bore God's holy wrath against the sins of the world. By that spotless sacrifice the requirement of the highest Majesty has received full satisfaction; and in consequence thereof, for all who believe in Christ, the guilt of sin is in such wise covered, that at the same time its power and dominion is in principle destroyed. There exists thus a direct connection between our redemption from sins and the bloody sacrifice of the Cross; and this connection is of such nature that the glory of all God's perfections is revealed therein in a lustre before unknown." This paragraph is thrown into a series of propositions, which are amplified in detail.

Upon the expiatory character of our Lord's death he has the following:—"This one sacrifice has an expiatory force over against the disobedience of so many, because it was offered by the Son of God, who, as the Second Adam, i.e., the true man, voluntarily takes the place of the whole of humanity, and represents it before God. It is impossible to comprehend the world-historic significance of the sacrifice of the Lord, so long as He is regarded only as a man among men, although above many, yea, even above all others. . . . The Son of God is not simply a man as others, but *the* man as no one else; the Spiritual Head of a new humanity, which in Him as its representative appears before God justified and glorified. In order, however, to be able to represent restored humanity before the presence of God, He must first of all take the place of sinful humanity before God's righteous judgment. It is the constant teaching of the New Testament that He offers the sacrifice of obedience, not simply for the benefit of, but *in the place of*, sinners; so that these no longer need to die on account of their sins, since no other than Christ has placed Himself *in the stead of* transgressors. . . . That which He does is what every man ought to have done, consecrate himself perfectly to God; that which He bears is what every man must have borne, God's holy and terrible displeasure; but the

obedience and love with which He does and suffers this for others—in other words, with which He presents Himself a faultless sacrifice to God—is of such inestimable value, that the Father accepts this sacrifice as though it were presented by sinful humanity, which henceforth, so far as it becomes a believing humanity, is comprehended, regarded, and, as it were, gathered up by God in and under this One Person.”

Dr. Van Oosterzee is a moderate Calvinist, and holds generally to the symbols of Dort. On the perseverance of the saints he writes temperately but firmly: “It already appears on which side we range ourselves in the strife on this point, which the Reformed Church has waged since the seventeenth century with the Romish and Lutheran, and which has also been the cause of the separation between the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants. It is the question whether there is reason to expect that the Christian will really, through God’s grace, persevere in the faith, or whether it is possible that the redeemed of the Lord may still entirely fall away, and consequently perish finally. This question must, according to our sincere conviction, be affirmatively answered, not in the latter, but in the former sense.” He admits that the warnings against apostasy contained in Holy Scripture are manifold and earnest; but when, with a side-glance at Heb. vi. 4—6, he adds, “They point to a danger which exists on the part of man, and show that it is possible to possess and to experience very much that is Christian, without being in truth a new creature in Christ,” he appears to slip off the track of right exposition according to an example set by many illustrious leaders in the school of theology to which he belongs. The explanation offered is, in fact, a begging of the question. Does the passage adduced refer to those “who possess very much that is Christian,” or do we not read in its powerful accumulation of expressions, clause being heaped upon clause, the description of one who is “in truth a new creature in Christ?” If, indeed, it be only a seeming, and not a real member of Christ that is referred to, how can it be said that “it is impossible to renew him again unto repentance?”

Such passages would cease to have the monitory value to Christians that is claimed for them if the Calvinistic exegesis could be sustained.

Warnings against that which cannot happen could hardly be effective for long. It may be that the doctrine of final perseverance does not lead to the evil consequences, practically, which it is possible to infer from it; but none the less, in the cause of sound exegesis, we must contend that it is not contained in Scripture, but that, on the contrary, the possibility of an inexcusable and irremediable falling away from Christ is distinctly taught by the Lord Himself, and reappears under various aspects in Apostolic doctrine. That the descriptions of apostasy,

and the solemn warnings against it contained in Scripture, should be explained away by such a poor little logical quibble as "Who-soever thus sins shows that he never was a true believer," is a curious instance of the lengths to which one may be carried by the necessities of defending a doctrinal position. As we have touched upon this question, we will, before leaving it, quote a sentence or two from Stier's exposition of John xv. 6, referring the reader to the whole passage: "If a man abide not in Me. The plain, express language of our Lord remains in incontrovertible opposition to all predestinarian, unscriptural error concerning the indefectibility of a state of grace, and the impossibility that those who have been born again should ever perish. . . . Alas, we have, in the Lutheran Richter's family Bible the strange statement, 'There is no example in Holy Scripture of any who actually *bare fruit* having perished.' This most perilous assertion, which sets out with a much too limited notion of fruit-bearing, and may in many ways be refuted, needs not to be rebutted by any difficult disquisition upon the Scriptural examples of final apostasy, even of the saints; the warning to the saints which pervades the *entire* Epistle to the Hebrews is enough, with such individual passages, of which there are many, as 2 John, 8. If, according to Rev. iii. 11, even the crown may be taken away from those who hold not fast what they have, how can we so confidently assure ourselves against losing the little fruit of our state of grace?"

The chapters on the Church, its idea, government, &c., will be found worthy of attention. Upon a work of such dimensions we cannot, within these limits, pass a detailed judgment; but our examination of it enables us to express a high appreciation of it as a whole, that is not materially lessened by any fault we might be disposed to find with particular portions. It is the work of a learned and devout theologian, nobly conceived, and ably executed. The student of theology will find it invaluable.

*The Life of John Thomas, Surgeon of the Earl of Oxford East Indiaman, and first Baptist Missionary to Bengal.*  
By C. B. Lewis, Baptist Missionary. London: Macmillan and Co. 8vo. Pp. 417.

THE tale of Carey, Marshman, and Ward at Serampore, and of Fuller, Sutcliffe, and Pearce at home, is well known; but Mr. Lewis has well judged that the history of one of their zealous coadjutors deserved to be given to the public. Mr. Thomas was born at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, in the year 1757. He seems to have been the able, energetic, fitful, and troublesome boy of the family. He ran away from home. Eight or nine attempts to settle him as an apprentice proved fruitless. At length he was

placed in Westminster Hospital, to be educated as a surgeon, and achieved very creditable success in his profession. When qualified, he obtained a situation as surgeon to a ship, being at that time in opinion very nearly an infidel. The ship in which he embarked suffered great damage by a collision at sea, and was afterwards exposed to a terrible storm in the Bay of Biscay. Entering a cabin, he prayed to God, vowing that if his life were spared, he would live a new life. "But," says he, "I hardened in harbour into my old sins, and forgot the God of my mercies."

Quitting the ship on his return to land, he commenced business in London as a surgeon and apothecary; and when twenty-four years of age he married. With the exception of a casual attendance at a place of worship, he lived an irreligious life. But at length, under the ministry of Dr. Stennett, he was truly converted to God.

A man so impulsive and sanguine as Mr. Thomas, could not be half-hearted in the service of Christ. When once he had been brought to a decision, his whole mind and heart were absorbed in his new views and the altered practices to which they led; and he sprang at a bound to the mountain top of light, joy, and confidence. It will surprise no one conversant with the records of Christian experience to learn that there was a speedy and painful reaction, from which he was not restored without much mental suffering. Nor was this his sole trouble; his business did not prosper, he was involved in debt, harassed by creditors, for two days imprisoned, compelled to pawn his goods, and sometimes knew not where to look for a shilling to meet the necessities of the passing hour. While in such extremity a friend, unsought, suggested the possibility of obtaining employment as surgeon in a vessel going to the East Indies. He succeeded in obtaining that post in one of the Company's ships, and sailed to India in the year 1783. Calcutta, at that time, had a considerable European population, unhappily distinguished for profanity and irreligion. Mr. Thomas, yearning for Christian fellowship, inserted an advertisement in the *Indian Gazette*, in hope of finding one Christian friend, but failed in his purpose. When the vessel returned, he returned with it, and eagerly seized any opportunities which presented themselves of preaching the Gospel. It was at this time that the conviction seized him with irresistible force, which he carried with him through life, that he was called of God to make known the words of life to the heathen.

When his ship was ready for another voyage, he took his place in it again as surgeon. Availing himself of the rules of the service, and the kindness of a friend who became surety for him, he took out a considerable quantity of merchandise, which yielded a profit of about £500, a sum sufficient to cover his pecuniary

necessities and pay his debts. Arriving in India, he had no difficulty, as before, in finding Christian friends, one of them being a member of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who had gone out to take charge of a school for the children of military men ; another, Mr. Charles Grant, who afterwards became chairman of the Board of Directors of the Honourable East India Company. These, and many like-minded, highly prized Mr. Thomas for his medical skill, as well as for his Christian character. They found in him great zeal, simplicity, and experimental knowledge of religion. Mr. Grant, alive to the miserable condition of the people around him, proposed a Protestant Mission for Bengal, in which Nonconformists should be included ; and authorised Mr. Thomas to correspond with his friends in England on the subject. Great was his joy, as he thought he saw the way opening to the realisation of his cherished hope, the only remaining obstacle being his ignorance of the language of the country. He cared little what he sacrificed to the one passionate desire of his life. But fresh difficulties intervened, some of them caused, and others intensified, by imprudence and other failings on the part of Mr. Thomas himself.

Mr. Grant, whose respect for Mr. Thomas no misunderstanding could destroy, removed from his indigo factory at Malda, and proposed that Mr. Thomas should go and reside there, which he did, preaching on the Sunday, and giving four or five hours a day to the acquisition of the native language. In a short time he tried to address his own servants, and about forty children connected with the factory. Encouraged by that first attempt, he prepared a sermon on the words, "The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord," which he delivered to an audience of natives numbering between 100 and 150 ; and having had the text written on twenty slips of paper in red ink, he distributed the slips among the people, to their great delight. This, as far as we know, was the first preaching of the Gospel to the Bengalis in their own tongue. From that time he was instant in season and out of season, losing no opportunity of pursuing his mission.

As Mrs. Thomas had declined to follow her husband to India, he resolved to return to England, and endeavour to persuade her to accompany him on his return. The vessel in which he sailed had a group of ungodly passengers, among whom was Captain James Wilson, who had suffered a long and frightfully rigorous imprisonment under Hyder Ali. Mr. Thomas describes him "as a rank Deist, of the profaner sort." This was the Captain Wilson who, afterward becoming a very different man, generously offered to take charge of the ship *Duff*, and having landed the missionaries on the island of Tahiti, returned by China, and there took in merchandise which yielded the newly-formed London Missionary

Society £5,000, a sum more than sufficient to cover the expense of sending their first missionaries to the Pacific.

On reaching England, in company with Captain Wilson, Mr. Thomas, after visiting some of his nearest relations, put himself in communication with various ministers, among them Dr. Stennett, the Rev. A. Booth, and the Rev. W. Jay, then just beginning to be known as a preacher in London, aiming to stir them up to the establishment of a Mission to Bengal. This was just at the time when Mr. Carey was thirsting to go forth to the Pacific or to Africa, or to any part of the world where an opening might offer. The parties to this project heard of Mr. Thomas, and by their request he met them at Kettering, and then and there it was decided that Mr. Carey should return with him to India. About £100 had been contributed. £530, it was supposed, would be required to pay the passage of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas and their child, and Mr. Carey and his little boy, Mrs. Carey at first refusing to go.

The ship in which the five persons named above were to sail was the one in which Mr. Thomas had formerly been surgeon—the *Earl of Oxford*. The bargain was made, and £250 paid; but new difficulties arose, first from Mr. Thomas's creditors, and then because the consent of the *Directors* had not been obtained. They were told, that with the exception of Mrs. Thomas and her child, they could not be allowed to proceed. Thomas hastened to London to get the decision reversed, but failed, and returning to Portsmouth, where the vessel lay, found Carey in tears. The two missionaries, with young Carey, proceeded in sadness to London, £100 passage-money having been retained, probably for the passage of Mrs. Thomas and her little girl. Mr. Thomas has left a lively description of their anxieties.

"While Carey wrote to his wife, I would go to the coffee-house with eager desire to know whether any Swedish or Danish ship was expected to sail from Europe for Bengal, or any part of the East Indies that season; when, to the great joy of a bruised heart, the waiter put a card into my hand, whereon were written these life-giving words:—

A Danish East Indiaman.  
No. 10, Cannon Street.

No more tears that night! Our courage revived. We fled to No. 10, Cannon Street, and found that it was the office of Smith and Co., agents; that Mr. Smith was a brother of the captain's, and lived in Gower Street, that this ship had sailed (as he supposed) from Copenhagen, was hourly expected in Dover Roads; would make no stay there, and the terms were £100 for a passenger, £50 for a child, £25 for an attendant. We went away wishing for money. Carey had £150 returned from the *Oxford*. This

was not half sufficient for all, and we were not willing to part. Besides, our baggage was still at Portsmouth, and Mr. Carey had written to his wife that he was coming to see her, and also he entertained some faint hopes that she might now join us if she could be so persuaded, for she had lain in only three weeks; but the shortest way of accomplishing all this would take up so much time, that we feared we should be too late for the ship."

After a long series of disappointments, encountered with the utmost courage and tenacity of purpose, Mr. Thomas offering at last to work his passage to India, the little company set sail. In about five months they reached Calcutta. The little money with which the Society had supplied them was soon exhausted. The grievous anxieties and hardships, which beset them for some years, are fully explained by Mr. Lewis. Amid them all, the devotion of the two men to their one purpose never failed. "I would give a million pounds sterling, if I had it," wrote Thomas, "to see a Bengali Bible."

Mr. Carey landed in India at the end of 1793; Mr. Thomas, as we have seen, having been there long before. In the beginning of the year 1800, Mr. Carey went to reside at Serampore with other missionaries who had been sent from England. At that time they had been cheered by the conversion of various Europeans, but they knew not of a single decided instance of the conversion of a native.

On the 26th of November, 1800, Mr. Thomas, being at Serampore, was summoned to the help of a native whose shoulder had been dislocated. Binding the man to a tree, and instructing Carey and Marshman to pull his arm, he guided the joint into the socket. The man, when the arm was set, complained still of pain, but more of himself as a sinner, for he had heard the Gospel preached. With many tears he cried out, "I am a great sinner; save me, sahib, save me." Mr. Thomas's zeal caught fire, and with fervour and point unusual even for him, he preached Christ to that native; and as the man afterwards confessed, and as a long life of consistency proved, he received the truth in the love of it. To this man we are indebted for the beautiful hymn beginning and ending thus:—

"Oh thou my soul forget no more  
The Friend who all thy misery bore;  
Let every idol be forgot,  
But oh, my soul, forget Him not.

\* \* \* \*

"Ah no! when all things else expire,  
And perish in the general fire,  
This name all others shall survive,  
And through eternity shall live."

It was arranged that Krishna Pál (for that was his name) and another hopeful native who, like Krishna, had already broken caste by eating with the Missionaries, should be baptized during the following month. The other native drew back; but on the 28th of December, 1800, Krishna Pál and Felix Carey were baptized by Mr. Carey in the river very near to the Mission-house. Mr. Thomas's delight was unspeakable, and seems to have been too great for his bodily nature to sustain. As Mr. Carey walked from the house to the place of baptism, he left in one room his wife hopelessly insane; in another, poor Thomas mad.

Mr. Thomas, becoming unmanageable, was removed to an asylum in Calcutta, where he preached to his fellow-patients, and talked of the millennium as already begun. He was soon restored to his senses. Quitting the asylum, he went, by his own wish, to Dinájpur, still losing no opportunity of carrying on his beloved work; but he suffered from the pressure of debt; and, depressed by his recent affliction, enfeebled in health, and almost alone, he gradually sank, until, in the autumn of 1801, he died.

Mr. Lewis has evidently performed a labour of love in rescuing from oblivion the name of the singular man whose very romantic character and career he has depicted with much skill. An example of more intense missionary zeal we have never met with, and seldom with an example of greater inconsistency in a Christian. The volume has a twofold moral: showing how much misery a very pious man may suffer himself and inflict on his friends, if his piety have not prudence for a handmaid; showing, on the other hand, how careful we should be to cultivate the charity which never faileth, leaving the judgment of others to Him who knows their frame.

*Lyra Christi. Hymns and Verses on the Life, Work, and Sayings of our Blessed Lord.* By Charles Lawrence Ford, B.A. London: Houlston and Sons. 1874.

If we are hardly able to call the author of this volume a poet, having scruples with regard to the bestowal of that title, we can at least commend his verse as graceful, and marked by unmistakable literary skill. The devout spirit in which he writes is in harmony with the themes selected. The following is a fair specimen of the writer's style and range of thought:—

“CHRIST AND THE YOUNG RULER.

“‘Sell all thou hast’—O stern command!  
Too hard for mortal man to obey!  
One moment saw him lingering stand—  
The next he turned away.



- "Before him lay the golden crown,  
The rich inheritance of life;  
He felt the sword—and laid it down,  
Nor dared the unequal strife.
- "Houses and lands, and flocks and herds,  
Came darkening up and thronged his view;  
The echo of the Master's words  
Unwelcome, fainter grew.
- "Running he came, and kneeling prayed,  
But slowly walked unblest away;  
Beauty of youth around him played—  
Within, corruption lay.
- "O, hadst thou known, whom Jesus loved,  
How richer far His love than gold,  
How bright a star thy steps had proved  
To lure us to the fold!
- "Now sadly as our Lord we gaze  
On comely form and reverent air,  
For while we give thy virtues praise,  
We scorn thy selfish prayer.
- "And still, whene'er this word we read,  
A beacon-light thy tale shall be,  
Lest earthly love our souls should lead  
To spurn their heaven, like thee."

*Islam: Its History, Character, and Relation to Christianity.*

By John Muchleisen Arnold, D.D. Third Edition.  
London: Longmans. 1874.

To this new edition of his important work on Mohammedanism, Dr. Arnold appends a chapter on the history of "The Counter Aggressions of the Church." It should be borne in mind by Christians, that the missionary zeal of Islam is not yet extinct. Though it is feeble to decrepitude in its direct relations with Europe, there are parts of the world in which it still shows power of extinction and increase. A century ago a few Mohammedans settled in the Mandingo land, north-east of Sierra Leone. They established schools, in which Arabic and the Koran were taught; a community was formed, and after some time the whole country fell into their power. Efforts are still made to proselytise the Pagans in the interior of Africa, and every year fresh tribes are added to the Moslem community. The writer assumes the present number of Mohammedans at 200,000,000. What is being done by the churches of Christendom in this great section of the mission field? For twelve centuries the Church of Christ has stood face to face with her gigantic foe, and it must be acknow-

ledged with sorrow that little has been attempted, and less achieved. Among the mediæval opponents of the doctrines of Islam, Raymond Lullius, to whom the Arabic Professorship at Oxford owes its origin, deserves to be named. When about thirty years of age he conceived a strong desire to preach the Gospel to the Saracens, and to this object the remainder of a long life was devoted with unabated enthusiasm. He was shipwrecked near Pisa when upwards of seventy years of age, but his ardour was still undiminished. "Once," he writes, "I was fairly rich; once I had a wife and children; once I tasted freely of the pleasures of this life. But all these things I gladly resigned, that I might spread abroad the knowledge of the truth. I studied Arabic, and several times went forth to preach the Gospel to the Saracens; I have been in prisons; I have been scourged; for years I have striven to persuade the princes of Christendom to befriend the common cause of converting the Mohammedans. Now, though old and poor, I do not despair; I am ready, if it be God's will, to persevere unto death."

In the following centuries a considerable number of controversial works against Mohammedanism appeared in various countries. Henry Martyn may fairly be styled the precursor of modern missions to the Mohammedans. The first effort by any church or society, subsequent to the single-handed effort of Henry Martyn, was that of the *Evangelische Missions Gesellschaft*, founded at Basle in 1816, which in 1822 commenced its operations among the Moslem Circassians. The writer was instrumental in the formation of the "Moslem Mission Society," in the year 1861.

His remarks upon the spirit and manner in which missions among Mohammedans should be carried on, will repay a careful reading. They are the result of considerable experience, and at the same time breathe that spirit of Christian faith, without which any discussion respecting missions is, in our judgment, useless.

"Our fears of success must not, however, overbalance our hope of winning converts from Islam. One encouraging fact is, that the Koran has laid the foundation of its own destruction in ascribing too great authority to the Law and the Gospel, without in any degree establishing its own assumed superiority. The intelligent Moslem, on reading the Bible, cannot fail to discover the sophistry of the Koran, that, while professing to confirm the foregoing revelations, it virtually abrogates them; and thus the charm which rivets him will be destroyed."

Like many other thinkers on the subject of Christian Missions, the writer looks forward to considerable changes in the mode of their working. He cannot believe that the present organisation of the great missionary societies is final and perfect. We are

unable to follow him here in his suggestions, but they should be looked at by those who are interested in the question.

We have also received the following:—

From Messrs. Henry S. King and Co. *Vizcaya, or Life in the Land of the Carlists*.—The journals and letters of an English lady visiting in the North of Spain in the autumn and winter of the year 1872, with a narrative of affairs at Bilbao during 1873. A slight and unpretending work, but pleasantly written, showing both good sense and right feeling. A well-illustrated, dainty book.—*Speech in Season, and Unsectarian Family Prayers*. By the Rev. H. R. Haweis, M.A. Mr. Haweis is as cheerful and self-confident as ever in his work of making Christianity possible to Londoners of the upper classes. It is true that he now and then warns his hearers not to expect too much from him. "I do not pretend to clear up all mysteries;" and again, after giving a nice little off-hand explanation of the Trinity, he adds, "In that sense I accept a doctrine of the Trinity; but I do not think, my brethren, that I have exhausted God when I have said that. For aught I know there may be a much better expression of God than that." But these modest disclaimers of infallibility are reassuring rather than otherwise to admiring disciples.

From Messrs. Rivington. The Third Edition of *The Life of Dean Alford*.—In this cheaper form this admirable biography will not fail to be widely circulated. It is the record of a lovely life.

From Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton. *Wayside Wells*. By Alexander Lament.—A small collection of essays and stories, with a slight suggestion of Alexander Smith and A. K. H. B. about them. Not very strong or original, but pleasant reading in their way.—*Old-Fashioned Stories*. By Thomas Cooper. These stories were written many years ago, most of them in Stafford gaol during the author's imprisonment for Chartism. They are simple sketches, dealing with humble life and portraying homely personages. Many of the incidents related belong to a state of things gone by, the "Old Lincolnshire" especially, so frequently mentioned by the author, having almost disappeared. The genial racy tone of these stories is characteristic of their author. Few shrewder, kindlier men have fought the battle of life.—*Blossomings in the Apple Country*. By Joseph Willis. A new edition of a little memorial volume well and wisely written.—*Disputed Questions of Belief*. Another volume of lectures to young men delivered at the College of the Presbyterian Church in England, with preface by Dr. Dykes. It contains a chapter on the "Atonement in Relation to the Conscience," and another on "Dr. Strauss and his Theory," which should be of service in exposing some errors that have a peculiar attraction for young men beginning to read and think.—*Religion no Fable*. By Joseph Shenton. The writer of this volume does not seem to us to be well qualified for the task he has undertaken. It is one thing to have a well-ordered and intelligent Christian faith, but quite another thing to be a philosophical defender of the faith.

From Messrs. Isbister and Co. *English Readers* (Public School Series and Elementary School Series).—Two excellent series of well graduated

school books. The passages selected are from the best authors, and include history, biography, poetry, and science. They are thoroughly well adapted for use in families and schools.—There is also a series of *French Readers* which deserve similar commendation.

From Messrs. James Parker and Co. *The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England*. The editor, Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, regrets that the clergy are, as a rule, ignorant of Canon-law, and says, with truth, that the Canons are often quoted, but rarely read. Hitherto they have not been very accessible, but those who desire to become acquainted with this somewhat mysterious department of Church law, will find this convenient and well-edited edition very serviceable. After Sir William Harcourt's recent statement that he was proud of his ignorance of Canon-law, obscurer persons need not hesitate to make confession also. There are many wonderful things enjoined in these Canons that we pass over, but we must find room for a sentence or two from the 74th Canon, on "Decency in Apparel enjoined to Ministers:"—"And no Ecclesiastical Person shall wear any coif or wrought Night-cap (*pileolo lineo acupicto*), but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet (*tramoserico aut holoserico*). In private houses, and in their studies (*musæis*), the said Persons Ecclesiastical may use any comely (*decentis*) and scholar-like apparel, provided that it be not out or pinkt (*puncturis variegati*); and that in public they go not in their Doublet and Hose, without Coats or Cassocks (*vestibus promissis*); and that they wear not any light-coloured stockings (*tibiaia colorata*). Likewise poor (*tenuioribus*) beneficed men and curates (not being able to provide themselves long (*talarium*) Gowns) may go in short gowns of the fashion aforesaid."

— From the Religious Tract Society. *A New Companion to the Bible*.—One of those useful publications of which we owe so many to this invaluable Society. It gives a general account of the Bible as a whole, with an analysis of the various books, and hints towards the intelligent and profitable study of the Scriptures.

THE  
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1875.

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ART. I.—*History, Essays, Orations, and other Documents of the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, held in New York, October 2—12, 1873.*  
Edited by Rev. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., and Rev. S. IRENEUS PRIME, D.D. New York: Harpers. 1874.

THE Evangelical Alliance was organised nearly thirty years ago, and its early promise seemed to be great. During the generation, however, which has followed, it can hardly be said to have fulfilled that early promise. It has been more powerful abroad than at home. On the side of religious liberty, on behalf of oppressed sects in various countries, it has used its good offices and its influence with a success of which its leaders may fairly be proud. In Lutheran Germany, in Scandinavia, and in Russia; to some extent even in Italy during the days of Papal domination; and more recently, in Turkey, it has raised its voice, with good effect, against religious proscription and persecution. In 1857, the Alliance came into great prominence by its Berlin Conference, concerning which, at the time, we wrote in this Journal, and at which the Prussian king, and his friend, Baron Bunsen, both did public honour to the Alliance, in spite of the bitter antagonism of the *Kreuz Zeitung* party. Good permanent results for religious liberty in Germany doubtless followed this memorable meeting. But, with that exception, perhaps no general conference, or world-gathering, of the Alliance, has ever assumed such proportions in view of the Christian world, as that which was held in New York in October, 1873, or has produced a comparable impres-

sion. Thanks to the energy of Dr. Schaff, the American organising secretary of the Alliance, the history of that great meeting was carried through the press in much less time than has usually been required in similar cases, and has now been for several months in the hands of the subscribers in this country. It is contained in a noble volume, admirably printed and got up, and full of most interesting and important matter, which will form the text of our present article. All students of Church history, especially all who desire to know the actual condition of the Christian world, will find it to be an invaluable treasure, an authentic compendium of information and ideas, derived from the best sources, contributed by men among whom may be reckoned not a few of the leading minds of Christendom, and such as can nowhere else be found in one view. It contains nearly 800 pages of double columns and small, but clear, type, and of imperial octavo size.

The first meeting historically related to the organisation of the Evangelical Alliance, was held in the Wesleyan Centenary Hall, in February, 1845. This was followed by a public meeting on behalf of Christian union, in Exeter Hall, in June of the same year; by an important meeting in Edinburgh, in July, held in connection with the bi-centenary of the Westminster Assembly, at which the idea occurred to the late Mr. Henderson, of Park—afterwards carried into effect through his liberality—of a treatise or a volume of essays on the subject of Christian Union; and, after many sectional meetings had been held to prepare the way, by the first aggregate meeting—the true Constitutive Conference—of the Alliance, held at Liverpool, on the 19th of August, 1846, at which assembly the basis of the Alliance was agreed upon, and its essential organisation completed. The second great meeting, known as the First General Council of the Alliance, was held at London, in 1851, the first Exhibition year; the third aggregate meeting, or Second Council, at Paris, in 1855, the first Exposition year; the fourth meeting, or Third General Council, at Berlin, in 1857; the fifth meeting, or Fourth Council, at Geneva, in 1861; the sixth meeting, or Fifth Council, at Amsterdam, in 1867; the seventh meeting, or Sixth Council, at New York. This is spoken of as the Sixth General Conference. Strictly, however, it is the seventh, since the Constitutive Conference certainly cannot be left out of account. It is, however, rightly described as the

sixth meeting of the General Council of the Alliance. Those who desire to understand more in detail the history of the Alliance, and especially the manner in which it organised itself at Paris, in 1855, for the purpose of promoting the cause of religious liberty, must be referred to the sketch of the history of the Alliance given at New York, by the Rev. James Davis, one of the Secretaries of the Alliance, and contained in the volume under review. Two sentences on the special point are all that we can give. The intolerance which at that time prevailed on the Continent, not only in Popish, but, hardly less, in Protestant countries, was brought pointedly, and in detail, before the Alliance; and "a united committee was appointed, composed of members of the Alliance from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Prussia, Sweden, Turkey, Great Britain, Ireland, and America, to whom the subject was confided for their joint counsel as to the practical measures which might be adopted in relation to those countries where intolerance principally prevailed." That united committee, although, when it was first appointed, its purpose and pretensions were the subject of not a little ridicule, especially in England, has been the means of accomplishing great things for religious liberty throughout Europe, and even in the Turkish dominions. Let us be permitted to note, in connection with this subject, that among the most useful and influential members of that committee were two of the secretaries of the Alliance, neither of whom was able to be present at the New York meeting, the elder by reason of increasing infirmities, the younger from the pressure of disease, and of whom the younger has since died, while the older is now quite *hors de combat*, so far as all public life is concerned. We refer to the Rev. Dr. Steane, and the Rev. Dr. Schmettau. The former was a Baptist pastor in South London, a gentleman of singular administrative abilities and accomplishments; a man of the most perfect courtesy, and of admirable judgment; few could excel him in the faculty of drawing a resolution or preparing a report; and none could surpass him in tact, or in skill and sympathy to follow, and, while following, to influence, the moods of a meeting. Had he been a diplomatist or a politician, his qualifications must have placed him very high in either vocation. As a Baptist pastor, he became the leading spirit of the Evangelical Alliance, and was recognised as such by all, of whatever

Church, or whatever rank in life, who entered within its circle. At first, indeed, Dr. Bunting was acknowledged to be the master spirit of the Alliance. But after the difficulties attendant upon the constitution and earliest struggles of the Alliance were over, Dr. Bunting retired from any leading share in its management. From a very early period, Dr. Steane was the chief guide and power in the administrative history of the Alliance. Worthy to be a colleague of Dr. Steane, was Dr. Schmettau, a native of Hanover, and graduate of Göttingen, whose first appointment was in 1848 as chaplain to the Prussian Legation at Lisbon, but who came to this country in 1856, and having been introduced by the venerable Dr. Steinkopf to Sir Culling Eardley, was appointed foreign secretary to the Alliance. Dr. Schmettau was an accomplished man, and a Christian of the loveliest spirit. His knowledge, skill, and goodness, and the charm of his manners, were of very great value to the Alliance in all its operations, but especially in relation to its work on the Continent, and to its Continental Conferences. He died in London on the 12th October, 1873, the last day of the New York Conference, aged 51. The absence of Dr. Steane and Dr. Schmettau from the New York Assembly was, to all who had attended its former conferences, a great grief and loss.

The New York Assembly of the Evangelical Alliance was, as we have intimated; a great success. It was, in truth, a magnificent success. There may have been Alliance Conferences at which papers were read, in the aggregate, of higher value, although we doubt if there have been. There may have been assemblies at which decisions were arrived at, and influences set in motion, more important in their effects on Christian liberty and evangelical union in Europe than any transactions accomplished at New York. Such were probably, for example, the Paris Conference in 1855 and the Berlin Conference in 1857. But never did any assembly of the Alliance produce such an evident, immediate, and mighty impression in Europe or on any nation within whose territories it was gathered, as that which the New York Assembly produced on the United States and North America. All other assemblies of the Alliance have been insignificant in comparison. Nor was it possible, from such altogether inadequate reports as appeared in the English newspapers at the time, to form any conception as to the reality. Those



only who obtained the reports of the *New York Tribune*, which were, we believe, republished in this country, can at all understand what the Alliance gathering in New York really was.

The time indeed at which the visit to New York took place was peculiarly unfavourable. All well-to-do New Yorkers are absent from the city from the end of August till the end of October, or even till November is well advanced. The leading city pastors follow their flocks to fashionable watering places or to Europe. When three weeks of September were already passed, and less than a fortnight remained till the opening of the Conference, very much had still to be done, in subscription of funds, in finding of homes, and in all particulars of organisation, and it seemed as if it were hardly possible to be ready for the Alliance by the 2nd of October. As yet, moreover, the energetic and able Dr. Schaff, on whom so much depended, had not arrived from Europe, where he had been mustering the forces of the Alliance. To add to the perplexity, on Saturday, the 20th of September, came the most unexpected, the most sweeping, and the most complete financial cyclone that even the United States has ever known; it came upon Wall-street like thunder from a clear sky, it convulsed the Union, and paralysed credit and confidence everywhere. Purely financial in its origin, it laid an instant arrest on industry, and, for a while, seriously interrupted the great export trade of the Union. Between the 20th of September and the opening of the Alliance Conference on the 2nd of October the panic was at its worst, and during the ten days that the Conference lasted the commercial prospects of the country can scarcely be said to have in any degree improved. Nevertheless, although it was held during such a season of unparalleled financial havoc and distress, the meeting of the Alliance was one of unparalleled success. Perhaps in one respect the financial crisis may even have contributed to that success; it served to bring back to New York many who felt that, at the call of such dire alarm, it was fitter they and their families should return to the city than that they should remain away at extravagant watering places. But, in every other respect, the crisis was a great trouble and disturbance. It prevented some leading men from giving attention to the Alliance or its visitors, who would otherwise have occupied a foremost place in its hospitalities

and its public gatherings. It formed a gloomy background during all the services, and conferences, and celebrations. It was evident that it lay heavily on the minds and hearts of some of the generous Christian men who opened their houses to Alliance guests, and took part in the councils of the assemblage.

Notwithstanding, however, such disadvantages and difficulties as we have thus adverted to, the Alliance was such a success as we have described. On the 2nd of October all was ready. Dr. Schaff had been back a week; all the needful funds, in spite of the crisis, were guaranteed; homes or excellent lodgings had been provided for the foreign delegates; the places of meeting were ready for the sections of the Alliance; Association Building was beautifully decorated and prepared for the welcome and the service of the Alliance in its inaugural meetings; the programme of organisation was completed. From its opening on the evening of October the 2nd to its close on Sunday the 12th, the dimensions and impressiveness of the vast gathering, divided as it was into many powerful sections, continually increased. It was found necessary again and again to divide and subdivide the gatherings, and to distribute the forces of the Alliance. At first it was thought to have but two contemporary sections, as in other countries, on similar occasions, but it was found immediately necessary to organise three, and then four and more sections, until at length seven or eight were running at the same time. It was calculated that on the Sunday evening, when the farewell public meetings were held, not fewer than 20,000 persons were assembled. The largest and handsomest theatres and assembly halls that New York contains were all laid under requisition, and all crowded to the uttermost.

The New York press was equal to the occasion. All the papers gave extended reports daily, but the *Tribune* outdid all the rest. It printed triple sheets, and furnished wonderfully complete and correct reports of the papers read in the different sections, with good summaries of the discussions. Day by day, also, the newspapers contributed leading articles on the Alliance, its assemblies, the chief papers contributed, and the leading topics of discussion. The chief provincial journals, also, had their reporters, and gave reports, more or less complete, of what was done. The comments of some of these journals were very free;

the tone of criticism was not always orthodox; it was sometimes rationalistic and irreverent. The *Tribune*, in particular, while it paid practical homage to the Alliance, and consulted its own interests by providing excellent reports, indulged not seldom in editorial comments of a freethinking tendency. But all were profoundly impressed by the power of Christian feeling and purpose, as shown in the Alliance gatherings. The world was made to understand that there is a force in free Evangelical Christianity to which nothing else in public life can be compared.

The question cannot but here arise as to the reasons for the incomparably greater impression produced by the Evangelical Alliance in New York than in any other chief city of the world. Never were so few men of European distinction present as at the New York meeting. Time and distance, and the voyage, operated to prevent not a few from coming to New York who would have been present at Berlin, Geneva, Paris, or London. Nor was there anything in the topics dealt with by the various writers and speakers, or in the manner of handling them, so specially interesting as to account for the enthusiasm produced. The enthusiasm, indeed, was largely irrespective both of the men who constituted the *personnel* of the gathering, and of the particular subjects discussed. It was the enthusiasm of an idea. It was independent of details, which indeed could not have been studied at all by the great majority of those who crowded to the Alliance meetings. This enthusiasm lent overmastering importance to the gathering, and made it the theme of all circles. The financial crisis and the Alliance were the two matters which divided public attention in America during the first half of October, 1878. But the immaterial fairly eclipsed the material. Much as the journals could not but be occupied with the money panic, they were yet more taken up with the Alliance. From Maine to California, from New Hampshire to Georgia, from Minnesota to Florida, the Alliance was the theme of every intelligent family and every cultivated circle. Travel where you might in the States during the assembly, and even for weeks afterwards, the atmosphere was full of the Alliance, of criticisms on its proceedings, and of the echoes of such criticisms.

The explanation of this fact, although at the time it struck European visitors at least with surprise, and filled them, for the most part, with admiration, is not far to

seek. No country in the world can ever be so impressed by the visit of the Evangelical Alliance, or can give to it so impressive a welcome as the United States. To afford a parallel to the New York welcome, the Alliance must visit the States a second time. Perhaps a second visit soon to New York might be a failure. But if in six years' time the Alliance should decide to visit Philadelphia, it is probable that the effect might even surpass that of the visit to New York, especially as it would hardly be likely a second time to coincide with any commercial disturbance of importance.

The explanation is found in the character of the American people, taken in connection with the fact that the visit of the Alliance was a collective visit of Christian Europe to America, of free and Protestant Christian Europe, in its different nationalities, to free and Protestant America. The feelings to which such a visit appeals, are the sympathetic interest and intelligent curiosity of evangelical and non-hierarchical Protestantism. The public, which takes a deep interest in such a gathering as the Evangelical Alliance, must be intelligent, more or less cosmopolitan, opposed to all pseudo-Catholicism, in deep sympathy with civil and religious liberty, full of faith in the future of free Christianity. Nowhere out of America can such a public, within reach of one centre, be found, comparable in numbers and in general competency of social position and circumstances, to that of which New York is the centre. If American Christianity is almost destitute of our highest grades of cultured Christian intelligence and sympathy, neither is it everywhere and on all sides outflanked and kept down by vast masses and multitudes of inert unchristianised social and intellectual barbarism. Nor, again, is the frankness and breadth of general Christian sympathy with Protestant needs and Protestant progress interrupted and diminished by the dominance of a Church which is exclusive, because it is unduly hierarchical and sacramental, because as yet it has been but imperfectly reformed. For these reasons public, sympathetic, Protestant Christianity makes an appearance and produces an impression in New York which it could do nowhere in England, not even in Manchester, with all Lancashire to back it, because a cotton operative public would care little for such a gathering as the Alliance, would, indeed, be busy working at the mills, because the Church of England would largely stand

aloof, and because other denominations are apt to be critical and sceptical as to Continental connections and sympathies, and as to ideal projects in general; much less in London, which is too vast and too self-absorbed to be deeply stirred by any congress or conference whatever. The nearest approach this island could show to the New York gathering, would probably be at Glasgow—intelligent, cosmopolitan, Protestant Glasgow. Nowhere, however, in the Eastern Hemisphere, could there be the same aggregate of interest for a sympathetic public as was found in New York, when, for the first time, the whole free Protestant Christianity of Europe went over, by its representatives, to enter into personal union and alliance with the collective Christianity of the Western Continent. Some generous Christian fathers of America, who had taken part in the European gatherings of 1846 and some following years, must have hailed the visit of the Alliance with no ordinary feelings of interest and thankfulness; let us be permitted, among these, to name in particular Dr. Paton and Dr. Cox, of New York.

What we have now said will be illustrated, and at the same time the most recent information on the subject will be afforded to our readers, if we add here some statistics relating especially to the different Protestant Churches in the United States. The population of the Union was, at the last census (1871), taken to be 38,550,000. There are said to be in the States about two millions of Roman Catholics. There are the Mormonites, amounting to about 90,000. There are about 78,000 Jews. The Unitarians and Universalists are said to number together about 365,000. The various Evangelical Protestant Churches are estimated as including 7,400,000 communicants. Of these, the smallest Church of any chief importance—a Church, however, let us say, which has of late been increasing rapidly both in numbers and influence, especially in the more refined circles of the older States, and in the missionary pioneer grounds of the far Western States—is the Episcopalian, or Protestant Episcopal Church, which is said to number 239,218 communicants. The smallest but one of the larger denominations is the Congregationalist, numbering 318,916 communicants. In America the Congregationalists are distinguished for their intelligence and culture, and seem to be free from the bitterness and narrowness which are too often found among Churches of the same

name in this country. The Lutheran family of Churches, under various synods, conferences, or councils, count 487,195 communicants; Presbyterians, of various styles and sorts, count 971,765; Baptists, of all sorts—varieties innumerable—2,091,861; Methodists, of ten or eleven different varieties, 8,146,012, the Methodist Episcopal Church counting 1,468,688, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 654,159; while the two "African" Methodist Episcopal Churches, "Bethel" and "Zion," number together 576,000. From these figures it is evident that the United States is a country of professing Christians and of communicants to an extent altogether unknown in this country; that, indeed, a profession of religion must be well-nigh universal. About one in three of the entire population of the States would appear to be communicants, the vast majority of these belonging to the free and non-hierarchical Protestant Churches, such as would welcome an Evangelical Alliance, and have no sympathy with episcopalian exclusiveness. Doubtless, also, many Lutherans would be strongly attracted towards the German element in the Alliance.\*

The "History of the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance" begins, after a Preface, with an Historical Sketch of the Conference, following which comes the "Table of Contents." The contents include "Reports on the State of Religion in various Christian Countries;" Papers and Addresses on "Christian Union;" Papers on "Christianity and its Antagonisms," divided into a *Theo-*

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\* We have taken the particulars given above from "A Statistical Exhibit of Evangelical Christianity in the United States," given in Appendix III. to the volume under review, and drawn up by the Rev. Daniel Dorchester, Lowell, Massachusetts. We have not given the number of Friends. We find Mr. Boyce, in his very useful *Missionary Statistics*, gives their total number of all ages as 224,000. It is steadily declining. (Boyce's *Statistics*, p. 144.) How the irreverence of American newspapers, and the confessed demoralisation, especially in certain respects, of which we cannot write particularly, that would appear to pervade the Eastern States, and to have infected most of the larger cities—how these things, and such things as these, are to be reconciled with the all but universal Christian profession of the States, it is not our business here to inquire. In not a few respects, America remains an enigma to the Englishman. The stranger supposes himself to understand the character of the people, and is apt to bless or to curse, to praise or to censure, wholesale. The man who has lived there long confesses himself at a loss to comprehend a people so different in different parts, so inconsistent often with themselves, so full of anomalies to an English judgment. Whoever knows America, will find many things to mourn over, not a little to censure, but many things also to admire, and many friends to love.

*logical Section and a Philosophical Section; Papers on the "Christian Life," including (Section 1) Personal and Family Religion, (Section 2) Education and Literature, (Section 3) The Pulpit of the Age, (Section 4) Sunday Schools, (Section 5) Christian Associations; Papers on "Romanism and Protestantism," in three sections, viz., Modern Romanism and Protestantism, The Old Catholics, The Evangelisation of Roman Catholic Countries; "On Christianity and Civil Government," in three sections, viz., Church and State, Christianity and Liberty, Ministerial Support; "On Christian Missions," in two sections, first, the Principles of Mission Work, second, Particular Mission Fields; and "On Christianity and Social Progress."*

Of these, the two most interesting and important divisions will probably, by general consent, be agreed to be, the 1st, "On the State of Religion in various Christian Countries;" the 3rd, on "Christianity and its Antagonisms;" the 4th, on "Christian Life," and the 5th, on "Romanism and Protestantism." The Report given by Pastor Prochet, of the Waldensian Church at Genoa, in regard to the prospects of the religious revival and of the spirit of Reformation in Italy is, on the whole, decidedly encouraging; so also, notwithstanding serious drawbacks and exceptions, is the view afforded of the religious prospect in France by Pastor Decoppet, of the National Reformed Church in Paris, and the well-known and much-respected Pastor Fisch, of the Free Church in Paris. Even in Belgium, as Pastor Anet informed the Alliance, "though it is the day of small things"—of things very small—yet a genuine and promising beginning has been made, a spirit of missionary zeal and a stream of converting influence and energy have gone forth, from which one cannot but hope important results in the future. The Protestantism of Belgium numbers but few Churches—twelve in receipt of State support, twenty-four free and self-supporting, these latter having, for the most part, been gathered from among Roman Catholics, and one of them (that at Charleroi) numbering 1,000 members, inclusive of children. But the Churches, with rare exceptions, are free from the leaven of rationalism. Pastor Anet, we may note, is of Brussels, and is himself the Secretary of the Free Evangelical Organisation of Churches of which we have been speaking. Thus, in the countries in which Roman Catholicism is predominant, there is almost everywhere

reason for encouragement. This would appear to be the case even in Spain, according to the report of the German missionary, Fliedner, son of the famous Pastor Fliedner, of the German Inner Mission, and of the lamented Carrasco, who was lost in the ill-fated *Ville de Harre*.

But when we turn to the countries in which, at the epoch of the Reformation, Protestantism, in one or other form, rose to the ascendant, we find the condition and prospect to be, in general, by no means encouraging to an Evangelical Christianity. Everywhere rationalism does its havoc—in Holland, in German Switzerland, most of all in Germany. It is true that there are not wanting powerful defenders of the truth, such as Von Osterzee in Holland, and in Germany Luthardt and Christlieb, worthy successors of the veteran Tholuck, Ebrard, Lange, Dörner, and their fellows. The cause of Christian faith and truth in Protestant countries has by no means retrograded to the position which it held on the Continent in the first decade of this century. But still the account given by Dr. Cohen Stuart, in his very able Report as to Holland, and by the Rev. Hermann Krummacher and Dr. Tholuck (who sent a paper to the Conference, although he could not himself be present), is very unsatisfactory. In Germany, in particular, the aspect of religion at the present moment is almost alarming. In 1870, especially during the war with France, it seemed as if the German faith in God and Christianity had risen in great might, and was likely to rise higher still: there was, to use Mr. Krummacher's words, "among the rich and the poor, upon the thrones and in the meanest cottages, in camps and hospitals, a religious susceptibility, a hunger for the Word of God, an eagerness to invoke God, and to serve Him by works of charity," which surprised not only Germany itself, but Europe at large. But the expectations of a religious revival to follow that great war have been grievously disappointed, a tide of irreligion and unbelief, cresting, as it were, the immense uprising of national power and pride, seems to have burst over the land. It is evident, indeed, everywhere on the Continent, that established Protestantism has suffered for want of free living organisations of Christian faith and worship to compete with and to supplement the State organisations. The Protestantism of the Continent has ages ago hardened into a matter of State prescription and mechanism. Even



where, as in Holland—in Holland alone—the character of a State establishment has in theory departed from it, the condition has still remained. Beyond the creed, the endowments, the ancient State provision, the time-honoured mechanism, there has been no new growth or life. In England the State Church is on all sides confronted and surrounded by active and powerful voluntary Churches, and the voluntary growth and increase of the State Church itself has become so vast as almost to have enclosed, and absorbed into the element of its own life, the mere State organisation. Hence, in this country all things live which belong to religious organisation and service. It is far otherwise on the Continent; and if Continental Protestantism is to be truly revived, and to be rescued from the death-taint of infidelity, it can only be by means of the vitalising power of voluntary Churches. Hence the immense value of the work which Methodism is doing in Germany, both British, and, still more, American Methodism. What has been said of Germany is equally true in general of Scandinavia. In Sweden, however, Methodism long ago, by the agency of the late Rev. George Scott, was enabled to begin a work of revival, the effects of which have not ceased to increase and spread to the present day.

We may repeat here to-day what, in an article on the Berlin Conference, we wrote seventeen years ago.\* The Reformation on the Continent, through the writings alike of Luther and of Calvin, gave an impulse to doctrinal speculation and reconstruction which could never afterwards be suppressed or annulled, and yet those who established and endowed the Churches of Protestantism, attempted, by fixed confessions and formularies, to suppress, if not to annul, this impulse. No latitude was allowed for dissent, no hope permitted of modification, no sphere provided for free and voluntary activity, for all that belongs to the great mission-life of Christianity. "Men's hands were tied and their hearts bound up, while their heads were left to work with an undue and unwholesome activity." Hence the result which we have to lament to-day.

Already, however, we can trace the beginnings of free Christian life in every part of Continental Protestantism,

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\* *London Quarterly Review*, January, 1858.

and we cannot doubt that the vital power will grow and spread. With the spread of such life pernicious speculation and paralysing scepticism will proportionately decline. The advantage possessed by Protestantism in countries where Roman Catholicism is in the ascendant is, that its life is more voluntary, more genuine, more truly spiritual. Even in France a salutary infection of spiritual reality and earnestness has spread from the voluntary and unendowed to the state-supported forms of Christianity. Rationalism has not, by far, the hold on the National Reformed Church of France which it had thirty years ago.

In no volume, perhaps in no number of volumes, accessible to the English public, can so true, so clear, so comprehensive a view of the actual condition of Christianity in all the Continental countries of Europe—including Greece and excepting only Russia—be obtained as in the volume before us.

In the Theological Section of the third division of this volume, that on "Christianity and its Antagonisms," we may refer particularly to the massive and masterly paper of Dr. Christlieb, Professor of Theology at Bonn, on "The Best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity,"—a paper the reading of which occupied more than two hours, but which, nevertheless, so held and impressed a vast audience, that the author was constrained to read it a second time to a vaster and more distinguished audience in Dr. Adams's Church; to the timely and suggestive paper of Professor Leathes, of King's College, on the same subject; to Dr. Van Oosterzee's contribution on the subject of "The Gospel History and Modern Criticism;" to the fresh and interesting paper of Dr. Warren, President of the Boston University, on "American Infidelity, its Factors and Phases;" and to the beautiful paper on "Reason and Faith," by Dr. Washburn, of New York. Let us pause for a moment at the name of Dr. Warren.

Not many years ago, the American Methodist Episcopal Church, knowing itself to be by far the greatest and most influential Church in the States, and yet, in comparison of some smaller denominations—as, for example, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists—to be deficient in high theological scholarship, and in the means, as a Church, of affording the highest discipline, theological and general, to its adherents, determined to send to Europe, and especially into Germany, some young men of high and proved

capacity. Among these was Dr. Hurst, now the Principal and Theological Professor of Drew Seminary, near Madison, New Jersey, and well known as a philosophical historian of theology; and also Dr. Warren, the author of the paper to which we are referring, and the Principal of the new Boston University, which is a Methodist institution of the greatest promise, likely to be a wholesome rival in New England to the power and influence of the Unitarian Harvard. Unless we mistake, also, Professor Prentiss, an accomplished member of the staff of Middletown University, was another of the selected ministers.

The step was bold, spirited, and, as we cannot but think, wise. It is, in particular, very gratifying to mark that neither of the theological professors appears to have lost anything of the Evangelical spirit or creed by his residence for several years in Germany.

We are not sure that we agree with all that Professor Warren says on the subject of American infidelity; we almost doubt whether, on mature thought, he would desire us to rest in the estimate which he presents to us of his country's relations to unbelief. It seems to us as if he claimed, as a high merit for his country, indefinite receptivity of infidel ideas from abroad, especially from England and Germany, coupled with an entire incapacity to originate any form or principle of infidelity for itself. But no one can fail to acknowledge the freshness and force with which he presents his views. He begins by showing that the fervid and fusing force which, out of the heterogeneous elements of American colonial life, made one people, was Evangelical religion. "Shut in between the territories of France upon the North and West, and Spanish Florida on the South, bisected near the middle by large Dutch and Swedish populations in New York and Delaware, overdotted with settlements of every European nationality, the little British colonies of two hundred years ago presented, in most respects, the least hopeful aspect of all the European dependencies in the New World. No two existed under a common charter, scarce two had a like religion." "A soul was needed to organise the rich though motley elements into one living national body. That soul was communicated, as by a Divine afflatus, in the great Whitfieldian revival." "Again and again, through all these colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia, the most famous evangelist of history moved in triumph. Puritan New

Englanders forgot that he was a gowned priest of the very Church from whose oppressions they had fled to the wilds of a new world. Dutch New York, and German Pennsylvania, almost unlearned their degenerating vernaculars as they listened to his celestial eloquence. The Quaker was delighted with his gospel simplicity, the Covenanter and Huguenot with his "doctrines of grace." The Episcopalians were his by rightful Church fellowship, and thus it came to pass that when, after crossing the ocean eighteen times in his flying ministry, he lay down to death at Newburyport, he was unconsciously, but in reality, the spiritual father of a great Christian nation."

Professor Warren proceeds to sum up the Evangelical forces which belonged to the American people at the period when it attained to political independence. His summary is worth quoting, if only because of its bearing upon a point to which we have already adverted, viz., the very general prevalence of religious profession in the States. We shall see that, in this respect, the fruit of American maturity has been according to the seed of her earliest youth.

"Almost the entire population belonged to Evangelical Churches, and, what was more important, to Evangelical churches with which they were identified by all the ties of education and long-standing tradition. In New England, Puritan Independency, or Congregationalism, was not only the religion established by law, but the real faith of almost the entire community. In the middle and southern States, with the exception of Pennsylvania, the Church of England had been the established Church, though in many sections the Reformed Church, including its three great branches, the Scotch, Dutch, and German, equalled or surpassed in numbers and influence, the communion established and favoured by law. Though the disruption of the new nation from the mother country left all communicants of the Church of England disorganised and churchless, they remained so for a very brief period only. In 1784 and 1789, they organised themselves into two new Episcopal Churches, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Protestant Episcopal, each retaining, with slight modifications, the Articles of Religion, the Liturgy, and many of the traditions of the great Anglican mother. Lutheranism, at this time, was not strong. Still it was not greatly disproportioned to the German population. To sum up, with a population of about three millions, there was very nearly an Evangelical minister to every two thousand souls."

The following is Professor Warren's summary of the

view which he had been giving, at some length, of the history of infidelity in America:—

“Glancing back over these successive waves of opposition to the kingdom of Christ, one is struck, first of all, by the fact that none of them were of American origin. The successive types of unbelief and misbelief which have arisen and prevailed in Europe, have, in every case, determined the successive types of unbelief and misbelief in America. In most cases, the first effectual introduction of a new type has been due to Europeans coming to our shores. Thus, our first popular infidelity was directly due to European soldiery, and to such immigrants as Thomas Paine. The great New England defection was, to a certain extent, pioneered by British Socinians, and decidedly aided by the coming of Joseph Priestley and John Murray. The Communistic crusade was preached by Owen in person, and seconded by scores of foreign-born adjutants. The phrenological revival of naturalism was introduced by a pupil of Gall, and disseminated by the labours of Prussian Spurzheim and Scotch Combe. Mother Ann Lee, whom England gave us, was the early forerunner of American spiritualism, while the ghost of Scandinavian Swedenborg appearing to Andrew Jackson Davies in a graveyard near Paughkeepsie, in 1832, so affected the deliria of that ‘seer,’ and the whole system of his followers, that the historian of American Socialisms\* declares ‘Spiritualism is Swedenborgianism Americanised.’ Finally, the transition of the ‘Free Religionists’ from a professedly Scriptural Unitarianism to an open repudiation of all positive revelation, was an effect of German speculation and criticism, meditated (*query mediated*) partly by such men as Follen, more effectively by American students and tourists abroad, most potently of all by the writings of Germans, and of admirers of German literature. Thus all these threatening surges of anti-Christian thought and effort have come to us from European seas; not one arose in our hemisphere. Like other peoples, we have erred in the sphere of religion; but our admitted errors, as in the case of the wild excrescences of Mormonism, Millerism, and Shakerism, are all in the direction of superstition rather than that of unbelief. America has given the Old World valuable theological speculations, admirable defences of the faith, precious revival influences, memorable exhibitions of international charity, but she has never cursed humanity with a new form of infidelity. We have no Strauss, no Renan, not even a Carl Vogt. We never have had. The nearest approach to it we ever had was the forceful Unitarian preacher who ministered to the “Twenty-eighth Congregational Society,” of Boston, from 1845 to 1859. Even he had not the requisite learning or genius

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\* J. H. Noyes.

to enable him to propound a solitary new difficulty to the Christian scholarship of his age. We have infidel *littérateurs* of respectable attainments and all too-wide influence, but, in all the ranks of American unbelievers, the Christian apologist of learning and ability can nowhere find a foeman worthy of his steel."

We have already intimated that the view presented in these extracts appears to us to be open to criticism. Professor Warren magnifies, as it seems to us, the credulity of his nation, and asserts their liability to gross superstition, that he may save them from the reproach of infidelity. But surely credulity and unbelief signally concur in some of the characteristic forms of American religious error. To us, for example, Mormonism is infidelity as well as gross credulity. American spiritualism, also, often unites superstition and infidelity within the embrace of its boundless credulity. What we have quoted is almost tantamount to an admission that American speculation is altogether destitute of originality. For it is simply impossible that a habit and character of original thought should be shut up, either in America or elsewhere, within the limits of Christian orthodoxy. National habits of mind cannot but extend throughout the whole breadth of cultured society. That many cultured people in America have a strong sceptical bias Professor Warren in effect admits. In truth irreverence and unbelief, it is notorious, largely infect the journalism and periodical literature of the States. To deny that infidel thought in the States possesses any originality or any incisive force, is to deny originality to the *littérateurs* of the nation.

That there is comparatively little power or outgrowth of original speculation in the States, is perhaps true; it is also probably true that the most distinguished and able thinkers, the most original and fruitful thinkers, have been and are orthodox Christians—and here the names occur to us of Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, and the accomplished and able critic and philosopher of Yale College, Newhaven, Dr. Noah Porter, author of one of the ablest and most comprehensive philosophical treatises of the age—on "The Human Intellect." But, on similar grounds to those assigned by Professor Warren, it might be argued that the modern infidelity, both of England and France, is derived from Germany, while that of Germany was originally derived from England.

The Second, or "Philosophical Section," under the head

"Christianity and Its Antagonisms," contains a number of valuable papers on the modern controversy of Christianity with Science and Philosophy, which we can only name. Dr. McCosh came first with his eloquent paper on the "Religious Aspects of the Doctrine of Development," and was immediately followed by a valuable scientific paper on "Primitive Man and Revelation," contributed by the able and well-known Principal of McGill College, Montreal, Dr. J. W. Dawson. Professor Guyot, of Princeton, contributed a paper on "Cosmogony and the Bible," which has attracted much attention; the accomplished Professor Naville, of Geneva, followed with one on "The Gospel and Philosophy," and there were still others, from the pens of able Americans, on "Idealism," on "Christianity and Humanity," and on "The Comparative Study of Religions."

The Fifth Division (on "Romanism and Protestantism") presents a great array of interesting and able papers. The "Vatican Council," handled by Dr. Dorner; "Popery in France," dealt with by Pastor Fisch; the recent anti-Ultramontane Legislation in Germany, explained, and rather excused than defended, by the Rev. Leopold Witte, himself a Prussian; and "The Appeal of Romanism to Educated Protestants," by Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn, are some among the crowd of papers contributed on the general subject of "Modern Romanism and Protestantism." The Old Catholics had a section to themselves, and a very full and accurate account was given of their movements both in Germany and Switzerland. Dr. Schaff read to the section a remarkable "Letter from the Old Catholic Congress"—which Congress had met at Constance a month before—"to the Alliance." Other papers were read on Evangelical Mission Work among the Roman Catholics in France and Ireland.

Dr. Storrs' paper, named above, was a very remarkable paper—a paper of great philosophical grasp and force, and of superb eloquence. Perhaps no paper read before the Alliance produced so powerful an effect. Some thought it represented too favourably the attractions of Popery. Those who so judged failed to appreciate the scope or character of the paper. Dr. Storrs did a great service to his country. To answer men, or to counterwork their influence and the inducements they offer, it is necessary that the force of their arguments, and the full truth as to their attitude and position, should be understood. Even in England Evangelical Christians are often incapable

of understanding how sincere and devout men of unquestionable ability and culture can be drawn over to Popery as the Marquis of Ripon was so lately. But in the United States—where the *quasi*-Anglo-Catholic party is very small indeed, and altogether destitute of public respect or power—where no great Anglo-Catholic development, with an array of eminent and eloquent leaders, and a long catena of authorities coming down through past ages, such as exists in England, stands midway towards Romanism, and serves at once as interpreter and inspirer of “Catholic” tendencies and longings—it is much more difficult for people to understand how any honest man can go to Rome. And yet, from time to time, honest and able men have gone over and are going over, even in the United States, to Rome, while there is evidence enough that, despised and feeble as the *quasi* Anglican High Church movement has hitherto been, it is beginning to make way, even in the States. There is little doubt that, as in the particulars Professor Warren mentions, so in this also, the English ideas and movement have already more than touched the shores of the States, and are destined, for at least a few years to come, to exert a widening and deepening influence.

Of the men whose accession to the ranks of Romanism needs to be explained, Dr. Storrs speaks as follows:—

“They are serious, devout, conscientious persons, intent on learning, and then on doing, the will of the Almighty; of no peculiar turn of mind, with no marked predominance of imagination or emotional sensibility; many of them educated in the best and most liberal Protestant schools; some of them among the noblest of their time, whom it is a serious loss to us to lose.”

“And it is to be distinctly observed that these men accept the system of Romanism with no languor or reserve, with no esoteric and half-Protestant interpretation of it, with no thought at all of modifying its dogmas for their personal use by the exercise of a private judgment upon them. They take the system as it stands. They take it altogether. They look with pity, not unmixed with contempt, on those who are eager to adopt its phraseology and to mimic its ceremonies, while declining to submit their minds to its mandates; and for themselves they confess doctrines which seem to us incredible, and conform themselves to practices which look to us like idolatrous mummery, with gladness and pride.

“Now, what moves these men? What is the attraction which the system presents to such as these, in Germany, England, this country?—an attraction which is strong enough to wholly detach



them from their early associations, and to make them devotees of a spiritual power which from childhood they were taught to dread and to detest !”

Having so put his questions, Dr. Storrs proceeds to answer them. We can only quote the summary which he gives towards the close of his paper of the reasons which he had assigned in answer to his own questions :—

“ So it is, then, fathers and brethren, as I conceive it, and so far as the time allows me to state it, that Romanism appeals to educated Protestants ; as offering them an authoritative teacher, always present, in which it claims that the mind of God resides and is revealed ; as presenting what it affirms to be a solid, consistent, and satisfying theology ; as claiming to bring the spiritual world more clearly and closely to their minds, and to show their relations to it more intimate ; as professing to give them a security of salvation unattainable elsewhere ; as offering them what it declares the only true sanctity of spirit and life ; as showing a long and venerable history ; as welcoming and cherishing all the fine arts, and making these its constant helpers ; as promising to rebuild and purify society, and at last to possess and regenerate the earth.

“ To those who are attracted by it, it seems to have all which other systems possess or claim, and to add vital elements which others lack, supplying their imperfections, surpassing their power, and meeting wants which they can neither interpret nor answer.

“ It influences men by its immense mass, without their conscious discrimination of its separate attractions. Its bulk is so gigantic, its energy so incessant, that it seems to them to verify its claims without other argument, and to make a private judgment against it the most rash and reckless of spiritual acts. So it draws them to it with a moral momentum, which increases as they approach ; with a force almost like that of the physical suction of a current or a whirlpool. Once started on their course to it, opposing argument becomes nearly powerless. The pull of this immense and consummate system is so strenuous and enveloping, that theological, philosophical, historical objections are evaded or overleaped by the yielding mind, as are rocks in a rapid by rushing timbers.

“ Where it has once become firmly established, it impregnates everything with its mysterious and penetrant influence. It becomes a pervading spiritual presence, which has its voices not only in the pulpit, or in books of devotion, but in homes, and schools, and all places of concourse ; which touches life at every point where that is sensitive and responsive ; which is associated with ancestral memories and renown, and more vitally associated with the hopes of the future. It gives stability to rank, yet

makes the humblest at home amidst its more than royal pageants. It invites the scholar to a happy seclusion, yet lights the most laborious life with a gleam from the supernatural. It paints the story of Christ on windows, and carves it in lordly and delicate marbles, for the eager and wondering eyes of childhood, and for the fading sight of age. It occupies itself with imperial cares, yet connects itself intimately with the deepest aspirations which move the soul, and with its longing love for the dead. It is like displacing the atmosphere to remove it. Rebellion against it seems to dislocate the frame of society itself. Only a tremendous moral reaction, inspired and sustained by forces which are in their nature incompressible, and which have been gathering through successive generations, can break its hold on a nation which once it has firmly grasped.

"It is still too recent and too limited with us to have such a general sweep of power. But it is working, with unwearied resolution, to make itself supreme among us. Its very strangeness gives it prominence in our American or English society; as a palm-tree attracts more attention than an oak. It brings forces that have been disciplined for a thousand years to act on our plastic modern life; and converts to it may be expected from many quarters.

"Some have held its doctrine before, in the feebler, more fanciful, and more fragmentary form in which that is avowed by a section, for example, of the Anglican communion, in England and here. Their logical sense must carry them to its conclusion, if logical sense has been able to maintain itself through the enfeebling pettiness of their previous career.

"Some, holding the Evangelical doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord, and the present operation of the Holy Ghost, find here what seems to them the necessary complement, and the justifying reason, of these transcendent disclosures; the only exact and final antithesis to Socinianism, or even to Atheism. Some are drawn to it by the fervour of feeling, the energy of pathetic and admonishing eloquence, which mark the sermons of the Paulists, and of others who, like them, appear from their retreats to stir men's hearts as messengers from God. Some simply and gladly react into it from a restless, sad, and weary scepticism. But all are greatly in earnest when they go. They are true devotees, and they rarely return. They are usually Ultramontanists afterward. There is nothing languid, moderate, tepid, in their conviction or their feeling. They are resolute, enthusiastic, with a fire of zeal which works alike in brain and heart. And they have a tone of assurance in their words, and of certainty of victory. Bellarmine is their favourite theologian. De Maistre is widely popular with them. Hyacinthe and Dollinger are 'fallen angels.'

"They had no trouble with the dogma of Papal Infallibility. It was desired and welcomed by them, as articulating what had been latent for centuries in the unvoiced consciousness of the Church, and as bringing the whole system to its legitimate and prophesied climax. That Pope Honorius had been formally condemned by the Sixth Council, his dogmatic writings burned as heretical, and his name anathematised and stricken from the liturgy, was not even a hindrance to the eagerness of their faith.

"They make great sacrifices for their convictions, and do it joyfully. Indeed, the sacrifice becomes to them a fresh motive, an argument for the system which demands it. For, according to the cross shall be the crown, and they who have come out of great tribulation shall find their robes of a more lustrous white. Before the intensity of their aspiration the ties of friendship, the strongest bonds of earthly relationship, if tending to withhold them from the Church of their desire, yield and are severed as flaxen fibres in the flame. For they regard the system which they accept, not only as essential to the future of mankind, to the well-being of persons, to the safety and glory of peoples and States; they regard it as alone Divine in its nature, overwhelming in its authority, whose touch should properly shatter and consume whatever opposes it. Even the temporary toleration of a different faith is to them an unwelcome necessity. A system of popular education not pervaded by Roman Catholic influences is ensnaring and dangerous. They have the courage of their convictions; and they use without stint the instruments of Protestantism to further their system, and to make it universal.

"Even present failure does not dishearten them. That they expect; and they can wait, for the Church lives on. The ages are hers; and to her supreme incorporeal life, which time does not waste nor change impair, the final victory always is sure!

"If we are to resist the vast effort of these men, and to make the liberties which our fathers bequeathed to us, and the Gospel in which they surely trusted, supreme in the land, we must at least know more than we have known of the seductive and stimulating forces which operate against us, and which we are to encounter. To treat the cases of those who have gone from us to Rome as merely sporadic—the effect of accidental causes, or of personal eccentricity—one might as well treat thus the power which drives the Gulf Stream northward, or which hurls the monsoons of the Indian Ocean back and forth across the equator."

Able and comprehensive, however, as is Dr. Storrs' answer to his own questions, it is not complete. Dr. Storrs omits to take note of what, in this country at least, has been, perhaps, of all motives the most potent in leading

men of high character to join the Romish Church. That Church alone appears to many to satisfy the craving for visible organic and external unity and continuity in the Church of Christ, and to afford a literal fulfilment of what has been by so many regarded as the meaning of Christ's promise, spoken to Simon Peter, of the perpetuity and invincibility of his rock-founded Church. So long as that passage continues to be interpreted in a gross material sense, instead of according to the true beauty and glory of its real spiritual meaning, it will be a *crux* for Protestants and a stronghold for Romanisers. Connected with this consideration is that of an external ministerial succession and perpetuity of orders. This has always been one of the "eidola of" the clerical, or *quasi* clerical "chamber." We must not omit Dr. Storrs' presentation of the other side of the case, with which he closes his paper. Having spoken of the Roman system, and of its utter and essential unreality, he proceeds as follows:—

"Good men have lived under it, multitudes of them; saintly women, as pure and devout as ever brightened the earth with their presence; and such live in it now. But their goodness is wholly and constantly paralleled outside their communion, because it has come, not from what is peculiar to that, but from the quickening light of God's Word, and the transforming energy of His Spirit, which we as freely and consciously partake. In that which is peculiar to it—its hierarchy, its ritual, its efficacious sacraments, its indulgences to the sinner, its vast and complex organisation, the concentration of all authority in its 'Vice-God' at Rome—wherever the system has had its way it has wrought such mischiefs that the pen hesitates to recount them.

"It has been powerful to depress peoples, ineffectual to uplift them. It has, with sure instinct, discouraged and diminished secular enterprise. It has linked itself most naturally with the harshest and most tyrannous civil institutions. It has made religion a matter of rites, and a matter of locality; till the same man became a devotee in the chapel, and a bandit in the field. It has accepted a passionate zeal for the Church in place of the humility, the purity and charity, which Christ demanded; till the fierce Dominic becomes one of its saints; till forged decretals were made for centuries to bulwark its power; till its hottest anathemas have been launched at those who complained of its abuses; till all restraints of humanity or morality have been overleaped in many excesses to which its adherents have been prompted from the altar. Its most devoted and wide-spread order, the Society of Jesus, in spite of its invincible heroism and

its unequalled services to the Popes, by the monstrous maxims which Pascal exposed, and the practices which expressed them, so kindled against it the indignation of Christendom, that Clement XIV. was compelled to suppress it in all Christian States.

"The rage of this system against whatever would hinder its march—against its own subjects when they have conscientiously paused in their submission—has had something transcendent in its pitiless malignity. The fierceness of its persecutions has been precisely proportioned to its power. The hand which looks so full of blessing has opened the deep of *oubliettes*, has added tortures to the rack, has framed the frightful Iron Maiden, has set the torch to martyr fires. The breath which should have filled the air with sweeter than Sabæan odours, has blighted the bloom of many lives, and floated curses over the nations so frequent and so awful, that life itself was withered before them, till their very extravagance made them harmless.

"Instead of true wisdom, where this system has prevailed with an unquestioned supremacy, it has fostered and maintained wide popular ignorance. Instead of true sanctity, its fruit has been shown in peasantries debased, aristocracies corrupted, an arrogant and a profligate priesthood. It has honoured the vilest who would serve it, and crushed the purest who would not. It sent gifts and applause, and sang its most exulting *Te Deum*, for Philip the Second; while its poisoned bullet killed William of Orange. The medal which it struck in joyful commemoration of the bloody diabolism of St. Bartholomew's is one of its records. Its highest officials have sometimes lived lives which its own annalists have hated to touch. Alexander VI., cruel, crafty, avaricious, licentious, whom it were flattery to call a Tiberius in pontificals—who bribed his way to the highest dignity, who burned Savonarola, the traditional portrait of whose favourite mistress, profanely painted as the Mother of God, hangs yet in the Vatican, who probably died by the poisoned wine which he had prepared for his cardinals, and whose evil renown is scarcely matched by that of Cæsar Borgia his son—stands as one of its infallible Popes, holding the keys of heaven for men.

"If any system is doomed by its history, this is the one. Protestantism has now so checked it, the advancing moral development of mankind has set such limits to its power, that these are largely facts of the past. The Vatican Court is now free from scandal. The Church at present seeks strength through beneficence, not through control of the secular arm; by its helps to piety, not through appeals to physical fear. But its more spontaneous and self-revealing development has been in this more friendly Past. Therefore the nations whom once it has ruled, when they finally break from it, hate it with an intensity proportioned to the promises it has failed to fulfil, and the bitter

degradations it has made, them undergo. Atheism itself—that moral suicide—seems better to them than to be again subjected to Rome.

“This is the system as realised in history, and there forever adjudged and sentenced. Of course this gives immense advantage to those who now resist its progress. It cannot fascinate the nations again till the long experience is forgotten. But such is not at all its appearance as presented to those whom it wins to its fold. And we must look at it, in a measure at least, as those who honour and love it look, if we would understand its power, if we would know how it is that it hopes a second time to conquer the world.”

Our space fails us, and we can now say but a few words more, whether about the New York meeting or the Alliance in general. Yet many matters would press for notice if we had time. We had intended, in particular, to make special reference to some of the papers read under the “Christian Life” division. But we cannot do more than name even the beautiful papers in the section on “Education and Literature,” contributed respectively by Dr. Simpson, of Derby, England, on “Modern Literature and Christianity,” and by Dr. Noah Porter, of Yale College, on “Modern Literature in its Relation to Christianity.” Dr. Porter is not only an able and sagacious philosopher, but an elegant and acute critic. Dr. Simpson, also, is a man of great ability and accomplishment, of whom England should hear more than as yet it has done. In the same section we note, as of special interest to some of our readers, that Dr. Rigg read a paper on the “Relations of the Secular and Religious Elements in Popular Education in England;” a paper of information, not of controversy. We further note, as probably likely to interest many of our ministerial readers, that under the third section of this division—“The Pulpit and the Age”—Dr. Parker, of London, Dr. Kidder, Professor of Homiletics at Drew Seminary, and author of a volume on the subject of “Homiletics,” Mr. Ward Beecher, and Dr. John Hall, the eminent Baptist Minister of New York, contributed their ideas respectively, Dr. Hall dealing specifically with the proper matter in preaching—“What to Preach.”

At Berlin, in 1857, the Rev. Henry Alford (afterwards Dean Alford) took part in a joint sacramental celebration, in the large hall of a noble hotel. For this Christian act he was proscribed at home by his fellow clergy generally,

and it is not improbable that it lost him a bishopric. At New York Dean Payne Smith, worthy successor at Canterbury of Dean Alford, did the like at a Presbyterian Church, the Church of Dr. Adams, one of the most influential among the New York clergy. It may be that this act, like that of his predecessor, may interfere with his promotion. If it should, Dean Smith is every whit too manly a Christian and too Christian a man to regret that, in the frankness of his heart, he did a thing so right as to take part in that joint communion. In America what he had done gave vast umbrage to the small but most exclusive *quasi* Anglo-Catholic party; in England it was for weeks the subject of solemn correspondence in the *Guardian*. But in his diocesan, the Primate, Dean Payne Smith has a powerful friend and ally, who will not, so far as he is concerned, allow him to suffer for his catholicity of spirit. The Dean carried to New York a letter of greeting from the Primate, excellent in tone and substance, which is printed in the appendix to this volume. Dr. Smith was well supported during the Alliance by several brother clergymen of distinction; in particular by Mr. Dallas Marston, Professor Stanley Leathes, and Mr. Fremantle. Altogether, Christian breadth and liberality of feeling has made a decided advance within the Church of England since 1857.

So we bid farewell to the New York Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. Those who had the privilege to be present will never forget it. All New York rose *en masse* to bid them welcome. All public places were thrown open to the Alliance, and the City Corporation, under the guidance of honest Mayor Havemeyer, one of the leaders in the great movement against the infamous rings which had so long bound the city in disgraceful and demoralising thralldom, led the Alliance round by steamer to show them the magnificent municipal institutions and charities of the corporation. Philadelphia and Washington vied with New York. The President delayed a military appointment to meet the Alliance at the White House. Hospitality was, on all sides, equally generous and courteous. The States showed in all points at their best. May the Christianity of the two continents hold them one!

- ART. II.—1. *The Book of Daniel, with Notes and Introduction.* By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. Rivingtons. 1871.
2. *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. The Book of the Prophet Daniel.* By K. F. KEIL, D.D. Translated from the German by the Rev. M. G. EASTON, A.M. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1872.
3. *Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. With Copious Notes.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. Oxford: Jas. Parker and Co. Third Edition. 1869.
4. *Etudes Bibliques.* Par F. GODET, Docteur et Professeur en Théologie. Première Série: Ancien Testament. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher. Deuxième Edition. 1873.
5. *Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament.* By KARL FRIEDRICH KEIL. Translated from the Second Edition, with Supplementary Notes from Bleek and others, by GEORGE C. M. DOUGLAS, B.A., D.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1870.

THE Book of Daniel has long been one of the high places of the field where the contest is waged for the faith once delivered unto the saints. With men to whom a miracle is a thing incredible, and prophecy an offence or an impossibility, it is not surprising to find the most inveterate opposition displayed towards a writing which contains a record of such miracles as those of the Babylonian exile, and a series of prophecies second to none in the Old Testament in the extent of their range and the minuteness of their details. If Daniel is numbered among the prophets, then the oracles of Tübingen are confounded like the magicians over whom he triumphed twenty-four centuries ago. It is a book, as Dr. Pusey says in his opening paragraph, which "admits of no half measures." It is either Divine or an imposture. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered, and miracles which are assumed never to have been wrought."



In the case of this book, we have now nothing of the patchwork system advocated like the piecemeal authorship of the Pentateuch, and the so-called first and second Isaiahs of Rationalistic criticism. The whole book is relegated by its impugnors to the Maccabean era, and its prophecies distorted to give them no later application than to the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes and the war of independence, thus making them prophecies *post eventum*. Though the spuriousness of Daniel's book has come to be an axiom of the school which vaunts itself for its culture and its candour, theirs is not the joy of them that divide the spoil even after a century of attack. According to the highest authority in matters of Old Testament inspiration and canonicity, "Daniel the Prophet" spake of Him. All the theories which eliminate the Messianic and eschatological references from the book are beset with difficulties far exceeding that which recognises Daniel as a member of the "goodly fellowship of the prophets," and are based upon assumptions so cumbrous and arbitrary that they can be expected to find credence only where there was a foregone conclusion of disbelief.

Among the books called forth in answer to the *Essays and Reviews*, we question whether any is so likely to find a place among the standard works of English divinity a generation hence as the nine lectures of the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Messrs. Clark have given us, as one of their recent and most valuable issues, the translation of Keil's *Commentary on Daniel*. Bishop Wordsworth reserved this book as the last published instalment of his Exposition, and prefixed to his Notes an unusually copious and interesting Introduction.

As to the person of the prophet, we learn that he was led captive into Babylon in the third year of King Jehoiakim (B.C. 606—5); hence his birth would seem almost to have coincided with the great reformation of religion in Judah under King Josiah. For one like Daniel, of noble, if not of royal birth, there was the promise of a prosperous career, until the nation was filled with mourning by the death of Josiah occasioned by the wound received at Megiddo. A younger son of Josiah (Shallum) was hastily proclaimed king in his father's stead under the name of Jehoahaz, but the Egyptian king Pharaoh Necho was the real master of the country. After a reign of only three months, the young monarch was carried off to the camp of

the conqueror at Riblah on the Orontes, and his elder brother was placed on the throne as a vassal of Pharaoh, taking the name of Jehoiakim. It was the twilight of the Jewish monarchy: Jeremiah's denunciations reveal to us a state of oppression wherein the degenerate princes of the house of David copied the examples of neighbouring despots. The chronicler sums up the record of Jehoiakim's reign in the brief and awful statement that "he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord his God;" and the national archives are referred to as supplying the particulars of "the rest of the abominations which he did." The political situation in the nations around was far from promising. The empire of Nimrod and Sennacherib had collapsed a few years before, but another great world-power had risen on the Euphrates almost as suddenly as the city of the Tigris had fallen. Nabopolassar, the captor of Nineveh and the founder of Babylon, was at war with Pharaoh Necho, the lord paramount of the Jewish king. Necho had attacked the frontier fortress of Carchemish, but his army was driven back from the Euphrates to the Nile with such crushing defeat, that the Egyptian monarchy was shaken from its ancient centre at Memphis, and forced to take refuge at Thebes. Judæa lying between the two hostile powers—the Belgium of the East—and being a dependency of the conquered king, the whole land was filled with fear of invasion. So general was this dread that even the nomadic sons of Jonadab and Rechab forsook their tents for the security which the city was supposed to furnish. Soon the son of the King of Babylon, ere long to be his successor, came against the Holy City, which fell after a brief siege, and Nebuchadnezzar took Jehoiakim prisoner, but afterwards restored him as his vassal. Then began the removal of the vessels of the sanctuary to Babylon, and in the train led across the Syrian desert to the land of their conqueror were Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael of the royal seed of Judah, to be trained in the schools and to serve in the court of Babylon.

For the third time in the history of the Old Covenant the interests of the chosen nation were centred in a Hebrew youth surrounded by all the allurements and perils of a heathen court. But if, according to human ideas, the destinies of the covenant race seemed to tremble in the hands of a young captive, Babylon presented a counterpart

to the trials and triumphs of faith at Memphis centuries before; and Daniel, like Joseph and Moses, was found "faithful" as a servant of God even in the house of the conqueror of his country. It is not within the scope of the present paper to trace the process and to gather the lessons of his early trials, wherein royal luxuries and Chaldean culture were alike powerless to corrupt the simplicity of his faith.

After three years' training there came the narrow escape from the massacre decreed against the baffled magicians. Our limits do not allow us to follow the sacred narrative as it reveals the future prophet desiring a knowledge of the king's dream as a mercy from the God of heaven. The vision being granted, he disclosed to Nebuchadnezzar the dream which had troubled him and its interpretation. The colossal image of terrible form, metallic throughout, descending in inferior succession from the head of gold to the legs of iron, mingled with clay in the feet, was declared to be the symbol of a series of world-powers springing from and following after the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, himself, as the impersonation of his realm and dynasty, "the head of gold." The great king heard from the young captive seer the intimation that the golden empire should soon have its splendour tarnished, and the silver breasts and arms announced the coming of the Medes and Persians, in that dread hour when his grandson heard from the same prophetic lips that he and his house were weighed in the balances and found wanting. The more remote brazen section of the dream-symbol indicated the rise of a third power, strong for a season, but ere long to be divided as the short-lived strength of Alexander should fall away from his successors. The power of Rome, not felt as yet beyond the seven hills, was revealed in the legs of iron, with kingdoms manifold rising from its ruins when in its turn it should have succumbed and been dissolved.

What Daniel expounded to Nebuchadnezzar out of his dream was repeated and more fully unfolded to himself in a revelation given some sixty years later. So the prediction concerning the powers which should successively rule over men will again call for our notice. But in this earliest apocalypse of the kingdoms of this world, the vista which the haughty monarch beheld starting from his own throne, and stretching through empires, some of them then scarcely beyond their germinant stage, found its vanishing point in

the glimpse of another kingdom "not of this world." If Daniel is the prophet of the times and seasons of Messiah's advent, filling up the scroll on which David had already inscribed His descent and dominion, and Isaiah His humiliation and sufferings, Nebuchadnezzar is added to the company of Balaam, and beheld Him, "but not nigh," in the sacred enclosure of the covenant promise and hope. The stone cut out of the mountain without hands was to him only a rock of offence as he discerned his own and the other kingdoms of this world giving way before the kingdom of our God and of His Christ.

Still the prophet who declared the whole counsel of God lost none of his earthly reward. The mightiest potentate of the world bowed before the Hebrew captive, and in the offering of incense there seems to have been more than an unusual tribute to the wisdom that was found in Daniel. The royal answer would rather explain it as an oblation made by Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel's God, whom the conqueror of many nations and the Pontifex Maximus of the Chaldean Pantheon declared to be King of kings and God of gods. Then, like another Pharaoh, he determined that the youth who had revealed the Divine secret should be the chief councillor of the State; and the quondam prisoner of war was installed as ruler of the metropolitan province, president of the sacred college, and took his place "in the gate of the king," as—to borrow an etymology and an illustration in one from the unchanging East—Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte of his age.

The epoch, however, has to us a far higher importance, inasmuch as all Israel of the captivity knew that Daniel was established a prophet of the Lord. A character assigned to him by our Lord in the most solemn period of His ministry, has nevertheless been denied by the unbelief of these latter days. At the outset of our review of his prophetic work we may pause awhile to glance at the objections raised by a gainsaying school against his claim to a place in the goodly fellowship of the prophets.

In ancient times the great opponent of the genuineness of Daniel's writings was the notorious adversary of Christianity, Porphyry. Staggered by the remarkably exact fulfilment of Daniel's prophecies in the subsequent history of the world, and pre-eminently in the Coming and Passion of the Messiah, he invented the theory that the book was the production of a Jew who lived in the times of the Mac-

cabees. His theory was nobly and triumphantly controverted by Eusebius, Jerome, Methodius of Tyre, and Apollinaris of Laodicea. So complete was his discomfiture, that even Spinoza did not venture to assail the genuineness of the prophecies in the later chapters. And it is only within the last hundred years or so that Porphyry has found advocates and disciples. For a brief summary of the literature of unbelieving criticism on this subject the reader is referred to Keil's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, translated in the *Foreign Theol. Library*. The principal points alleged by those who deny the genuineness of the book, are: (1) Its place in the Hebrew Canon among the books of the Hagiographa, and not with the rest of the prophets; (2) The corrupted language of the book; (3) The omission of Daniel's name in a catalogue of Jewish worthies enumerated by Jesus, the son of Sirach, in the 49th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, as well as the silence of the three last prophets concerning him; (4) The alleged romantic and self-laudatory character of the book; (5) Its dogmatic and ethical teaching is assumed to be out of agreement with the date of the Captivity.

In considering the first of these objections, it appears to us that no valid argument can be raised against the historical or prophetic character of the book, because in our Hebrew Bibles it stands among the "Writings," and not in conjunction with the greater and lesser prophets. Dr. Pusey has dealt with this subject in one of his lectures, from which we extract the following paragraph:—

"The arrangement of the Canon among the Jews, though different from that of the Christian Church, proceeded on definite and legitimate principles. (1) The Law, as the original fountain-head of revelation, stands at the head; (2) then all those books, believed to have been written by men exercising the prophetic office, whether those called the first prophets (the historical books from Joshua to the Kings), or what *we* call the prophets, *they* the later prophets; (3) then, a more miscellaneous class, "Scriptures," sacred writings, Hagiographa, written by persons who, whether endowed with the gift of prophecy or no, had not the pastoral office of the prophets. This last class consisted even chiefly of persons in high secular office. There were kings, as David, who, in that wider sense, was eminently a prophet; Solomon, who wrote at least one glorious Psalm, prophetic of Christ; Ezra, who had charge to lead his people back from their captivity, *the priest, the scribe*, yet who speaks of Haggai and Zecha-

riah as having an office of "prophets" distinct from his own;—Ezra, the author of the Chronicles, as well as of the book which bears his name; Nehemiah; probably Mordecai also, as the author of the book of Esther. The distribution is allowable, since plainly it is as permissible to class books according to the offices borne by their authors, as according to the subjects of the books themselves. But according to this distribution, the book of Daniel could occupy no other place than it does. Daniel had no immediate office of a practical teacher of his people. He was the statesman, the protector probably. The historical portion of his book contains some great dispensations of God, set down in the order in which they took place, but with no account of the date of its composition. The prophetic portions of his book, in which he himself was the organ of prophecy, belong to the last years of a life beyond the common age of man. His first vision was probably not vouchsafed until he had reached the fourscore years, after which man's ordinary lot is suffering and sorrow. Even at this period those visions were but insulated events in his life, gifts vouchsafed to him in the midst of a secular life. . . . His office was different from that of those whom God sent, *daily rising up early and sending them*, to speak in His Name the words which He gave them. *Theirs* was an abiding Spirit of prophecy resting upon them; to *him*, as far as we are told, insulated revelations only were disclosed."—Pusey, p. 351.

As to the corrupted language of the book, a more profound and candid investigation of the matter has only revealed in this case another example of the disingenuous deductions of the self-styled higher criticism. But granting, for the sake of argument, that the language is as corrupt as the baptized successors of Porphyry would have us admit, are the *à priori* considerations of the matter such as would cause us surprise, not to say dismay, at such a discovery? Keil puts the matter fairly and well when he asks: "Can we expect classic Hebrew expressions throughout from a man who received his education at the Chaldean court, and who spent his whole life in Babylonia? Or can later Chaldee and Persian words in Daniel prove anything, when such are to be found in all the writers of the period of the Exile? Or has Ezekiel a purer or better style?"—P. 28. As to the *double* language employed in the book, even De Wette has acknowledged the uniformity of style to be such as to indicate a single authorship, "binding together the Chaldee and Hebrew portions, not only in themselves but with each other." The earlier modern adversaries of the book made much of certain

words occurring in it which they pronounced to be Greek words, and then assumed that they were unquestionable proofs of its spuriousness. Out of ten words which Bertholdt brought forward as Greek, the most recent Rationalist critics have surrendered six as availing them nothing, so the issue is confined to three or four, which, as names of musical instruments in the catalogue of Nebuchadnezzar's orchestra, belong to a category in which the language of any nation is most readily affected by mercantile or other intercourse with foreigners. As long as the Englishman drinks congou or cocoa, eats potatoes or curry, and wears calico or cambric, the names of these articles will help him to remember that his vocabulary, as well as his table and wardrobe, has been replenished from foreign sources through the agency of commerce. The Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar's age was far from being a sealed empire like the Japan of former days. The Euphrates formed a ready highway of intercourse with Armenia on the one hand and India on the other. In the former, if not the latter region, the venturesome Phœnician merchants plied their trade, and helped to transmit words while they exchanged merchandise. Tadmor in the wilderness had been built by the great patron of commerce, Solomon, as a midway station between his capital and the Chaldean home of his ancestors as long prior to the Exile as the discovery of America antedates our own time. Five centuries earlier still, a "goodly Babylonish garment" was found among the spoils of Jericho. Two prophetic testimonies describe her as a "city of merchants" that "exulted in her ships." The rich Queen of the Euphrates was too luxurious to be a mere workshop for the nations. She bartered her own productions and the spoils of her conquests for the pleasures of other lands. In one of the most pathetic of the dirges of the Captivity, the exile Jew describes his conqueror as calling him to song. Not an ode to Belus or a ballad of Babylonia is demanded, but the oppressor asks for "one of the songs of Zion in a strange land." Mercantile intercourse with Greece or the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, carried on directly or indirectly through the ubiquitous Phœnician merchants, would be sufficient reason to account for the introduction of the three or four Greek names of musical instruments. But the Babylonian history of Berosus records a victory of Sennacherib over Greek invaders of Cilicia as early as the eighth century,

B.C. And Esarhaddon marched through Asia with Greek mercenaries following his standard, while Javan appears among other countries in an inscription of Sargon as a land that yielded him tribute.

We need spend but little time in considering the silence of the son of Sirach. The "praise of certain holy men," in Ecclesiasticus xlv.—l., is far from a complete celebration of departed worthies. Adam, Seth, and Enoch are those enumerated from the antediluvian patriarchs; Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph from the Deluge to the Exodus; Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, Joshua, and Caleb represent the period of the Wilderness and the Conquest; the Judges are commemorated in a short passage of two verses; Samuel, Nathan, David, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, Hezekiah, Josiah, and an incidental reference to Isaiah, cover the period of the Kingdoms; Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Nehemiah, Zerubbabel, and Joshua the son of Josedec the priest, represent the age of the Captivity. The twelve minor prophets are commemorated in a single verse, "And of the twelve prophets let the memorial be blessed, and let their bones flourish again out of their place: for they comforted Jacob, and delivered them by assured hope." Ecclus. xlix. 10. Pusey, p. 354, note, shows good cause for considering this verse an interpolation; if so, the wonder at the omission of the prophet Daniel from the list is lessened, and still further, when Isaiah's name occurs, not as the prophet whose writings exceed in quantity those of any of his brother seers in the Canon, but simply as the counsellor of Hezekiah in his pious course. But this *argumentum e silentio*, deduced from an obviously imperfect catalogue of worthies in an apocryphal book, is eagerly caught at by the very parties who find it convenient to ignore or explain away on the flimsiest hypothesis two distinct references by a contemporary prophet, whose place in the Canon they themselves acknowledge. And they seem to overlook the circumstance that the same argument would remove Joseph from the list of the patriarchs, Zadok from the priesthood, and Ezra from the leaders of the Return.

As to the alleged improbable and romantic character of its contents, when we consider the age, region, and important interests and bearings of the events recorded, a reader, unblinded by the prejudices which bias the opponents of the book, would be prepared to expect some things very different from the even course of our Western nine-



teenth-century life. Nebuchadnezzar's treatment of the magicians in the matter of his dream is not so unlike the cruel and arbitrary conduct displayed by many Oriental despots towards their dependants in much later times, for it to be seized upon as a strong presumption of Daniel's untruthfulness. The dimensions of the "golden image" on the plains of Dura are used against us by critics who, without any warrant from the text, assume that it was a well-proportioned human statue of solid gold, and then argue against the narrative on the ground that such an amount of the precious metal as would be required to construct it on their model was not likely to be available. Whereas, there is no reason why we should not suppose it to have been a slender pillar or pedestal, supporting a human or other symbolical figure. The term "golden," as applied in the Old Testament to the altar of incense, would fully warrant the hypothesis that gold was only used as the external plating of some inferior substance. The derangement of Nebuchadnezzar will be dealt with hereafter, and the decree of Darius has too many parallels in other heathen princes' attempts at self-deification to be any real stumbling-block to the reception of the narrative. The argument as to the purposeless waste of miraculous power is but the complaint of a school which never wearies in the attempt to resolve every miracle into a myth, and we shall have occasion subsequently to refer to the circumstance of the agents and the great interests involved, as furnishing a good answer to the murmuring of unbelief, "For what purpose was this waste?"

The assumed discrepancy in the dates given, i. 5, 18, and ii. 1; from which it appears that Daniel was carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar in the *third* year of Jehoiakim, and was then entrusted to Ashpenaz for a three years' course of training; while we read that he interpreted the king's dream in the *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. From Jer. xxv. 1, we learn that the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim was the *first* of Nebuchadnezzar. From these independent dates of Scripture we arrive at the same conclusion as the statement of Berosus, viz., that the captivity of Daniel began in the year preceding Nebuchadnezzar's accession, and, consequently, his Babylonian curriculum may have been completed before the close of Nebuchadnezzar's second year in possession of the kingdom.

The dogmatic and ethical representations in the Book of

Daniel have been quoted as favouring the theory of a post-captivity date of composition. Keil (*Introd. to Old Test.* Vol. II. p. 37) shows that the whole range of apocryphal literature indicates no progress in the development of the Messianic idea, and knows nothing of a personal Messiah, while in the pages of our prophet we trace the unfolding of the doctrine of Christ's Divine-human person already revealed to Isaiah. The kingdom of Christ is also spoken of in its universality and its connection with the general resurrection, which is perfectly intelligible if we regard the prophecy as an expansion of the revelations made to earlier seers, but inexplicable if the book is a pious fraud of a period four centuries later, when narrow and exclusive views of Jewish privilege prevailed. The angelology of the book is another occasion of offence to Daniel's critics. The earliest books of the Bible teach the existence and ministry of angels. The principalities and powers in heavenly places appear in the visions vouchsafed to Isaiah and Ezekiel. The prophet who has not written a line of our Canon,—Micaiah, the son of Imla,—testified to Jehoshaphat and Ahab that he saw the host of heaven standing about the throne. The value of prayer, its repetition thrice a day, fasting and abstinence from unclean food, were all practices sanctioned by long usage, as we learn from many anterior Scriptures, so no inference of a later authorship can be based on the references to these observances in the face of positive or even probable evidence of its genuineness. And it is manifestly unfair to interpret its doctrine of angels by the hierarchical systems of the Rabbis, or to invent a theory of Parsee influence, and then to call Daniel in question for the errors and absurdities of the Rabbinical and Zoroastrian systems.

After his inauguration in the prophetic office, thirty years rolled by, during which Daniel continued to hold his high position in the government of the empire. Meanwhile his fame spread among the scattered tribes of his people, so that Ezekiel, writing among the exiles on the Chebar, spoke of his wisdom as proverbial (Ezek. xxviii. 3). And in another passage of the same prophet he is grouped with two eminent saints of patriarchal times as an eminent example of steadfast fidelity to God. The microscopic critics of the unbelieving class have boasted loudly over these references as if they were incontrovertible testimonies against the personality of the Daniel of the Exile and the

genuineness of his book. But Ezekiel's prophecies are both dated documents. The one in which Daniel's wisdom is celebrated was written eighteen years after the same gift had been rewarded by the king, and the other mention of his faithfulness was not till some fifteen years after the test of his fidelity in the matter of the king's meat; and, moreover, the commendation is not that of a man's praise resting on common report, however well founded, but it is the benison of the Searcher of hearts, who had attested the integrity of His servant. The weapons of the adversaries of the faith are well turned against them by one of the ablest expositors of the prophecy:—

“The mention of Daniel, then, by Ezekiel, in both cases has the more force from the fact that he was a contemporary; both corresponded with his actual character as stated in his book. Granted the historical truth of Daniel, no one would doubt that Ezekiel did refer to Daniel as described in his book. But then the objection is only the usual begging of the question. ‘Ezekiel is not likely to have referred to Daniel, a contemporary, unless he was distinguished by extraordinary gifts or graces.’ ‘But his book not being genuine, there is no proof that he was so distinguished.’ ‘Therefore,’ &c.”—*Pusey On Daniel*, p. 108.

And with reference to the Rationalistic hypothesis that Ezekiel referred to some distinguished person of remote antiquity, like another Melchisedec, only with this difference, that Scripture is not sparing, but altogether silent in its testimony, the Oxford Professor continues:—

“This school is fond of the argument ‘*ex silentio*.’ They all (though, as we shall see, wrongly) use it as a palmary proof of the non-existence of the book of Daniel in the time of the Son of Sirach, that he does not name Daniel among the prophets. Yet, in the same breath, they assume the existence of one whom no one but themselves ever thought of, to disprove the existence of him who is known to history. . . Truly they give us a shadow for the substance.”—*Pusey*, p. 109.

After this long pause the book resumes its history. Once more Nebuchadnezzar is troubled with night visions, and again the Chaldean soothsayers (called in, perhaps, from reasons of mere state policy) are baffled. Then Daniel, hearing the dream which has made his master's sleep depart from him, unveiled the mystery. The tree whose height reached unto heaven, standing in the midst of the earth, its leaves fair, and its fruit much—giving

shelter to the beasts of the earth, affording habitations for the fowls of heaven, and yielding food for all flesh, was declared to be the symbol of himself. The vision of the holy watcher descending with the command to hew the tree down, and to leave its stump in the earth banded with iron and brass, to be wet with the dew of heaven, and having its portion with the beasts of the earth, was interpreted as the message of his coming visitation of judgment. The king's heart was to be changed from a man's to a beast's, till seven times pass over him. Daniel, however, exercised his prophetic office not only as a revealer of secrets, but as a messenger of God, making known His law to princes without fear. The sentence of doom was not pronounced without a call to repentance, if, perchance, the woe of Babylon might be turned away, as the Assyrian monarch had found mercy a few generations before, through humbling himself before God when Jonah prophesied in Nineveh. But Nebuchadnezzar had not learned the way to exaltation through self-abasement, and at the end of a year, while surveying the glories of the city he had adorned for his own honour and the aggrandisement of his dynasty, the decree came from heaven, no longer as a dream, but, with reason dethroned, the king was driven from his palace, and had his abode with the beasts. Then, when the prophetic "times" were expired, he lifted up his eyes unto heaven, and his understanding returned.

The madness of Nebuchadnezzar is copiously dealt with in Bishop Wordsworth's notes on the fourth chapter. He follows Hengstenberg, Pusey, and others, in regarding the king's malady as that form of mental disease known to medical science as Lycanthropy. He inserts the following communication from E. Palmer, Esq., M.D., of the Lincolnshire Asylum at Bracebridge :—

"It very commonly occurs that patients, on their recovery from insanity, have a full recollection of their sayings and doings, and of all that had happened to them during their attack. . . In the case of Nebuchadnezzar it was not until 'the end of the days'—or, as may be supposed, at the first dawn of intelligence, when partially lycanthropical and partially self-conscious, and in a state somewhat resembling that of a person awakening from a dream—that he lifted up his eyes unto heaven, being, probably, not yet rational enough to offer up a prayer in words, but still so far conscious as to be able dimly to perceive his identity. But when his understanding returned to him, there came back not only a

recollection of his sin and the decree of the Most High, but also a vivid reminiscence of all the circumstances of his abasement amongst the beasts of the field; and he at once acknowledged the power and dominion of God."—*Wordsworth*, p. 17.

Dr. Palmer's letter to the Bishop concludes with an extract from Esquirol's *Des Maladies Mentales*, giving an account of an epidemic outbreak of Lycanthropy in France some 300 years ago.

The Bishop deals with the objections raised by Hitzig and others against the authenticity of the events in the 4th chapter, because of the silence of heathen historians concerning Nebuchadnezzar's malady.

"The records now extant of the Babylonian empire are few and scanty. Nebuchadnezzar's name does not even once occur in the pages of the father of profane history, Herodotus. Of the writers mentioned by Josephus as dealing with Babylonish history, four treated of it in its relation to Tyre and Phœnicia; and one, Berosus, who was a priest of Bel at Babylon in the age of Alexander the Great, is known to us only from the fragments which are preserved of his writings by Josephus and Eusebius and later writers, and which passed into their hands through the confused compilation made by Alexander Polyhistor a little before the time of Julius Cæsar. And with such a slender supply of documents before us, we have no means of ascertaining whether the events related in this chapter were fully recorded by Babylonish annalists."—*Wordsworth*, p. 14.

The commentary also contains extracts from the fragments of history which have come down to us in this imperfect form in which Nebuchadnezzar is reported to imprecate a woe, singularly like his own visitation, upon his enemies. There is also added a translation of the inscription of the mighty king, found by Sir Hartford Jones at Hillah in 1862, which presents a striking parallel to the self-glorying soliloquy from his palace walls recorded by the prophet. But the silence of scanty and fragmentary documents is no contradiction to that more sure word of prophecy which we possess. To borrow the words of Mr. Philip Smith, "That lesson," of Nebuchadnezzar's humiliation, "is recorded by himself in a form not the less authentic because it is preserved for us in the Bible, and not in a cuneiform inscription."\*

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\* *Student's Ancient History*, p. 319.

The part which Daniel took in the administration of the realm during the king's madness, would form an interesting subject of conjecture. There seems to be a trace, in one of the extant inscriptions, of a regency exercised by the father of the king's son-in-law, the Rab-Mag, or chief of the magicians, whose son, Neriglissar, gained the crown two years after Nebuchadnezzar's death, by a plot which deprived his brother-in-law Evil Merodach, Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor, of his throne, and of his life. With such a party of ambition and intrigue so near the succession, and with the regency vested in them, it may seem surprising that the great king found his place waiting for him on his recovery, and that his crown descended to his heir. But our history shows us one who, from his foreign birth, may have been precluded by Chaldean etiquette, or jealousy, from holding the name of regent, who nevertheless exercised the real power of government. More than 80 years before he had been placed at the head of the order which furnished the *savans*, statesmen, and not unfrequently the generals of the nation. In the record of his second dream, Nebuchadnezzar, in the precise style of a royal degree, accords to Daniel the title which indicated sacerdotal and political primacy. So, if not in name, it is by no means improbable that in fact, Daniel, like his forerunner Joseph in the days of Egyptian calamity, guided the great empire of the Euphrates through the dark and troubled period while its master was absent from the helm, keeping his crown and dignity inviolate from open ambition or secret intrigue. Whether the seven prophetic "times" of his madness be interpreted as denoting years or shorter periods, a brief interval of life only remained for the recovered monarch. The one recorded act of the short reign of his son, Evil Merodach, the release of the King of Judah from his 37 years' imprisonment, with a precedence at the royal banquets above all the other captive monarchs, would seem to point to Daniel's continued influence in the state. His reign of two years being ended by the conspiracy of Neriglissar, the usurper's rule lasted only four years, and he was succeeded by his son, Laborosoarchod, a boy king, who, in the course of nine months, was tortured to death by the Chaldean chiefs, who placed Nabonadius on the throne. During the earlier part of his reign of seventeen years he restored to some extent the waning glory of Babylon, but only to see it totally and finally

eclipsed. For while Cyrus was engaged in his war with Croesus, Nabonadius entered into an alliance with the Lydian king. When Croesus was vanquished the Persian turned his victorious arms towards the Queen of the Euphrates. Nabonadius headed the army in the plain before Babylon, leaving the defence of the city to his son Belshazzar, whom he had associated with himself in the government. The Babylonian army being routed in a single battle, Nabonadius took refuge in the neighbouring fortress of Borsippa. Then came the siege, and the brave but over-confident defence, and the laborious device of Cyrus, whereby "the great river, the river Euphrates," itself was diverted from its course, when "a sound of revelry by night" furnished the besiegers with a signal for opening the flood-gates for the great assault.

For a long time the impugners of the book's authenticity made great use of the absence of Belshazzar's name from the lists of Nebuchadnezzar's successors found in the fragments of Berosus and Abydenus. Even Keil is unsatisfactory in his dealings with the last who wore the Babylonian purple, and confounds the Belshazzar of Daniel with the Evil Merodach who had died twenty years before the city fell. It is true Nabonadius appears as the last king of Babylon, according to the old chroniclers in their extant fragments, and he was not of the family of Nebuchadnezzar, neither was he slain in the night of the city's capture, but, having surrendered himself to Cyrus, was relegated to a provincial governorship in Carmania, where he died. But the adversaries of the Holy Oracles have been put to silence by the mute but powerful evidence of the potter's clay.

"It appears, from extant monuments—namely, from cylinders of Nabonnedus discovered at Mugheir—that a prince called Bil-shar-uzur (Belshazzar) was his son, and was associated with him in the empire. In those cylinders the protection of the gods is desired "for Nabonadid and his son Bil-Sharuzur," and their names are coupled together in a way that implies the sovereignty of the latter. (*British Museum Series*, Plate 68, No. 1. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 515, whose remarks are confirmed by Oppert, who, when in Babylonia in 1854, read and interpreted those cylinders at the same time, and in the same way, as Sir H. Rawlinson did in England. See Oppert's letter to Olshausen, dated Jan. 16th, 1864, in *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* viii. 598.) This opinion was further corroborated by another learned Orientalist, Dr. Hincks, who deciphered an inscription of Nabon-

nedus, in which he prays for Belshazzar, his eldest son, and in which he is represented as co-regent. See *Pusey*, pp. 402, 403."—*Wordsworth*, p. 20.

If Herodotus has preserved for us the story of the siege, the Book of Daniel gives us the graphic description of the scene within the massive walls. The king had turned a national festival into a time of licence and intoxication; the drunken revel was further degraded into a scene of sacrilegious defiance of Jehovah, as Belshazzar sent for the golden vessels which his father (i.e. grandfather, the Hebrew and Chaldee languages both being destitute of any word for grandsire or grandson) Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem that he might defile them in his palace orgies. The mighty conqueror had shown in his way a kind of religious veneration for them, by placing them, probably only as trophies, in the temple of his god, but it was reserved for the young voluptuary to give the more grievous affront to Jehovah, by using the golden bowls of His ministry in his own deification, or for his inebrious shame. Then "over against the candlestick," in the light of those lamps which had been wont to shed their rays upon the path to the mercy-seat, the mysterious hand appeared tracing its strange and terrible writing upon the wall. In the confusion which followed, the queen (probably Nicotris, the queen-mother) called to remembrance the discoveries of her father's dreams made by Daniel, whose obscurity during recent reigns seems to be implied in the queen's words, "There is a man in thy kingdom," &c. (v. 11, 12). Once more the interpreter of secrets spoke out as the messenger of God's judgment to princes as fearlessly as Elijah to Ahab, or John the Baptist to Herod. The visitation of Nebuchadnezzar, known but unheeded by his descendant, was rehearsed, and the strange inscription of numbering, weighing, and dividing, was interpreted and applied to the case of the profligate prince, and to the immediate dissolution of his empire. "In that night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain," but not before he had fulfilled his promise of investing the prophet with scarlet and gold, and proclaiming him third ruler of the vanishing kingdom. And in the degree of precedence accorded to Daniel we trace a corroboration of the history already given, not only as confirming his own recent retirement from state dignity and care as intimated in the queen's address, but as furnishing in the unusual nume-



rical order "third," an exact coincidence with the testimony of the cylinder as to Belshazzar's own place in the government as his father's co-regent.

But if thus, in the 67th year of his captivity, Daniel reappears suddenly upon the historic portion of his own pages, the prophetic portion of his book shows us a glimpse or two of him in the years immediately preceding the city's fall. In the first year of Belshazzar he received the vision of the four beasts, descriptive of the succession of earthly empires, and affording a fuller revelation of them than had been vouchsafed to Nebuchadnezzar in the dream which he had interpreted some sixty years previously. The four beasts were seen rising "up from the sea" and striving "upon the great sea," and when (in verse 17) the beasts are interpreted as four kings, the sea from whence they came is explained in accordance with the uniform symbolical application as denoting the world, "*shall arise from the earth.*" Thus the interpretation is guarded against any limitation to the Mediterranean coasts or powers characterised by naval prowess or maritime enterprise. The first beast was "like a lion, and had eagle's wings," the king of beasts joined with the king of birds. We are all familiar through the Assyrian antiquities with the composite sculptured forms with which the mighty conquerors of the East adorned their palaces, and by which they designed to illustrate the characteristics of their dominion. So, like the parables of our Lord, the prophetic vision derives its imagery from objects which were familiar and easy of interpretation to the seer. What the gold is among metals, and the head among the members of the body, such is the lion among beasts, and the eagle among birds. And the empire of Nebuchadnezzar, with its glory somewhat revived under Nabonadius, and his co-regent son Belshazzar, has in the vision of the prophet, as in the dream of its founder, the precedence of honour. Its splendour, however, was only like that of the evening sun breaking from the clouded west, but just above the horizon.

"In the first year of Belshazzar, when Daniel saw this vision, the sun of the Babylonian empire was now setting. It was setting (as it seems) in its grandeur, like the tropic sun, with no twilight. . . . Daniel sees it in its former nobility. As it had been exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar under the symbol of the richest metal gold, so now to Daniel, as combining qualities ordinarily incompatible, a lion with eagle's wings. It had the solid strength of

the king of beasts of prey, with the swiftness of the royal bird, the eagle. Jeremiah had likened Nebuchadnezzar both to the lion and the eagle. Ezekiel had compared the king, Habakkuk and Jeremiah his armies, for the rapidity of his conquests, to the eagle. So he beheld it for some time, as it had long been. Then he saw its decay. Its eagle-wings were plucked; its rapidity of conquest was stopped; itself was raised from the earth and set erect; its wild savage strength was taken away; it was made to stand on the feet of a man. In lieu of quickness of motion, like eagles' wings, 'is the slowness of human feet.' And the heart of mortal man (*Ch. enash* with the idea of weakness as in *Heb. enosh*) was given to it. It was weakened and humanised. It looks as if the history of its great founder was alluded to in the history of his empire. As he was chastened, weakened, subdued to know his inherent weakness, so should they. The beast's heart was given to him, then withdrawn, and he ended with praising God. His empire, from having the attribute of the noblest of beasts, yet still of a wild beast, is humanised."—*Pusey*, pp. 71, 72.

Keil (p. 224) refers the latter part of the vision to the madness and recovery of Nebuchadnezzar, when in his thanksgiving to Jehovah "for the first time he attained to the true dignity of a man, so also was his world-kingdom ennobled in him."

The next beast was a bear, or "like to a bear, and it raised itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it." It answers to the brazen chest and arms of Nebuchadnezzar's statue. The animal denotes power, great and crushing in its destructiveness, but without the attributes of lightness and swiftness found in the former symbol. As the representative of the Medo-Persian empire, Pusey has shown the appropriateness of the symbol in an interesting enumeration of some of the expeditions organised by that power. "It never moved," he says, "except in ponderous masses, avalanches precipitated upon its enemy, sufficient to overwhelm him, if they could have been discharged at once, or had there been any one commanding mind to direct them." The lifting up of one side of the beast denotes the elevation of the Persian division of the double empire, whereby the other member was not dissolved, assimilated, or annexed, but, retaining its integrity in the united kingdom, remained quiescent under the more vigorous leadership of Cyrus. The three ribs between its teeth have often formed a subject of perplexity. Keil shows that the conquest of Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, by the Medo-Persians,

satisfies the requirements of the symbolism, and, further, as conquests by the *united* power of the Medes and Persians, is an additional safeguard against the attempt of Rationalism to separate the component members of that empire into two of Daniel's kingdoms, and thus to make the fourth power's blasphemy against God coincide with the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes.

The third was a leopard, or perhaps a panther. Insatiable in its thirst for blood, and its great agility increased by wings. If the wings are not those of the eagle, as in the first vision, what it loses in quality it gains in number, four. In this it corresponds with the rapid enterprises and thirst for conquest of the impetuous Alexander. And its four heads mentioned last, and thereby implying posteriority, point to the quartering of his empire after his death. The vision was a brief one, inasmuch as Daniel was ere long to have a fuller revelation of the coming of the great conqueror.

The last beast was unlike all the rest, so "dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly," that Daniel had no name that could describe it. Its teeth were iron, with which it "devoured and brake in pieces" its prey, trampling underfoot in its fury what it had not time or inclination to devour. And it had ten horns. Such was the prophetic foreshadowing of the Roman power. If brief, the reason might be that the Spirit of Inspiration knew that another Daniel would be found after two-thirds of a millennium had passed away, who should take up the prophetic scroll and fill in the lineaments of the terrible beast in a final Apocalypse. St. John's predictions help to the understanding of the little horn that rose up among the ten, which had human eyes, and whose characteristic was "a mouth speaking great things." Here, for the first time in the Holy Book, is the mention of the Man of Sin, the last "great word" proceeding from whose mouth, on July 18th, 1870, in the assertion of the Papal Infallibility, is fresh in every man's memory. With reference to the vision of the four beasts, the heat of the controversy turns upon the application of the fourth to the Roman empire. If this be the true interpretation, then the Hebrew exile in the days of the Roman kings, or even the imaginary Daniel of a century prior to Julius Cæsar, would have to be credited with the spirit of prophecy. To avoid this application all kinds of combinations and divisions of the symbols and

empires have been attempted. The lion answering to the head of gold in ch. ii. has been applied to Nebuchadnezzar, and the bear to his successors, or individually (as by Hitzig) to Belshazzar, the last of the Babylonian kings. But it is clear that the beasts denote powers and not princes, and the emblem of the lion indicates the Babylonian empire in its integrity up to the moment of its dissolution. In the vision of the image it is not difficult to perceive that the head referred to Nebuchadnezzar, and the Chaldean monarchy personified in him. So Daniel explained it, "O King. . . *Thou art this head of gold. And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee*" (ii. 38, 39). The second beast has been taken as referring to the Median monarchy; and the third (the leopard) to the Persian one. Delitzsch, to support a pet theory of the identity of the two horns in the 7th and 8th chapters, has advocated this severance of the joint-power which overthrew Babylon. All through the history the phraseology is uniformly that of an amalgamated power. Both sections were spoken of as the conquerors in Daniel's message to Belshazzar. "The law of the Medes and Persians" is an official phrase, denoting a single consolidated government as unmistakeably as our own realm is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. M. Godet says:—

"This distinction of two monarchies, Median and Persian, is a pure fiction. The first could have lasted but two years, because Darius, the Mede, who would have founded it, was dead two years after the capture of Babylon, and Cyrus, the Persian, succeeded him. The fact is that it did not exist a single instant in an independent form, for, from the commencement, it was Cyrus the Persian who commanded in the name of Darius the Mede, or Cyaxares. The latter only reigned in name, and that is exactly the sense of vi. 28, which speaks of one and the same empire with two sovereigns reigning simultaneously. What otherwise would signify the expression, 'Arise, devour much flesh,' addressed to the pretended Median empire which would have lasted but two years. Delitzsch replies it is the expression of a simple *conatus*, a desire of conquest which is not realised, as if a desire remaining impossible would have found a place in the prophetic picture in which history is traced with such clear lines! . . . The bear, therefore, represents undeniably the Medo-Persian monarchy. It raised itself on one side, i.e., that of the two nations which constituted the empire there was but one—the Persian people—on which rested the aggressive and conquering power of the

monarchy. The three pieces of flesh, which the bear held in his jaws, represent the principal conquests of this second great empire."—*Etudes Bibliques, Appendice*, 389.

The third beast, the leopard or panther, if not the emblem of the Persian empire, must refer to the kingdom of Alexander. The former supposition has been excluded by what has been already advanced; but if the successors of Nebuchadnezzar, or the Median monarchy alone, could be denoted by the bear, we should have to consider the appropriateness of the leopard with its four wings and four heads to the Persian monarchy. We will again quote M. Godet on this point:—

"The rapidity of the conquests shown by the four wings was not the distinguishing characteristic of the Medo-Persian empire, while it is the most prominent trait of the power of Alexander. As for the four heads, it is pretended that they represent the first four sovereigns of Persia. This application would be forced even if Persia had but four kings, for the four heads represent four simultaneous powers and not four successive sovereigns. They belong to the organisation of the beast ever since its appearance. But further, Persia has had more than four sovereigns. What of the two Artaxerxes, Longimanus and Mnemon? and the two Dariuses, Ochus and Codoman? If the author wrote as a prophet, how did he see so mistily in the future? we ask of Delitzsch. If he wrote as an historian, that is to say a prophet who wrote after the event, how could he ignore so completely the history which he wrote? we ask of the Rationalists. And how will you accommodate the eighth chapter with this view? The rough goat is the king of Græcia; and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king. Now, that being broken; whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."—*Etudes Bibliques, Appendice*, 391.

The identity of the fourth beast and its ten horns with the legs and feet of the colossus of Chapter II. is apparent. Both are represented as trampling down and breaking in pieces everything that comes in their way. The last beast is the immediate precursor of Messiah's kingdom, as the statue is thrown down by the stone hewn without hands. Suppose, according to our opponents' hypothesis, Alexander and the Greek monarchy had not been already portrayed by the four-headed leopard, what would be the meaning of the ten horns? It has been answered that they denote the ten kings of Syria, from the death of Alexander to Antiochus Epiphanes, under whom the

pseudo-Daniel is supposed to have lived. M. Godet shows that there were but seven kings of Syria before Antiochus Epiphanes, viz.: 1. Seleucus Nicator; 2. Antiochus Soter; 3. Antiochus Theos; 4. Seleucus Callinicus; 5. Seleucus Ceraunus; 6. Antiochus the Great; 7. Seleucus Philopator. These seven are drawn out to the required ten, by the opponents of the Roman application of the fourth beast, by inserting three men who should have reigned, but whom Antiochus drove from the throne,—Heliodore, the poisoner of Antiochus's predecessor, and whose reign lasted but a moment; Demetrius, the legitimate successor, who was a hostage at Rome; and Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had some pretensions to the throne. This insertion of kings *de jure* in a list of actual sovereigns is just as valid as any attempt, for a fanciful purpose, to make Queen Victoria the fortieth English monarch from the Conquest, which would stretch the roll of the Plantagenet princes from fourteen to eighteen by the insertion of Henry Plantagenet, the crowned Prince Royal, Arthur of Brittany, Edward of Lancaster, and Richard of York. This theory also lies open to the objection of confining Alexander's successors within the line of the Seleucide kings of Syria to the exclusion of the Macedonian, Thracian, and Egyptian dynasties. Does the number ten stand for the indefinite multitude of leaders of these four co-existing monarchies? To offer such an interpretation of a writing, where numbers are used with such singular exactness, is evidently the last effort of a hopeless assault upon the Messianic testimony of the prophet,—a "stroke of despair," as Godet well characterises it.

This failing to effect its propounders' design, it only remains that the fourth beast and the lower extremities of Nebuchadnezzar's image point to the Roman Empire and its subsequent divisions in the states of modern Europe, which should in turn give way to a kingdom not of this world. In this part of the Prophecy, as may be expected by all who are acquainted with his Notes on the Apocalypse, the high Anglican Bishop of Lincoln gives no quarter when he turns the weapons of exposition and controversy against the Papal power and its unholy pretensions.

If Daniel saw afar off the inveterate and implacable persecutor of the Church of these later times in the little horn which rose out of the ten which preceded it, the

vision closed with a far different scene. Nebuchadnezzar had only seen the stone hewn from its mountain quarry without hands, which wrecked in its advance the colossus of the kingdoms of this world. Daniel, however, beheld the Person of the King whose kingdom was to come and to prevail. The vision likewise embraced the "innumerable company of angels" witnessing the triumphs of the heavenly kingdom over the beast, and it found its glorious climax in the revelation of the Son of Man,—then first made known under that blessed name,—not as Isaiah had seen Him on the way to Golgotha, "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," but in the majesty of His heavenly coronation in our nature. His New Testament fellow-seer saw his Master on the earth again, His priestly robes encircled with the regal belt of gold, and also with many crowns upon His head. Daniel, rapt away in the spirit, beheld the heavenly side of the cloud which cast its shadow upon the temporarily-orphaned disciples at Olivet. And the dominion with which he saw the Son of Man invested was declared to be "everlasting," and "His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."

Thus was the forsaken minister of Babylon comforted in his retirement, and prepared for the fall of the dynasty in whose service a great part of his long life had been passed. Though an angel had been the interpreter of his vision—a vision which was a sketch of the future rather than a perfectly-filled-up view of the coming ages—there was much reason left for him to ponder what all of it might be, and how it should come to pass. When we read his words, "As for me, Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me: but I kept the matter in my heart" (vii. 29), we need no lengthened description to help us mentally to sketch the daily life of the ex-minister of state. We know his religious manner of life from his youth up—the devout retirement three times a day, the frequent study of the holy oracles (ix. 2), the true religious patriotism which, in restored greatness and amidst cares of state, caused him to fast and weep in sackcloth because of the desolation of Jerusalem. All this would not be wanting in his private life under the princes who knew him not. Thus he mourned over the actual waste of his holy city, and the predicted fall of the realm he had helped to govern, and to guard, until two years had passed away. At the close of that period he is

seen again engaged in some royal commission. The scene of the vision is Shushan, the Persian capital. And for a while Rationalism, with its keen scent for Scriptural discrepancies and its strong *à priori* faith in its own deductions from fragmentary uninspired narratives, cried Error here. How, they asked, could Daniel, a well-known servant of the Babylonian crown, be at a place within a neighbour's territory? The assumption was a hasty one, like many formed in the same school, that the two powers were then engaged in hostilities. Again, it assumes that the prophet was there *in propria persona*; whereas the more probable inference is that he was carried in prophetic ecstasy, and awoke to do "the king's business" in his own realm. Loud was its boasting when it proclaimed that Shushan had not then been built. Brief notices in Ptolemy and Ælian, who wrote six and eight centuries respectively after Daniel's time, have been eagerly caught up as proving its later foundation. If their testimony were more credible than that of the book, our antagonists would have the *onus probandi*, 1, that these words indicate the foundation of the city rather than of a royal residence; and, 2, that such was an entirely new foundation, and not an extension or restoration. The cuneiform inscriptions, however, have done good service here as well as elsewhere, for they mention Shushan as one of the two Elamitic capitals in the reign of Sennacherib's grandson.

In the vision, the ram with two horns, one higher than the other, is the equivalent of the side-raised bear of the former one. Its westward, northward, and southward pushing marking the exact geographical directions of the Medo-Persian conquests. There where learned doctors have long disputed over the application of the symbol, the seer has the interpretation made sure to him by the angel Gabriel. "The rough goat is the king of Græcia. The great horn between his eyes is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power" (viii. 21, 22). As to the figure of the conqueror, the he-goat corresponds to the four-winged panther of the previous chapter, as he bounds "from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground." No emblem could be more expressive of the rapid rush of conquest achieved by the young Macedonian leader. The great horn, broken in the day when it was strong, and succeeded



by four horns (kingdoms) out of his nation but not in his strength, can find no other page of history with which they agree than the death-scene of Alexander, and the fourfold partition of his monarchy. To make his the *fourth* and not the *third* prophetic empire, will require that "wresting" of the Scriptures which is only done to the "destruction" of the unstable operators. As to the view that the ten horns denote the successors of the Macedonian conqueror, we may well afford to postpone its serious consideration until the time when its supporters have arranged their conflicting and heterogeneous lists into one mutually accepted table.

The burden of this vision, however, was in its closing scene: the little horn which rose out of the four, "which waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land." Thus the invasion of Egypt, Babylonia, and Daniel's native land—to him still in memory, and yet more in view of its future possession by his people, the "glory of all lands"—by Antiochus Epiphanes, was revealed. He sees in vision the foe of the Church of God waxing great, magnifying himself even to the Prince of Israel's host, casting down His sanctuary, and causing the daily sacrifice to cease. We know what an occasion of mourning, lamentation, and woe this must have been to the Old Covenant saint whose devotions were stimulated when he turned his face towards the wasted city and sanctuary of his race. Grievous indeed it was for him to have a view of the "abomination of desolation standing where it ought not," but more sad and heart-sickening was it to behold this, preceded and occasioned by the "transgression of desolation." Great as was the impiety of the persecutor Antiochus, far deeper was the sin, and heavier the curse, of the apostate and traitorous High Priests of that age. They renounced their covenant vows and privileges, teaching the Jews to repudiate their circumcision. Three successive heads of the sacerdotal order assumed new and heathen names. One of them, Onias, styled Menelaus, conducted the heathen tyrant into the holy place, where he desecrated the altar with a sacrifice of a sow, and defiled the whole sanctuary with the broth of its flesh.

What the heathen satirist complained of as a sign of Roman degeneracy (Juv. Sat. iii. 60)—

"Non possum ferre, Quirites  
Græcam urbem"—

was far more bitterly felt by the faithful few who thought the highest honour of Jerusalem consisted in its being the "city of the Great King." They knew how little they had to gain, and how much they had to lose, if their "holy city" were to become a copy of Antioch, Alexandria, or even Athens itself.

"This process of secularisation was the source of the weakness and of the woes of the Jewish Church. Many of its priests renounced their belief in the religion of their forefathers, and apostatised from the faith of Moses and the Prophets. Thus they became the victims of the persecuting power of Infidelity. God withdrew His grace and protection from them. He punished them by taking away the spiritual privileges which they had scorned, and by giving them over to their enemies. He forsook the sanctuary which they had profaned, and abandoned the Jerusalem which they had heathenised. The Holy of Holies was no longer the shrine of the living God who had once revealed Himself on the mercy-seat. The temple on Moriah became a temple of Jupiter Olympius. The high priest himself sent a deputation to the Syrian games in honour of Hercules. The sacred procession of palm-bearers and singers, who once chanted sacred melodies in the streets of Sion at the festival of Tabernacles, was succeeded by bearers of the ivy-tufted thyrsus, who sang lyrical dithyrambs in honour of the Greek Dionysus, whose ivy leaf was branded upon the flesh of his votaries; and the effusion of the waters drawn forth in golden urns from the well of Siloam, and poured out upon the brazen altar of burnt sacrifices in the Temple was superseded by libations from the sacrifices of unclean animals immolated on the altar of Jehovah, surmounted by an idol altar, 'the abomination of desolation.'

"These desecrations were due, not to the power of the Persecutor, but to the cowardice, ambition, covetousness, mutual jealousy, treachery, and apostasy of the priests."—Wordsworth, *Introd.* p. xvii.

To Daniel it was graciously revealed that this desolation should not be permanent, and he was informed that in 2,300 days from its beginning the calamity should be overpast, and the sanctuary should be cleansed. It is no matter of astonishment that, with the knowledge of such evils to befall his Church and nation, "Daniel fainted and was sick certain days."

To suit the theories of those who wish to make the fourth beast signify the Grecian monarchy, diligent attempts have been made to identify the little horn of the seventh chapter (that which came up amidst the ten horns of the fourth

beast) with that of the eighth (that which grew out of one of the four horns that came up in the place of the great one on the he-goat, which was broken). There is no reason for their identification, but quite the reverse. The horn in each case is the emblem of evils which break out of an organised state, and assume the form of an excrescence. In the eighth chapter the application of the figure to Antiochus Epiphanes is obvious, from what has been already advanced as to the order and reference of the beasts, as well as from the minute exactness of the prediction concerning him; but widely different is the account of that in chapter seven. The duration of the one is to the time when the sanctuary shall be cleansed, of the other "Until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

"That which distinguishes it clearly from the other is that it comes out of the middle of the ten horns of the beast without name, while the preceding one comes out of the four horns of the he-goat which represents Javan (8, 9, 22). We should say then, if we would employ the language of the New Testament, that the little horn of the seventh chapter is the Antichrist, the man of sin (Paul), the beast of the Apocalypse. This power, hostile to God and to the Church, is one which will spring from the confederation of European States, issue of the fourth monarchy; while that of the eighth chapter represents Antiochus Epiphanes, issue of the Greek monarchy, and who made an analogous war against the kingdom of God under the Jewish theocracy. There are then two declared adversaries to the reign of God indicated in the Book of Daniel—the one proceeding from the third monarchy and attacking the people of the Ancient Covenant, and the other coming out of the fourth and making war upon the people of the New. Whoever reads the seventh and eighth chapters of the Book of Daniel from this point of view, will see the difficulties vanish which have led wise men to the forced explanations which we have just refuted."—Godet, *Etudes Bibliques*, App. 394.

Daniel emerged from his private life again, not only to complete his testimony to the last of the Babylonian princes, but to be ready as a "chosen vessel" for the carrying out of the Divine purpose concerning his people. When the Persian hosts came in to sack the city and to cut down the king, Daniel, though vested in the newly-conferred scarlet and gold, escaped the fearful massacre. One, mightier than Cyrus, had, decreed concerning him,

"Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." Babylon had fallen, and the walls of Sion were to be rebuilt. To Daniel there was committed no unimportant share in accomplishing the second event as a result of the first.

We need not pause to discuss the vexed question as to the internal relations of the two divisions of the Medo-Persian empire. The annotators upon Herodotus and Xenophon may balance the credibility of their records, both avowedly eclectic groups of traditions, and each written several generations after the events. Cyrus, however, left Babylon to the share of his uncle Darius (Cyaxares II.) while he pursued his course of conquest.

We get a glimpse of the reorganisation of the empire under 120 satraps, themselves in their turn directed by a council of three, of whom the now aged Daniel was the chief, while there was a purpose in the royal mind to exalt him to yet greater honour. In an Oriental court, where jealousy and intrigue have ever had a stronghold, one of the "children of the captivity of Judah" was not likely to be exempt from envious plottings. His proud and irritated satraps watched with lynx-eyed malice for some ground of charge. The religious creed was of little moment to them; they groaned under the precedence accorded to a foreigner, and he a prisoner of war. The treasury was under his control, and he doubtless had great influence in matters of petition and appeal. Concerning the kingdom, "they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him."

Then, but only then, did they seek to accuse him concerning the law of his God. The conduct of Darius fully agrees with the character of Cyaxares as given on the pages of other historians. The decree of the monarch, by which he interdicted all worship except that which should be paid to himself, may seem to men of our generation the act of an imbecile or a madman, but it has to be interpreted in the dimness of an age 600 years before there came a "Light to lighten the Gentiles," and according to the Medo-Persian ideas of religion. The very usage which fettered the prince who arrogated Divine worship, sprang from the claim of his dynasty to be the earthly vicars or human shrines of Ormuzd. We know the snare which was set, but we know who were taken in their own craftiness. As to Daniel, his fidelity to God had not been shaken by

the vicissitudes of sixty-five eventful years since he refused the king's meat. To a timid hesitating Israelite the way would have been open to a variety of compromises. There was an extraordinary decree from his earthly liege lord, and was he, the first subject of the realm, to show an example of rebellion against authority? And then there was no positive command to pray written in the Decalogue. He was not bidden, as his companions had been half a century earlier, to bow down to a graven image, or even to a man. All that was required of him was to restrain prayer before his God. But that all meant everything of holy principle, sacred duty, and spiritual peace and power to Daniel. All kind of spiritual communion could not be included in such an edict, but only open and audible or outward devotion. For no inquisitor would have dared to ask him at the end of the month whether he had prayed or not. The way of escape from danger might have been found in a secret discipleship and unuttered prayers, but Daniel would not thus deny or dishonour the God whom he had publicly served from childhood unto hoary hairs. Neither did he court persecution by a new or ostentatious round of piety. He went on his own way. In the usual place, at the customary times, and with the wonted lattice open toward the setting sun, he called upon his God "as he did aforetime." And he found the fulfilment of the prayer offered by its royal founder at the dedication of the sanctuary to whose site he turned his face. We know the rest—the raging crowd of his enemies pressing in upon him as he prayed—the hasty charge—the discomfiture of the prince taken in his own trap—the triumph of faith in the den of beasts, and the troubled conscience in the palace—the perfect deliverance—the swift retribution—the new decree in the royal name, giving the glory to the God of Daniel. And when we behold the completion of the cycle of Divine interposition, we catch the murmur of the unbelieving throng, "Why was this waste" of miraculous power! We will content ourselves with the Regius Professor's answer:—

"'Objectless' they can only seem to those to whom all revelation of God seems to be objectless. I would that they who make the objection could say, what miracle they believed as having an adequate object. Unless they believed that some miracles are not 'objectless,' it is mere hypocrisy to object to any particular

miracle as 'objectless.' For they allege as a special ground against certain miracles, what they hold to be a ground against all miracles; and act the believer in miracles in the abstract, in order to enforce the disbelief in specific miracles. It was a grand theatre. On the one side was the world monarchy, irresistible, conquering, as the heathen thought, the God of the vanquished. On the other, a handful of the worshippers of the one only God, captives, scattered, with no visible centre or unity, without organisation or power to resist, save their indomitable faith, inwardly upheld by God, outwardly strengthened by the very calamities which almost ended their national existence; for they were the fulfilment of His word in Whom they believed. Thrice, during the seventy years, human power had put itself forth against the faith; twice in edicts which would, if obeyed, have extinguished the true faith on earth; once in direct insult to God. Faith, as we know, 'quenched the violence of fire,' 'stopped the mouths of lions.' In all these cases the assault was signally rolled back; the faith was triumphant in the face of all the representatives of the power and intelligence of the empire; in all, the truth of the one God was proclaimed by those who had assailed it. Unbelief, while it remains such, must deny all true miracles, and all superhuman prophecy. But if honest, it dare not designate as 'objectless,' miracles which decided the cause of truth on such battle-fields."—*Pusey*, p. 454.

But the year of his trial was also the season wherein Daniel's soul was strengthened for the test, or blessed for his endurance, by abundant revelations. He had pondered over the prophecies of Jeremiah concerning the length of the captivity, and he found that sixty-eight years out of the appointed three score and ten of their exile had elapsed. Moreover, Cyrus, the conqueror and the coming prince, had been named in a "scripture" which would certainly be received where Jeremiah was held as canonical. And while he was "speaking and praying and confessing" his sin and "the sin of his people," praying for the holy mountain of his God, at the time when, if that holy mountain had still been crowned with the beautiful sanctuary, the evening oblation would have been offered, Gabriel came to him with a message of still greater joy than the return to Sion. The seventy years of captivity were all but ended, but seventy prophetic weeks were to count from the edict for the city's restoration to Messiah the Prince, for to close up the transgression, to seal up the sins, to make atonement for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint a

Holy of Holies, i.e. an All Holy One in whom should dwell the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

The special purpose of this vision of the seventy weeks to Daniel and his fellow exiles is worthy of attention. To them the deliverance from captivity and the days of Messiah had seemed to coincide in point of time, but now that the first was near at hand they were told that they must wait a long period before the second promise was realised. Weary had seemed to them the three score and ten years during which God had afflicted them in the land of the stranger; but a period far exceeding that, at the ratio of a week for a day, was to elapse before the consummation of the hope of Israel. During that time the political changes and convulsions revealed in the seventh chapter would be in course of accomplishment. But during all these revolutions Israel was to complete its preparation for the coming of its Lord to His Temple. Well would it have been for them if Daniel's revelation of the time of their national training for Messiah's Advent had been discerned and followed.

The seventy prophetic weeks, or 490 years (understood as such by a key already furnished in God's revelation to Ezekiel c. iv. 5, 6), form the most distinct epoch ever vouchsafed respecting Messiah's promised Advent. Regarding the Crucifixion as settling the *terminus ad quem*, the paramount question is respecting the *terminus a quo*. Dr. Pusey has discussed in an exhaustive style the respective claims of four periods to this place of chronological honour. 1. The first year of Cyrus, B.C. 536. 2. The third year of Darius Hystaspes, B.C. 518, when the hindrance to the rebuilding of the temple interposed by Pseudo Smerdis (the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7, &c.) were removed. 3. The commission to Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 457. 4. The commission of Nehemiah in the twentieth year of the same king, B.C. 444. The end of the whole period of 490 years, calculated from these different epochs, would bring us to the years B.C. 461, B.C. 281, A.D. 88, and A.D. 46 respectively. Looking back, from the knowledge we possess of the fulfilment in our redemption, we naturally regard the third epoch with the deepest interest. The second and the fourth epochs were those of decrees which merely confirmed others immediately preceding them, and consequently sink into a secondary position. The interest is apportioned between the first and the third dates. The

decree of Cyrus was for the building of the *Temple*, and its fulfilment, described in Ezra i. and ii., is confined to preparation for rebuilding the sanctuary. And the decree of Darins Hystaspes (Ezra vii.), based upon Cyrus's roll discovered in the Median palace, is limited to the same object. Daniel's weeks, however, were to be reckoned from "the commandment to restore and to build *Jerusalem*," which was precisely the task committed to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes. That the *city*, as distinguished from the *temple*, had yet to be "restored" and rebuilt is evident from the graphic account of Nehemiah's night ride round the broken walls of the city, its gateway still destitute of gates and their walls yet black from the Chaldæan burning, and the way of the king's pool impassable for his beast by reason of the rubbish from the breach. Nehemiah's commission, therefore, satisfies all the requirements of the prophecy, and comes nearest to the measure of 490 years from the Crucifixion. Again, the whole prophetic period is divided into three sections, seven weeks, three score and two weeks, and "after three score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off," implies a residue of one week to make up the total already given, in the course of which Messiah's excision should take place. This is confirmed by the prediction immediately following, "And he shall confirm the covenant with many *for one week*, and *in the midst of the week* He shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations He shall make it desolate, even until the consummation and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." The first period of seven weeks or forty-nine years was to be spent in building the "street" and the wall, even in troublous times, with which chronological data found in the book of Nehemiah would substantially agree. The second and longest section was the interval from the completion of the city until the covenant should be "confirmed" in the ministry of Christ. Then one week of 7 years, in the midst of which he should be "cut off." Starting from B.C. 457, the first section would bring us to B.C. 408, the second to A.D. 26, and the midst of the last week would exactly coincide with the beginning of A.D. 30, the year of all years in which one was "cut off, but not for Himself," "to finish the transgression, to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy."



Keil, however, has followed the eschatological interpretation, the germs of which are found in Hippolytus and Apollinaris of Laodicea. He thus regards the seven weeks as defining the interval before the death of Christ, the sixty-two as pointing to the period from the time when redemption was accomplished until the eve of the end, and the last week as indicating the short but severe conflict with Antichrist. But no man having tasted old wine desireth new, for he saith the "old is better."

As to the Rationalist attempt to make the seventy weeks terminate with Antiochus Epiphanes, it may fairly be asked whether, if the conditions of the prophecy being the same, and the shorter period had been pleaded for in the interests of orthodoxy, they themselves would not have been found among the foremost opponents of such a computation? But not yet has "the offence of the cross ceased." Daniel's prophecy has its fulfilment in the events of redemption, and from the prophet's pen as from Apostle's lips we learn of a "reconciliation" made for iniquity by One who was "cut off *not for Himself*."

Our opponents urge that this passage relates to the murder of the high priest Onias about 170 B.C., accompanied by the slaughter of 4,000 Jews, and the pillage of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, which was followed some three years (the Rationalistic half week) afterwards by the defilement of the sanctuary, the inauguration of the worship of Jupiter Olympius in the house of God, and the abolition of the daily sacrifice. But the cutting off of the Lord's anointed was to be followed by the destruction and not the temporary profanation of the temple. Then the chronology needs a great deal of manipulation to make the end of the weeks coincide with the Maccabean age. Its *terminus a quo* has been fixed not at the date of any royal decree for the return, but at the period of Jeremiah's prophecy (Jer. xxv.), i.e. 605 B.C. Very like the old maxim of robbing Peter to pay Paul is this unusual tribute of honour to the era of Jeremiah's prediction. Even then, however, there are difficulties remaining to be settled. From B.C. 605 to 170 there are 435 years, just equal to the three score and two weeks which are mentioned in the text of Daniel, as the largest and middle factor of the divided seventy. The last division of one week is manifestly distinct from the rest, as the time of the fulfilment. The former seven, however, have yet to be accounted for. They

are not contemporaneous with the earlier portion of the sixty-two; but they were to precede the sixty-two, as the sixty-two were to precede the one in which Messiah should be cut off. To meet this difficulty it has been proposed to consider the seven weeks as belonging to the period before the decree of Cyrus, i.e. from 588 or 586 to 536, during which time the city and temple were desolate, then the 62 weeks from the return from captivity until 175. But 62 and 7 subtracted from 588 would point to B.C. 105, which is too late for the Maccabean theory. The erudite Ewald, however, has a plan to meet the case. Inasmuch as this period was a time of oppression, and the sabbatic idea among the Jews was always associated with joy, he deducts the sabbatic years from the series, and so brings it to the desired haven of B.C. 175. When with him the Messiah was cut off in the person, not of the priestly Onias, but the heathen Seleucus Philopator, who died just as he invaded Judæa. Thus the voice of a faithless school of criticism is but the echo of the cry of the unbelieving Passover mob, "Not this man but Barabbas," and a robber is preferred to Christ. Well does Godet ask at the close of his enumeration of these theories, "What shall we say to these exegetical monstrosities?"

Once more the "man greatly beloved" was filled with trouble on account of the "abundance of the revelations" given to him. For three full weeks he went mourning, eating neither flesh nor pleasant bread, drinking no wine, neither anointing himself as he was accustomed to do. While residing on the banks of the Hiddekel (Tigris) in the third year of Cyrus, he saw a vision—nearer resembling that vouchsafed to St. John in Patmos than any other granted to the Old Covenant seers. There is the same glorious appearance of a human form with countenance of transcendent brightness, wearing a priestly robe, girded with a royal belt of gold, having eyes as lamps of fire, arms and feet like to polished brass, and His voice like the voice of a multitude. Like the disciple in the Apocalypse the prophet sank faint and dumb, but, as there; the Angel of the Covenant touched him with His life-imparting touch. The vision was concerning what should befall his people in the latter days. The exact number and succession of the kings of Persia was revealed. The riches and pride of Xerxes were pointed out. His attack of "the realms of Græcia," then for the first and only time

to form a "realm" under one "mighty king." The breaking of Alexander's power and the scattering of his dominion to the four winds of heaven are all depicted with minutest accuracy in the vision on the Hiddekel. Then was disclosed the strife between the Egyptian kings of the south and their northern rivals the Seleucid kings of Syria. The marriage and divorce of an Egyptian princess by Antiochus Theos, and the avenging of her wrongs by her brother Ptolemy Euergetes are likewise foretold. But the vision is a "burden" of Israel, as it culminates in the description of a "vile person." Antiochus Epiphanes appeared in the prophet's view again as the oppressor of his people, the persecutor of the Church, and the defiler of the sanctuary. He saw the strength and exploits of the Maccabean patriots, and he beheld the final defeat and ruin of the man whose name is still a sign of execration to all the house of Israel. The vision continued to unfold the strange events of the future. The time of the sanctuary's desolation was sworn by the angel to be limited to "a time, times, and a half," and the mystic 1,260 days had added to them another short period of seventy-five days as the time from the beginning of the persecution until the peaceful enjoyment of religious privileges again under a complete toleration. The blessedness of those who should wait and come to that time of peace was made known to the prophet. But, like another Moses, he only saw what he was not to enter. Though his life lasted through the whole period of the Captivity, and probably the decree of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple was drawn up under his influence, Daniel never returned to the land of his birth, and which was still known to him in his later days as the "pleasant" or the "beautiful land." He was bidden to go on in his way, so various and yet so Divinely prepared, until the end, when his long life of toil for foreign prince or for most loved Israel should cease, and, if he lost the ancestral inheritance in Zion, his promised "lot" was one in the rest of the people of God.

By such defences as those named at the head of this article, the persecution of the prophet by the unbelieving party has fallen out rather unto the furtherance of his prophetic title. His foundation standeth sure, having the inscription, "Daniel the prophet," endorsed upon the very words of his predictions by Him who spake by the prophets, and whose glory he saw by the Hiddekel. Still,

while this is our surest ground of confidence in the inspiration of the prophet, his assailants must be met by weapons forged of like steel with their own, but of better temper and heavier calibre. If God's house is to be beautified, the Egyptians must be spoiled. Our prophet's case is an illustrious example of the sanctified use of the wisdom of the Chaldeans. In this book we learn how all history has its consecration in contact with the kingdom of God. And it is high time that, in scholastic institutions professedly conducted on Christian principles, the history of Israel should have at least an equal share of attention with what is given to that of Greece or Rome, or even that of modern Europe. Certainly the struggles of the Maccabees would afford as much thrilling interest to our youth as the campaign of Hannibal, or even the defence of Thermopylæ. And the records of sacred heroes will be none the less instructive and captivating because they "subdued kingdoms" while they "wrought righteousness," and were not only men of war and of statesmanship, but pre-eminently "men of faith."

Daniel is still read among the prophets by the faithful, because, though his work has been supplemented and his prophecies made more distinct in the fulfilment of some and in the expansion of others by the beloved disciple, his place in the canon is sanctioned by that Great Teacher who included his roll in the Scriptures, of which He said, "These are they which testify of Me." He was the prophet of deliverance to a Church and nation trodden down by the oppressor. His message was one which declared that the exile was but for an appointed time, and that a short one. But his greatest work is that which belongs to all time, to teach, as Godet has it, "that the realisation of the age of gold is not the work of man but of Christ. That the abolition of social miseries can only result from the suppression of sin. That the era of good will only date for humanity from the day when the Sun of Righteousness arises upon it. That the last glory is in the Divine order but the corollary of holiness."

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ART. III.—*Ismailia*. By Sir SAMUEL W. BAKER, Pacha, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., &c. Macmillan and Co. 1874.

IN this work, which has been looked forward to with so much interest, we have an account of an expedition to Central Africa for the suppression of the slave trade and the establishment of legitimate commerce on the White Nile and the great N'Yanzas, organised by the Khedive of Egypt, and entrusted to the care of Sir Samuel Baker. Himself one of the great discoverers of the equatorial reservoirs of the Nile, he was specially fitted to undertake the hardships of the expedition. In his former work he had depicted the splendid country which there existed, and had spoken of its wondrous capabilities. At the same time, also, he had referred to the fearful depredations carried on there by the hardened and relentless slave traders, who were turning a terrestrial paradise into a wide-spread desolation. Moved by these representations, the Khedive resolved to annex this country, and to stop this destructive trade. To any one acquainted with the hardship and suffering experienced by Sir Samuel Baker and his intrepid wife during their former explorations, it seems a little strange that he should have been willing afresh to go to these distant regions upon an expedition which he knew would bring upon him intense hatred and opposition. But the manner in which he persevered, when unaided and at death's door, in spite of continued obstacles and almost insuperable difficulties, showed such a spirit of daring, and such a love of adventure, that perhaps, after all, it is not so strange that he should have responded to the Khedive's invitation, and accepted so responsible a position.

*Ismailia* is a splendidly-got-up work in two volumes, profusely illustrated, and accompanied by a useful map. The title is taken from the new name given by Baker to Gondokoro, the site of which was changed, in consequence of accumulated river obstructions. Nothing needs to be said as to the style of the narrative. Sir Samuel always has a sparkling pen.

In making the arrangements for the expedition, a vast amount of passive resistance from the subordinate Egyptian officials was encountered. Through their delay—the Khedive being in Europe—the flotilla, which was to have started from Cairo on the 10th of June, did not start until the 29th of August, so that the river had fallen too much to allow the vessels to ascend the second cataract. Thus twelve months were wasted, and Sir Samuel was deprived of the aid of six steamers. At Khartoum, notwithstanding the fact that positive instructions had been forwarded, none of the required vessels had been prepared, although an expedition to the frontier of Darfur had been fitted out, and eleven vessels gathered together; which expedition the Governor-General had entrusted to the care of Kutchuk Ali, one of the most notorious ruffians and slave-hunters on the White Nile.

There were many reasons to account for this stubborn opposition. The White Nile countries, though not under the jurisdiction of Egypt, had, nevertheless, been leased by the Governor-General of the Soudan for several thousand pounds sterling per annum, together with the monopoly of the ivory trade. The principal trader, named Agad, had a contract with the Government, which gave him the exclusive right of trading over a district comprising about 90,000 square miles. These lessees were thoroughly known as inveterate slave-hunters. So that Sir Samuel was sent to annex a country already leased out by the Government, and to carry out a reform which would be a death-blow to the operations of these men.

Seriously opposed by all parties, with nothing at hand which had been entrusted to the care of the native authorities, and with the season far advancing, energetic measures were necessary. Strong pressure was put upon the Governor-General, Djiaffer Pacha (the Dyafer Pacha of Schweinfurth), and soon thirty-three vessels of fifty or sixty tons each were obtained, caulked, rigged, and made ready for the voyage to Gondokoro. Previous to starting, Sir Samuel reviewed his irregular cavalry. Apparently they were *very* irregular. This will appear from the description of their horses:—

“There were lank, half-starved horses; round, short horses; very small ponies; horses that were all legs; others that were all heads; horses that had been groomed; horses that had never gone through that operation.”—Vol. I. p. 29.

Besides which, each had armed himself as he thought best. Thinking he could do better without them than with them, the annoyed chief sent them all home. The main-stay of the expedition consisted of forty-eight men picked from two Egyptian regiments. Of equal numbers, black and white, and armed with Snider rifles, they formed an efficient body-guard, going by the name of "the Forty Thieves." According to a note, they owed their name to their light-fingered capability; but eventually they became the pink of morality. The name of their commander was Abd-el-Kader. He was an excellent officer, and, an exception to the general rule, he took a great interest in the expedition, and always served his chief faithfully and well.

Thus, through the provoking delay of the Egyptian officials, Sir Samuel left Khartoum with a mutilated expedition and without a single transport animal. In a little over a week the junction of the Sobat was reached. It was then found that 684 miles had been traversed since leaving Khartoum. Beyond the junction of this river the Nile winds away, in a labyrinth-like course, for about 750 miles, through a region of barren flats and boundless marsh, until Gondokoro is reached. The White Nile being absolutely blocked by the accumulated masses of vegetation, an effort was made to pass through one of its branches, called the Bahr-Giraffe. Soon, however, the passage became completely choked, through the drift vegetation. Efforts were made to cut a canal through the vast mass, and for long weary days was the work carried on, until fever laid many of the soldiers prostrate. So slow was the progress made that, on one occasion, during thirteen days, with a thousand men hard at work, there was only a clearance made of twelve miles long. The traveller declares that the country was fearful, and far beyond his worst experience. At length, after a lapse of fifty-one days from the time of leaving Khartoum, the order for retreat was given. During this fearful journey twelve men and a boy died. It was resolved at once to return to the Shillook country, and to establish a station there. The officers and men were delighted at the thought of retracing their steps, for, thereby, they hoped the expedition would be terminated. They did not, however, know the character of their leader, and, reckoning without their host, were doomed to disappointment. Returning, the Bahr-Giraffe was found to be materially altered in its conformation, through the alteration in

the state of the vegetation-rafts. In his disgust the traveller writes:—

“No dependence can be placed upon this accursed river. The fabulous Styx must be a sweet rippling brook compared to this horrible creation.”—Vol. I. p. 79.

The first special act of Sir Samuel Baker towards the suppression of the slave trade took place about this time. Halting eleven miles from the White Nile junction, he heard that the Governor of Fashoda was making a razzia on the Shillooks. Unexpectedly he visited the Governor's vessels. Inviting him on board, he inquired whether he captured women and children in the same way as he captured cattle. Assuming an expression of horror at the very idea, he replied by a distinct negative. Sir Samuel's aide-de-camp—the trusty Abd-el-Kader—at once visited the ships lying a few yards astern, and discovered a crowd of unfortunate captives, whilst Sir Samuel himself landing, came suddenly upon a mass of slaves, guarded by a number of soldiers; many of the women being secured to each other by ropes passed from neck to neck. The total number come upon was 155, made up of sixty-five girls and women, eighty children, and ten men. Sir Samuel at once insisted upon the liberation of every slave. At first the Governor refused to acknowledge his authority, but he soon submitted, and the intrepid Englishman had the happiness of explaining to the poor unfortunate ones the intentions of the Khedive, and then, to their great joy, of sending them back to their old homes. Of course this act did not add to the popularity of the expedition.

Selecting a spot about forty minutes' run down stream, beyond the junction of the Sobat, a camp was established and called Tewfikayah. The whole country on the side of the river occupied by the camp was found to be uninhabited. Formerly there was a large population belonging to the Dinka family, but through razzias made by the former and the then governor of Fashoda, that tribe was almost exterminated. Shortly after Sir Samuel's arrival, he was visited by Quat Kare, the King of the Shillooks, who told a most pitiful tale of the gross plundering and massacring which had gone on under Egyptian rule. Sir Samuel arranged an audience between this much wronged man and the Koordi Governor of Fashoda, the account of which is full of amusement and interest. The Shillooks



soon became the fast friends of the expedition, and carried on a considerable trade with the camp, and Sir Samuel thinks they only require an assurance of good faith and protection to become a valuable race.

At the station commanding the river, a good look-out was kept for slavers. Shortly after its establishment, a passing ship was boarded. Everything seemed in order, and the agent loudly declared she was simply laden with corn, beneath which was ivory for purposes of trade. Abd-el-Kader, drawing a steel ramrod from a soldier's rifle, probed it sharply through the corn. There was a smothered cry. Thrusting his long arm into the grain, he dragged forth by the wrist a negro woman. The corn was removed, the planks which boarded up the forecastle and stern were broken down, and there, packed like herrings in a barrel, was a mass of humanity—boys, girls, and women. One hundred and fifty slaves were there stowed away, in a most inconceivably small area. The sail attaching to the main-yard, appearing full and heavy in the lower part, was examined, and there was a young woman who had been thus sewn up to avoid discovery. Immediately the agent and captain were put in irons, and the ship was sent to Khartoum to be confiscated as a slaver. After the release of the negroes, there was found great difficulty in providing for them. Most of the women, however, were resolved to marry, and selections having been made amongst the soldiers, a process of matrimony went on upon a wholesale scale. During the maintenance of the station, many boats were seized, and the slaves on board liberated.

Prior to a general start, Baker determined to explore the "sudd," or obstructions of the main Nile, in the hope of discovering some new passage which the stream had forced through the vegetation. He, however, found that the Nile itself was entirely lost, and had become a swamp. Only by a special expedition from Khartoum could this formerly beautiful river be again opened up to navigation.

Tewfikayah was left on the 11th December, the station was dismantled, and a general advance was made. The English party had been reduced, and the Egyptian troops were greatly disappointed at having again to proceed to the south. Soon the Bahr-Giraffe was entered, and, after fearful work, extending over sixty days, the White Nile was reached—the ingenuity and perseverance displayed throughout the whole of this most trying journey

well illustrating the extraordinary qualification possessed by Sir Samuel Baker for African travel. Gondokoro (since named "Ismailia") was reached on April 15th, 1871. A careful computation showed this place to be 1,409 miles from Khartoum.

Sir Samuel found a great change had taken place in the condition of the river since his former visit. The old channel, which formerly had been of considerable depth, was now choked with sand-banks, and he was compelled to drop further down the river, where the traders had formed a new settlement. The country also was sadly changed. The Loquia had overrun it and reduced it to desolation, being enraged through depredations committed upon them by the Baris, who were in alliance with the traders. Allorron, the chief of the Baris, the worst tribe of the Nile basin, gave the expedition a sullen and morose welcome. The fact was, Abou Saood, Agad's vakeel, had prepared him for Sir Samuel's arrival, and now, he was ready to do his utmost to thwart the undertaken work. Thus brigand was united with brigand, villain with villain, and Gondokoro was the centre where the spoil was gathered. A station was soon formed, and cultivation was commenced; and on May 26th, Sir Samuel Baker officially annexed the territory to Egypt, amidst considerable ceremony.

The Bari country stretches about ninety miles from North to South, and is about seventy miles in width. The population is very dense, and is split up into small chiefdoms, over each of which is a sheik, or head-man. They are a warlike race, and also give great attention to cattle. At night time they confine them within "zareebas." A cattle zareeba is a formidable defence. It consists of a circular stockade, made of an intensely hard black wood, resembling ebony.

"Piles as thick as a man's thigh are sunk in the earth, so as to leave a fence or stockade of about eight feet high above the surface; these piles are placed as close as possible together, and interlaced by tough hooked thorns, which, when dry and contracted, bind the stockade into a very compact defence."—Vol. I. pp. 240, 241.

The weapons of the Baris are finely wrought lances and bows, with horribly barbed arrows. They seldom carry shields. The men are generally tall and powerful, and the women are not absolutely bad-looking.

These Baris Sir Samuel soon found absolutely hostile. Those around Gondokoro joined with those of Belinian, and continually attacked the station. Accordingly, he resolved to attack Belinian. Starting for the place at night, he took "the Forty Thieves," and coming to the native stockades, he captured, after some severe fighting, 600 cows, which, with some difficulty, were driven to Gondokoro by sunset. Whilst these complications were taking place, Abou Saood, who, consequent on the death of Agad, had succeeded that merchant in his business, arrived. This man, a villain of the deepest dye, brought 1,400 cattle, which he had stolen from the Shir tribe, whom he had wantonly attacked. These were at once confiscated, and notice was served upon him to quit the territory under Baker's command, immediately on the expiration of his contract with the Government. This leniency Sir Samuel had much cause to regret. Such a man should immediately have been sent to Khartoum in irons. Mole-like he worked, fraternising secretly with the Baris, and undermining the faithfulness of the Government troops. The consequence was, the natives became increasingly active in annoying the camp, and discontent became general among the soldiers. "The Forty Thieves," however, maintained their discipline, and were marked by irresistible activity. Being unable to obtain necessary corn, an expedition into the Belinian country was arranged for the purpose of securing the native harvests. After severe fighting, the Baris were driven off. The Government men, however, made but little effort to gather the grain, they being tired of the expedition, and anxious to give it up, whilst the native women carried it off with great rapidity. Not only so, but they purposely burnt several granaries, full of corn, pretending the fire to be accidental. The Baris now entered upon negotiations. Their purpose, however, was treachery, which, being found out, hostilities were again renewed; but at length, by occupying the country with sharpshooters, Baker cleared them out of the neighbourhood.

Having given orders for the vessels to return to Khartoum, the river being full, a conspiracy was entered into by the officers of the Government troops. A petition was drawn up and signed by all, excepting those belonging to "the Forty Thieves." It was at once traced to the Colonel of the Egyptian troops, who was a friend of Abou Saood.

In the petition it was declared there was no corn, and the troops would perish. Disgusted, Sir Samuel said nothing, but ordered Raouf Bey, the Colonel, and six companies to get under arms. Immediately an expedition was started to that part of the Bari country which was to the south of Regiâf. When reached, it was found to be literally overflowing with grain. "The Forty" were in ecstasies. The officers who had signed the petition were delighted. Sir Samuel was relieved. He then told them that he knew the country, that not a man should return to Khartoum, and that they must avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them of gathering in the grain.

At this time, through the return of the boats, Sir Samuel's force became reduced to 502 men, exclusive of fifty-two sailors. Leaving a sufficient garrison at headquarters, he started southward, on the 22nd of January, 1872, on his journey of annexation, with 212 officers and men. Reaching another part of the Bari country, he found himself again confronted by a hostile people. Although the cattle were placed within a kraal, and sentries were posted, the expedition was nevertheless attacked that night. Immediately Sir Samuel set himself to clear the neighbourhood. Unable to obtain bearers, he resolved to march with all the stores to Loboré, sixty miles distant, the soldiers dragging the carts; but their mutinous opposition compelled him to change his plans. Accordingly, it was arranged for the Englishmen to return to Gondokoro, and there put one of the steamers together and open up communication with Khartoum, whilst Sir Samuel should push on to Loboré, with 100 men, in heavy marching order, if only he could secure a few natives to carry the necessaries for the road. At Loboré he hoped to be able to engage some hundred porters, who, under escort, should return and relieve the vessels and bring up sufficient ammunition and material for an advance south. On the 8th of February a new start was made, under the guidance of an old rain-maker, named Lokko, whose friendship had been secured. The country was found thickly populated, but no opposition was encountered, and in due time Loboré was reached, and the natives found to be very friendly. The supplies having been brought up, a further advance was made. After travelling through a beautiful country, the grand White Nile was struck above the last cataracts, and an encampment was made on a lovely plain, to which Sir Samuel

gave the name "Ibrahiméyah," after the father of the Khedive.

"This point is destined to become the capital of Central Africa.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The trade of Central Africa, when developed by the steamers on the Albert N'Yanza, will concentrate at this spot, whence it must be conveyed by camels for 120 miles to Gondokoro, until at some future time a railway may perhaps continue the line of steam communication.

"It is a curious fact that a short line of 120 miles of railway would open up the very heart of Africa to steam transport between the Mediterranean and the equator, when the line from Cairo to Khartoum shall be completed.

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"The native name for this part of the country is Afuddo."—  
Vol. II. pp. 75, 77.

There were no inhabitants, the villages having been destroyed by the slave-hunters. At length Fatiko, the principal station of Abou Saood, was reached. Confusion at once seized the camp, immense numbers of slaves were quickly driven out, and hurried away to the south, and everywhere there was the intensest excitement. The arrival of the Pacha, with his hardy force of 212 disciplined men, and a sufficient stock of cattle and merchandise to carry the expedition in any direction that might be desired, was a fatal blow to the hopes and intrigues of Abou Saood. Indeed, Sir Samuel found, soon after his arrival at Fatiko, that the villain had sent one of his vakeels, on the very morning of his arrival, to invade the Koshi country on the west side of the White Nile, close to its exit from the Albert N'Yanza. Thus was Sir Samuel in the very nest and hot-bed of the slavers. Recognised by the natives as an old friend, he received a hearty welcome, and when he explained the purpose of his visit, they assured him they would all rally round a good Government, for the country had been ruined by the traders' party.

Preparations were now made for a still further advance southward. A site was chosen for a station, and Major Abdullah was left in charge with 100 men. Carriers were obtained, and a start was made for Unyoro on the 18th of March. The grand Victoria Nile was soon reached, flowing beneath cliffs of seventy or eighty feet in height, through magnificent forests. But alas! alas! how changed the country since Sir Samuel's former visit.

"It was then a perfect garden, thickly populated, and producing all that man could desire. The villages were numerous; groves of plantains fringed the steep cliffs on the river's bank, and the natives were neatly dressed in the bark-cloth of the country.

"The scene has changed!

"All is wilderness! The population has fled. Not a village is to be seen!

"This is the certain result of the settlement of Khartoum traders. They kidnap the women and children for slaves, and plunder and destroy wherever they set their foot."—Vol. II. pp. 136, 137.

Kamrasi had died two years before, and the succession disputes had greatly helped forward the schemes of the traders. Having given notice at all the stations, that on the expiration of the Government contract with Abou Saood all his retainers would have to quit the country, many offered to enlist under Baker, and accordingly he began at once to form a corps of irregulars, but in a little time it was broken up.

About to continue his journey, he discovered treachery on the part of Abou Saood's agents, who joined with native chiefs to destroy the Government authority, and, in spite of positive prohibition, to enter upon an expedition against a neighbouring tribe. He at once sentenced Suleiman, the head vakeel, to receive 200 lashes, and Eddrees, the next in position, to receive 100. Having thus established his authority, he started for Masindi.

"This large town is situated on high undulating land, with an extensive view, bounded on the west by the range of mountains bordering the Albert N'Yanza, about fifty miles distant. The country is open, but covered with high grass. A succession of knolls, all more or less ornamented with park-like trees, characterise the landscape, which slopes gradually down to the west. . . The town is composed of some thousand large beehive-shaped straw huts, without any arrangement or plan."—Vol. II. pp. 180, 181.

The reports circulated concerning Sir Samuel Baker were of a remarkable description. Abou Saood had told Kabba Réga, the Unyoro king, that he was a very different person to the white man who had been so friendly with his father, Kamrasi, some years before.

"'You have been deceived,' said Abou Saood. 'The Pacha is not like the traveller or any other man. He is a monster, with

three separate heads, in each of which are six eyes—three upon each side. Thus, with eighteen eyes, he can see everything and every country at once. He has three enormous mouths, which are furnished with teeth like those of a crocodile, and he devours human flesh. He has already killed and eaten the Bari people, and destroyed their country. Should he arrive here, he will pull you from the throne and seize your kingdom.”—Vol. II. pp. 194, 195.

The country having been ravaged by civil war, there were no granaries, and the corn was buried in deep holes, specially arranged for the purpose. To get at these stores, the slavers practised the most frightful atrocities.

“When the slave-hunters sought for corn, they were in the habit of catching the villagers and roasting their posteriors by holding them down on the mouth of a large earthen water-jar, filled with glowing embers. If this torture of roasting alive did not extract the secret, they generally cut the sufferer’s throat, to terrify his companions, who would then divulge the position of the hidden stores, to avoid a similar fate.”—Vol. II. p. 199.

On the 14th of May, 1872, Unyoro was formally taken possession of in the name of the Khedive of Egypt, and in the presence of King Kabba Réga and a large number of his people.

About this time, envoys arrived from M’tésé, King of Uganda, with a letter of welcome written in Arabic. This M’tésé is well known, from the accounts given by Speke and Grant, who resided for some time at his court. Since that time he had embraced Mohammedanism, had established commerce in the country, and a general improvement had taken place.

Suspecting foul play, Sir Samuel built a circular stockade, and surrounded it by a ditch and earthen parapet. Nor was the precaution needless. Poisoned plaintain cider having been sent into the station, and those who drank it only being saved from death by a prompt application of remedies, which fortunately were at hand, Baker sought to find out who was responsible for the treachery. Walking up and down outside the station with Lady Baker, talking over the matter, they were suddenly placed in the utmost danger. The savage yells of some thousand voices broke upon their ears. These were succeeded by gunshots. A sergeant standing close by was shot to the heart. The Government men, however, at once fell into position and

poured a heavy fire into the masses of the enemy, which, however, was returned from behind the castor oil bushes and the densely thronged houses. The town was immediately fired by Baker's orders, and the conflagration covering both flanks, the troops dashed forward, drove the enemy out of the town, and in about an hour and a quarter the battle of Masindi was won; but four of the best of "the Forty Thieves" fell to rise no more. In spite of pretended repentance and submission, further attacks were made, and Sir Samuel found it necessary to destroy the whole neighbourhood.

It was now resolved to break up the camp and to march to Rionga, a chief living on the Victoria Nile, who was at enmity with Kabba Réga. In ten days Foweræ was reached, during which time there was incessant fighting, for the enemy followed up the whole line of retreat, persistently attacking the party from out the long grass, killing ten of it, and wounding eleven others. Sending up canoes for their use, they made for the large island where Rionga lived, who accorded them a hearty welcome, and would exchange blood with the Pacha, as a sign that they were made friends for ever. Sir Samuel proclaimed Rionga as the vakeel of the Government, who would rule Unyoro in the place of Kabba Réga, whom he formally deposed.

Hearing of further treachery on the part of Abou Saood, Sir Samuel at once started for Fatiko, where he was most gladly received by the little detachment under Abdullah, which he had left there. The slave-hunters, however, immediately fiercely attacked the camp, and at the first discharge of fire-arms struck seven of the Government troops. Calling together "the Forty Thieves," Baker led them at full speed with fixed bayonets. Before the charge the enemy fled, and, in the end, more than half of them were killed, amongst whom was the greatest villain in the district, Ali Hussein. Abou Saood escaped to Khartoum, from which place, after spreading every conceivable false report, he travelled to Cairo, expressly to complain to the Khedive's Government of the gross treatment which he said he had experienced at the hands of its representative in Central Africa. As Baker truly says:—

"The fact of this renowned slave-hunter having the audacity to appeal to the Egyptian authorities for assistance, at once exhibits the confidence that the slave-traders felt in the moral



support of certain official personages, who represented public opinion in their hatred to the principal object of the expedition."—Vol. II. pp. 411—12.

With great energy and great diplomacy the whole region was cleared of these traders, so that slave-hunting was made to cease south of Gondokoro. The following is the short entry in Sir Samuel's Journal for 31 Dec., 1872:—

"The close of the year finds us, thank God, at peace in this country, with every prospect of prosperity."—Vol. II. p. 460.

Reinforcements arriving, the various stations were strengthened, and everything being put in perfect order in the new central territory, Sir Samuel started for Gondokoro, which place he reached on the 1st April, 1873, the very day on which his term of service expired, according to his original agreement with the Khedive.

Throughout the whole of his undertaking Sir Samuel Baker displayed the utmost courage, fortitude, and resource. He undertook an exceedingly difficult work, and he completed it, in spite of the intensest opposition, which often threatened completely to overwhelm. His personal bravery, his ready tact, his unfailing endurance, were marvellous. Nevertheless, there are those who think it a pity that these qualities were not displayed in another cause. What right had he to penetrate, for purposes of annexation, lands which in no ways belonged to Egypt, and, in order to establish the authority of the Khedive, to be the means, indirectly at least, of the destruction of so many defenceless negroes? Such views may not be hastily set aside. Indeed, we must confess to considerable sympathy with them. Every plan of annexation is an infringement upon the rights of others. Sir Samuel considers the end justifies the means. That, however, is a Jesuitical doctrine from which we absolutely dissent. The Apostolic teaching is, we are not to do evil that good may come. But still, if any end could justify unlawful means employed to reach it, it would undoubtedly be the punishment of villains such as those Nubian merchants, whose gross robberies and fearful cruelties Sir Samuel so vividly brings before us; the suppression of the inhuman traffic in that living ebony which is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh; and the establishment of an orderly and protective government over populous tribes living in continual

anarchy, and exposed to incessant attacks. And in doing this, it is only fair to say, Sir Samuel never wantonly provoked, and did his utmost to avoid anything calculated to enrage. He was always ready for peace, and even under greatest provocation eagerly listened to every proposal which might lead to a cessation of hostilities.

No doubt Sir Samuel did a great work. That careful observer, Dr. Schweinfurth, bears testimony to the effect his mission had, both upon the subjects of Egypt and the negro tribes. All honour to him. But though the slave trade be put down on the White Nile, Egypt still leaves the chief sources of supply under her control untouched. The principal traffic, after all, is overland along the caravan roads which traverse the deserts some little distance to the west of the great river, and those which, passing through Abyssinia, find their outlet on the Red Sea. Even now a vast traffic is being carried on in Darfur, where all the criminals of the Soudan find a place of refuge, and every Khartoum outlaw has a retreat. In Kordofân also, the Egyptian Governor, only a short time back, allowed 2,700 slave-dealers to make their way to Dar-Ferteet, and himself became practically engaged in the trade. The Khedive, however, seems in earnest, and it must not be forgotten that he has to contend against the full strength of public opinion; for, as Sir Samuel emphatically wrote in 1866, and repeats in 1874—"Egypt is in favour of slavery." He is seeking to set right the fearful effects of the misgovernment of the Soudan, of which, it appears, he was quite ignorant, by dividing the country into provinces, and placing over each a responsible and independent official. Ismail Yagoob Pacha, the new governor of Khartoum, has set himself in right earnest to put down the whole system of bribery and corruption which was the ruin of the country, to remove the "sudd" or vegetable obstructions which completely blocked up the main Nile, and to suppress the slave traffic upon the river. Besides which, the Khedive has appointed an Englishman, Colonel Gordon, R.E., to carry on the work begun by Sir Samuel Baker.

The slave traffic, however, cannot cease until there come to be a change in the whole social life of Egypt. There every house of any pretensions is full of slaves. With attendants over whom he has absolute control, and who watch his every movement in order to carry out his bid-

ding, the Egyptian master grows up fearfully apathetic, and with all respect for his subordinates destroyed. Free paid labour needs to be introduced and self-help taught. Then, the demand being cut off, the supply will cease, and as a result legitimate trade will speedily develop. When slavery was abolished in the Southern States of America, the West African slave trade at once lost its main impulse, and the consequence was, as the returns of the British possessions testify, the extension of commerce. It is not, however, to commerce that we are to look for the uplifting of the poor degraded, hunted negro tribes, as Sir Samuel Baker would try to make out. Such a theory is in strange contradiction to the whole teaching of experience. Mere commerce has never yet achieved a single conquest over barbarism. It has helped forward a people raised by other means, and shown them how to develop their powers. But that is its utmost achievement. By Christianity alone can the moral regeneration of the world be accomplished. And by Christianity we do not mean the propagation of forms and superstitions, such as unfortunately are only too frequently taught by the adherents of the Roman Catholic Communion, to the failure of whose mission at Gondokoro Sir Samuel points, in order to substantiate his position; but we mean the simple preaching of faith in Jesus, and obedience to His law. The process may seem slow, but it is the only sure one. That it can uplift, even the most degraded and debased, its history shows. The inhabitants of the Fijis, which islands lately have occupied so much public attention, are an unmistakable illustration in point. Commerce can refer us to no such example. Religion is not the child of civilisation. Civilisation is the child of religion. Nor can there be any hope for Africa, until, throughout the entire continent, the Gospel of Jesus shall be diffused.

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**ART. IV.—*The Church and the Empires : Historical Periods.***

By HENRY WILLIAM WILBERFORCE ; Preceded by a Memoir of the Author by J. H. NEWMAN, D.D., of the Oratory, with a Portrait. King and Co. 1874.

THE Bishop of Peterborough was right, from his point of view, when he propounded the famous dilemma about England drunk and free, or sober and enslaved ; so, too, were the Oblate Fathers who the other day at Palles, in County Limerick, made two "factions" shake hands before the altar and swear, each man holding a taper, against all kinds of drink entirely. We should not object to two tapers if the oath would thereby be made more binding. What justifies the Bishop is, that those whom the Oblates have made teetotalers to order, would deny the worth of any other kind of teetotalism, nay, hold all outside their pale as such hopeless "miscreants," that it is really no matter whether they drink themselves into the grave or not. This exclusiveness, which is of the essence of Romanism, and which we fear is also an inseparable accident of some kinds of Protestantism, is something that disestablishment will not get rid of ; nay, that it may rather strengthen. It has certainly of late years come into very unpleasant prominence. People even boast of their intolerance, and accuse of lukewarmness and Erastianism any who venture to think that the final peril of those who differ from them is not quite certain. If you happened some five and twenty years ago to make a visit to Stonyhurst during the vacation, the wild beauty of the Hodder Valley would have delighted you ; so would the excellent moor-mutton, and the genial hospitality of the brothers, and yet more, their free conversation on all sorts of topics. Walking in the gallery, and looking at the little Vandyck—Christ on the Cross—by which the college sets such store, you would naturally fall to talking about Christianity as it was and as it is. "You of the Roman obedience, unless you are sadly misrepresented, condemn to endless woe all who refuse to enter the one true fold." "But we are so sadly misrepresented," would have replied that gentlest and most persuasive of voices—the voice of

the guest-master, while his eyes turned appealingly from you to the face on which the great painter has stamped the sublimest expression of human woe. And then you would be initiated into all the subtleties of vincible and invincible ignorance, until it actually seemed as if Romanism was latitudinarian to a fault, and as if the poor Irish,—with whom perhaps you had been accustomed to discuss, and who always wound up by politely assuring you that it was little use saving money or keeping themselves clean now, inasmuch as all these things were but for a day, while they were safe for eternity, and you, and all who thought as you did, must unhappily, but inevitably, fall into destruction,—were as ignorant of their Church's real teaching as they were bigoted in their own opinions. At Stonyhurst, some quarter of a century ago, Romanism would have seemed the most tolerant, not to say expansive, of creeds. So it would a little later, had you talked things over with one of those ermine-coped canons at Tournay who looked so imposing at matins. But now, Dr. Newman says, that "What must I do to be saved? is the grand question with all serious minds, and to this there is but one answer: Get into the Ark of Salvation, the Oracle of Truth, the Fold of Christ, of which the Anglican communion is no part." This argument led Henry Wilberforce to cut short a useful life at East Farleigh, and to put himself into the anomalous position of a lay cleric, who, "with so many heartstrings broken," as he says in a touching letter to Archbishop Bird Sumner, was glad to accept the secretaryship of the Dublin Catholic Defence Association, and the editorship of the *Weekly Register*, and other inferior and precarious work, in order to escape what his biographer calls "dull listless inactivity."

It is but one instance more of the sad results which must follow from the necessary narrowness of an infallible Church; it is intolerance pushed to its logical conclusions. Protestants are often intolerant enough, but they seldom, at any rate, categorically condemn all outsiders in the summary way in which Rome must condemn them. She, if those Stonyhurst priests were fair exponents of her earlier views, has in twenty-five years gone back at least five centuries. For her "the world" is now what Nero's Rome was to the early Christians, what "the wicked" were to Orcagna, when he drew those awful jaws (as of one whose whole body would be far too

terrible to look upon) down which are hurried popes and monks as well as worldlings of all kinds. But the early Christians had some reason for threatening with punishment hereafter those whose cruelty they were powerless to resist on earth. Their doing so was, in some sort, a wriggle of the crushed worm. Orcagna, too, and Dante, and the men of their day, were at least impartial; "miscreants" would burn no doubt, but so would evil livers, and in an age when nearly all in Christendom were of one creed, their concern was rather with morals than with doctrine. So, again, those Hindoos who see all created being streaming into the burning throat of Siva the destroyer, are not only impartial but really gentle compared with some Romanists. With them the fiery death is but the prelude to a new life; Siva, after all, is but another form of Vishnu. But the Romanist creed is systematised, unmitigated severity, as logical in its way as so-called Calvinism, and at least as incomprehensible. To many minds even the most iron-bound Calvinism has its strong points; and they have argued that if we often bow with absolute submission in regard to this world, why not in regard to the after world. If the Potter has made vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, those vessels can at any rate acquiesce in their lot; for that lot is fixed by something adequate to such a result. But if men's faith is bound up in their coming under Catholic influence; if their eternal doom absolutely depends on their being baptized, and absolved, and fed by priestly hands, they surely have a right to complain. The hyper-Calvinist's God is stern in His attributes, the hyper-Romanist's is capricious as well as stern; in neither case do we behold the administrator of a Gospel of grace offered to man on conditions adapted to the misery and the needs of human nature as it is. What a creed is that of Rome! and yet we talk of Dr. J. H. Newman's logical mind and wonderfully subtle powers; not seeing that the possession of such powers by one so warped may easily become a snare; not realising that extremes meet here as always, and that the intolerance of the Oratory is but another form, an exaggeration, of that other intolerance in which the *Apologia* tells us he was reared.

What wonder that Guizot could find no satisfactory answer to the question: Can we accord full toleration to Romanism? is it possible to deal with it on the "live and

let live" principle? The question is one of the hardest that comes before the modern statesman; and in the growing development of religious thought it is becoming a burning question. It has caused the Falk laws; it has just led Mr. Gladstone to put forth his pamphlet. The *non possumus* of Rome is as impracticable in its way as the tenets of "the peculiar people," and it has, and must long have, millions at its back. Wild theorists are fond of talking of "the religion of the future;" what can be the use of speculating on such a matter when the fact of Romanism is there, and when that strange faith enthrals not only Irish hop-pickers, but men like Henry Wilberforce and his biographer? In fact, just now, the prospect for those who care for the world's true spiritual progress, as well as for their own individual "salvation," is not over cheering. With America what it is, the land where justice is bought and sold, and where thousands are the deluded votaries of "Spiritualism;" with Germany split into two camps; with France no longer "the home of ideas," but a land of stunted growths and miserable makeshifts, where rich and poor are alike content *incedere per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*, each party waiting till some slight upheaval seems to give it a chance of thrusting the other down into the gulf; with England caring as much about the wretchedest political trifle as about National Education, higher or lower; the most sanguine Christian is fain at times to wait as patiently as he can for the dawn of the Second Advent, even if he is not tempted to cry with Mr. Carlyle—"It is the night of the world." It puzzles him that the English lower middle class should be so blind as to let much of the higher education of the country pass unchallenged into the hands of the rich—eleemosynary foundations becoming more and more, through so-called "liberal" reforms, the prize of the longest purse. It puzzles him, when he takes a wider view, that the world at large should not see how much wiser it is to try to mend people now than lazily to condemn them to destruction hereafter, that it should not awaken to that divorce between faith and action, so general through a great part of Christian society, which makes books like *Modern Christianity a Practical Heathenism* something more than a bitter satire, and should not see that (as it is carried out by the mass of nominal Christians) the sublime creed of the Gospel has almost ceased to be a creed "whereby a man can live." But the English artisan

is too content with beer and wages, and the English middle classes with their comforts, and the world, as a whole, steadily declines to recognise the hollowness of its belief.

A book like this is like an intellectual "revival;" it brings us to our bearings, and forces us to feel how very little way man has yet made in realising the spirit of Christianity. It is melancholy reading from every point of view. Sad that such a man should have changed his creed at the cost of "trials to which time brought no relief;" sad, too, that minds far above the common should hold that the whole course of the earth was specially ordered by Providence—the empire of the Antonines broken up, and succeeded by so many periods of which humanity is ashamed, by such a chaos, for instance, as that of Merovingian France—in order that a personally amiable Pontiff (who, by the way, was markedly attentive to Mr. H. W. Wilberforce, when the latter was at Rome) might go wrong upon the subject of his own infallibility, and might thus strengthen the hands of all the enemies of freedom and progress throughout the world.

It would be sad indeed for us could we not be certain that God rules all things, guiding them to a good end; life would be little worth had we not faith that (as the Laureate sings), "through the ages an increasing purpose runs;" but it were the saddest thing of all to be driven to believe that that purpose is the one indicated by our author. How he came to be satisfied with such a very poor ideal is detailed in that Memoir which is far the most interesting part of the book.

Mr. Henry Wilberforce, youngest son of William Wilberforce, was, like the rest of his class, a hearty Englishman of Canon Kingsley's "hard" race, with just that tendency to look to the main chance which marks the class. With him its direction in worldly things was wholly benevolent and unselfish. His parsonage, while he was a clergyman of the Establishment, was the home at once of simple frugality and mediæval almsgiving. His more than simple dress, and the general self-neglect of which his biographer speaks, bespoke self-sacrifice carried to extremes. Yet he had his full share of shrewdness, as he showed at Walmer, where, by looking over the parish-books, he recovered for the Church the old glebe together with a house which had been built on it. It was in spiritual matters alone that his



"hardness" showed itself uncomfortably. It would be wrong to say that he became selfish in spiritual things; anyhow, when the outbreak of cholera among a gang of Irish hop-pickers in his village had brought him into contact with the Fathers of the London Oratory, he began to feel that salvation could alone be obtained in "the Church universally called Catholic. This was the Fold of Christ, the Ark of Salvation, the Oracle of Truth, and the Anglican Communion formed no part of it."

That is, substantially, all that we are told; so that, though (as we said) the *Memoir* is deeply interesting, it is at the same time most unsatisfactory. It does not in the least help us to solve that perplexing mystery, one of the deep things of providence, how it comes to pass that great intellectual power, combined with great moral earnestness are not enough to preserve their possessor from falling under "strong delusion, that he should believe a lie." It is a painful subject, in regard to which we can do little more than accept the fact, as we are obliged to accept many other unpleasant facts. How sad it is those only know who have lost a friend in this way; who have watched the gradual fascination which seemed to harden the heart while it unnerved the reason; who have lamented, how bitterly they alone know, the growing estrangement which sundered hearts hitherto beating as one on almost all the questions on which men act in concert; hearts that were content to leave some things, insoluble by man, to Him to Whom, as Master each one standeth or falleth. This is what other Christians are content to do; they can work together, because they are content to differ in things non-essential, and in things which can never be finally and absolutely settled by man. But Rome is not satisfied with this; logically she exacts complete obedience, an obedience running into the minutest details of life and conduct. And this minute logical obedience is just what her new converts are of all men the most anxious to give. A hereditary Romanist can afford to smile at a good deal, to leave much in abeyance, to be as illogical, as practically and happily inconsistent, as Englishmen usually are; the recent letters of Lord Acton, and Lord Camoys, and the O'Donoghue, and others, show us that he can go a great deal further than this. But the pervert feels bound to prove his belief by the most scrupulous attention to every small precept. Perhaps he hopes that the sense of disappointment, which

he must often feel when he has made the fatal step, may be removed if he carries out to the full that surrender of reason and affections which he is called on to make. Anyhow, he sets his face like a flint, and to all your fond reminders of the good you and he did and planned together in time past, he answers, "Ah, but I see things differently now." It is the same everywhere. In America, Protestants of all denominations—Methodist, Quaker, Presbyterian, Episcopalian—work together on the committees of ragged schools and refuges; to save children and young people from present misery and certain ruin is supposed to be an undoubtedly good work, a work the crying need of which silences any whisper about small differences of creed or of Church government. Romanists alone stubbornly stand aloof—stubbornly prefer leaving their nominal little ones on the streets rather than allow them to run the risk of contamination from the occasional presence of heretic teachers.

But we need not go over to America for instances of such practical intolerance. In effect every Romanist says:—"There is a residuum which we cannot, or will not look after; but we take good care (and the modern notions of toleration enable us to do so) that you, at any rate, shall not be allowed to stir a finger in assisting us." You may test the thing for yourself. You see, in London or Liverpool, a bright little girl, daughter of some poor Irish family living in a back court. "What a pity," you think, "not to have her trained as a servant;" and, as your good wishes try, if possible, to work themselves out practically, you at once propose to send her to a training establishment. The mother is delighted; her mother's instinct sees what is best for the child, and she is full of blessings on the heart that had such kind thought for a stranger. But the father, who during the colloquy has come in from work, looks suspicious; perhaps he has some little office at his chapel; anyhow, he and the priest understand each other, so he respectfully submits that he must consult his reverence before making up his mind. His reverence says "No!" but you will not take "No" for an answer; you call at the sacristy and plead, in the vain hope that Rome may relent. As well expect that the railway train would swerve out of its course to spare the head of the poor cripple who has fallen across the line. His reverence listens graciously—nay, with the most perfect courtesy;

somehow it seems to you all the harder that he is an Englishman. You explain:—it is not a proselytising place to which you would send the child. The head of it, indeed, is the sister of a colonial bishop; but children of all sects are admitted, and arrangements might be made whereby a young Romanist would be allowed to go occasionally to mass under certain regulations. "That's just it," he replies. "I used to think as you do; but God has opened my eyes, and now I see that these mixed schools are the ruin of souls. . . No, I've given much thought to the matter; and I regret to say that I can't advise her parents to take a step which would imperil the girl's eternal welfare. It is very kind of you." You stop him short; the mention of your kindness seems so horribly out of place. You are sorely tempted to say, "Very well. I, as district visitor, know Gin Court better than you do. If the girl stays there she'll be ruined, and her blood will be on your head." But you put constraint on yourself, and reply: "Well, if it must be so, at least do you commend her to some sisterhood of your own. A girl like that, gentle and engaging, is in sad danger in such a neighbourhood." Of course, he will do what he can; but nothing is done; and six months more, amid such surroundings, do their inevitable work. The girl who came over so pure and hopeful is a moral and physical wreck. Some ruffian in the same miserable tenement has ruined her; before long, she is in the county gaol for theft; and next time you see her, selling oranges at a street corner, you can scarcely believe it is the same being. But the priest and the father have this satisfaction—she is still sound in the faith; she presses into chapel with the rest of the worshippers, and is, at least, attentive enough to her "duties" to keep herself within the pale of salvation. Indeed, who knows but that, like the East Farleigh hop-pickers, she may be instrumental in bringing another Wilberforce into the one true fold. This, unhappily, a case taken from life, is also a typical case. It shows us the working of Romanism, and explains a great deal of the so-called want of charity with which Protestants are sometimes charged towards their "elder sister." How is it possible to "get on" where there is not, and on "infallible" principles cannot be, the least trace of reciprocity? Kindly feeling can scarcely thrive if it is all on one side. The matter is one for legislation. The community must not suffer because one section of it is so narrow as to object to all

training which is not wholly managed by its own accredited teachers. The corollary of compulsory education is the power to insist on sending Romanist boys and girls to such training places as may be suitable for them, whether or not such places are exclusively Romanist. If this is not done, we shall always have a "residuum," a dangerous class; and from the circumstances of immigration, overcrowding, and poverty, not to speak of the sad want in the religious education which they get, far more than the due percentage of this class will continue to be Romanist. We have no wish to put out of sight the good side of Romanist training; kindness, and patience, and gentle courtesy must tell, even when sadly mingled with error. But we do say that such training, at its best, fails to give backbone to the character; and that the Irish immigrant, cut adrift from the strong local sanctions, which at home held him or her to virtue, drifts into evil from which the same nature, otherwise moulded, would probably have escaped. England never can be as Prussia is; but still the police courts of Liverpool, and Glasgow, and London, prove a state of things which would not be suffered to go on except among a people who have pushed non-interference to the limits of absurdity.

As we said, Dr. Newman does not vouchsafe any explanation of the mental process by which Mr. H. W. Wilberforce was drawn to Rome. It would almost seem as if he thought that every earnest man who does not forcibly hold back must be guided in the same direction. To give reasons, to argue publicly, are not now the tactics of Rome. For her the age of controversy is past; she stands apart, and prefers pointing to one and another of the "great minds" who have "found rest" in her communion, while her gesture implies something almost like a taunt: "they came and inquired, and did not go back; and what satisfied them is not likely to disappoint you." Nor can we pretend to enter fully into the various reasons which lead to perversions. There are those who have almost certainly been influenced by love of power;—they were unappreciated, as they thought, in their own communion. There are some who have given way through sheer weakness of mind and inability to withstand the pressure put upon them by shrewd and able tacticians, eager to secure desirable converts. Others, again, are led over by an undue fondness for the externals of worship, a

fondness for which the bare unsightly buildings and the cold meagreness in all accompaniments which have too often gone along with Protestant truth have certainly not made allowance enough. It is well that at last all Protestant communions have awaked to the truth that man engaged in worship is still man, and that as such he needs provision for other faculties besides the intellectual and the inwardly emotional. When the New York Romanist priest was asked to account for the great increase in the number of his congregation—"it is the blessing of God on good music," he replied; and, happily, we have also come to see that good music, good architecture, good externals, in fact, are not to be despised; nay, that under due subjection to all important conditions, they may be most valuable. Certain it is that the proverbial dulness of a good deal of the old unimproved Establishment worship, which, while wholly lacking the emotional element, lacked also that appeal to the senses which is made in the gorgeous ritual of Rome, accounts for some at least of the perversions. Then there is the longing for rest, which is for one class of minds a veritable soul's hunger. To them the insoluble questions, "the riddle of this painful earth," present themselves, not now and then but always, with the same distracting power with which they come at times to most of those who think at all. But on them such questions force themselves for answer. Their peculiar mental constitution prevents them from putting aside what man can never hope to unravel. Instead of saying, as most of us do, "I cannot understand, but I can trust God for it, even as I can for the origin of evil and for all such like mysteries," their cry is for certainty: "Give us certainty, or we die." And this Rome, after her own fashion, gives, whatever else she takes away.

There is another form of certainty—the certainty that Lucretius had, that whatever the Divine may be (if, indeed, there be any Divine), it has nothing whatsoever to do with human thought, is wholly cut off from human sympathy; *nec bene promeritis capitur nec tangitur ira*. And for some minds that is the most captivating form which certainty can assume; they seem to revel in the idea that we are here alone and helpless, and that nothing is so sure as the "fact" of our being thus helpless. But not all minds that crave for certainty are of this strange calibre. The *Apologia pro Vita Sua* shows the working of this strong

desire in one, in whose brother we see the same desire working in a very different direction.

Connected, too, with this craving for another certainty than that which God has provided in the answer of a good conscience unto Him, in the assurance which lays hold of that which is within the veil, and grasps it more firmly than any one can grasp mere dogma or bare intellectual reasoning, is the way in which some are moved by the current views of Biblical criticism. They have built on the letter of the book, apart from that Spirit which beareth witness to our spirits so that we who believe have the witness within us; and when their baseless faith is undermined they have no support within themselves, and, in their dread of what is coming, fall back on the authority of "the Church." Hence (though this is not the place to enlarge on it) the value of spiritual religion; he who has a true and practical faith in Christ will not be moved because a text here and a text there are cavilled at with more or less reason; he knows in whom he has believed, and he comes to the Bible, partly, indeed, for intellectual certainty, but for the satisfaction of something in addition to that, and of very much greater importance. And such a man is safe from any fear of perversion to Romanism. But perhaps the largest class of perverts are those who begin with exaggerated notions of Apostolical Succession, and such ideas as are fostered by some ways of interpreting the baptismal service of the Established Church. In all this there are pretensions which may easily be made to seem to need infallibility: and when the urgency of such pretensions is skilfully presented to minds which have never been accustomed to reason on the subject, no wonder it should sometimes become overpowering. They have accepted certain doctrines without question, and in a certain sense; and, when they are brought to face the matter, they find that such doctrines, so accepted, must carry them further than they fancied. Anglicanism, of course, claims to offer a way out of the dilemma; but most people think that it only does so at the cost of consistency. However, it is futile to draw out a list of causes for what is in almost every single case the result, not of one, but of a complicity of causes. There is the deplorable fact, and there is no use in discussing it.

All we can do is to trust that greater light as to the political tendency of Romanism will make men more chary

of admitting its spiritual pretensions; and it is in this way that such manifestoes as Mr. Gladstone's are valuable. They tell us, not what rival theologians assert, but what broad-minded statesmen—men eminently of "Catholic principles"—have been unwillingly obliged to admit.

So much for the thoughts suggested by Dr. Newman's Memoir of the youngest of the Wilberforce family—not the only one of them (we believe) who sought peace "in the one fold." A very different man he must have been from his brother the Anglican bishop, and, in some things, we should fancy, a more sterling and lovable man. Some might plausibly argue that the eagerness with which he threw up work, friends, all, is but another form of that spirit which seeks in some form of self-satisfaction the mainspring of all its many-sided activity. But to this we should not consent.

Now for a very brief glance at the essays (chiefly from the *Dublin Review*) which make up the volume. The object seems to be to show that every empire which has opposed itself to the Roman Church has been broken in pieces in the conflict. For this purpose Mr. Wilberforce analyses, with much laudation, Mr. T. W. Allies' book on "The Formation of Christendom"—based, strangely enough, in great part on the *Christenthum und die Kirche* of that Dr. Döllinger who has since got on such a different groove from that on which his translator and adapter ran. The Count of Champigny's books on the Church and the Roman Empire are then reviewed in two essays; and thus the victory of Christianity over imperial Rome is set forth according to Romish ideas.

That is one triumph; the next is in quite an unexpected quarter. It is not the crushing out of Hussism, or the Cadmean victory of the thirty-years' war, with all its bloody episodes, but the *fiasco* of Gallicanism, which Dr. Newman chooses as the next triumph. Never was "No surrender" more emphatically pronounced, than in making such a choice. We have, in our ignorance, been accustomed to look on Gallicanism as the redeeming feature in the French Romanist Church, to hail it as an effort after freedom, an evidence of hearty determination to withstand at least one form of spiritual thralldom. Nay, we have sometimes regretted that the overtures between the French and English Churches should have led to nothing. Good might have come to France, we fancied, from the resulting enlightenment—good which might possibly have given the

Revolution an altogether milder form; while in England the infusion of a little Gallic fervour and piety—of the spirit of St. Francis de Sales and Madame Guyon—might have anticipated by many years that revival which in God's Providence was destined to await the coming of John Wesley.

M. Gérin and his reviewer, Mr. Wilberforce, on the contrary, hold Gallicanism to have been merely an expression of the imperious will of Louis XIV.—an attempt to add *l'église c'est moi* to that other dictum, *l'état c'est moi*, of which his whole system of government proved the truth. This is such an audacious way of reading history, that the *ignoratio elenchi*, which in the earlier essays assumes that the Papal Church and the Church of God are convertible terms, that the one covers just the same ground as the other, seems quite matter of course for one who can so write of the Gallicanism of 1682. M. Gérin's book, published towards the close of the Second Empire, was not without an object. Napoleon III. was to be taught that it is in vain, even for princes, so favourably circumstanced as the Grand Monarque, to enter the lists against the successor of St. Peter. Whether or not this teaching had its effect in hurrying on the war of 1870 we cannot tell; those who are best informed believe that not dynastic considerations alone, but pressure from the Ultramontane party, led the Emperor into that disastrous struggle.

The remaining essays are devoted to Count d'Haussonville's *Napoléon 1<sup>er</sup> et la Sainte Siège*, which first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Nothing can be keener than the Count's satire, nothing more damaging than his statement of facts. The Napoleon family must have writhed under the exposure of details which its founder had always carefully suppressed. The book must have materially helped Lanfrey and his fellows in destroying the Napoleonic legend. A dispassionate spectator, a native of another planet for instance, would say that the Pope was very trying, and that the Emperor was very mean and tricky. The struggle between them would be amusing but for the issues involved in it. We can fancy a larger-minded Pontiff taking up a better position, and winning his way without losing his dignity. How that dignity was served by a good deal of Pope Pius's conduct—by his breaking, for instance, the *annulus piscatoris* before surrendering it to the Emperor, we fail to perceive. The only



person who comes well out of the business is the upright-minded Abbé Emery. As we said, the issues involved were most important; and the conduct at that crisis of all whom the Pope could influence is in itself a justification of Mr. Gladstone's remarks about divided allegiance; it is an abuse of words to say that the Pontiff, with whom Napoleon I. had to deal, stood only on his spiritual rights.

Of Mr. Wilberforce's own part in these essays, we need not say much; they were "reviews," and it is best for a reviewer to put himself out of sight, to be content to tell us succinctly what his author says, unless he has something very well worth hearing of his own. With Macaulay, indeed, and Carlyle, the title of a book is sometimes but a peg, on which hangs a masterly piece of historical philosophy, a brilliant invective, or a soul-stirring picture of social wrongs. But Mr. Wilberforce is not a Macaulay nor a Carlyle; and he is mostly content to give us a summary rather than a criticism. He takes care as he goes on to show us that he is at one with his authors; and he shows, too (as when he quotes the *Saturday Review*, to the effect that the Count of Champigny is a learned and picturesque writer, though credulous and over judicial), that he is by no means insensible to the opinion of the men of this world.

With very much in the essays about heathen Rome and early Christianity we thoroughly agree; just as we are free to confess the great benefits which were conferred on mankind by the Papal Church of the earlier Middle Ages, in His Providence who works His wise purposes through and by means of His own agents. It is quite true, for instance, "that no man can understand the first three centuries whose eyes are not opened by the gift of faith." No one can imagine a more marvellous change than that the society of whose views Cæsar (in the unbeliever's plea which Sallust makes him put forth for lenity to Catiline's associates) was the exponent should, within three centuries of that time, have become so thoroughly saturated with Christianity, that the "establishment" of the new religion was a political necessity. Truly, it may be said, that Christianity proves itself by its existence. That, being what it is, it made its way as it did, must certify its origin to every candid mind. The author of *Supernatural Religion* may quibble as to whether Justin Martyr used our Gospels or others like them, because he

often quotes the sense and not the actual words; he may speak slightly of miracles, because "the Jewish mind looked on miracles as a regular accompaniment of daily life." But the fact is there; Justin died for his faith despite the verbal inaccuracy of his quotations, and the faith of Christ soon sent its roots deep down into the heart of humanity, while all the Jewish miracle-mongers, with their strange creeds and their cunning fables, their Cabala, their Gnostic dreams, withered away and left no trace. Christianity began so humbly, and under such disadvantages (humanly speaking), that "it would have seemed" (in the eloquent words of Dr. Farrar, *Witness of History to Christ*) "the very fanaticism of credulity to prophesy for it such a future as it attained to." What Mr. Wilberforce's authors (especially Count Champigny) aim at is showing how Christianity grew during the first ages of the Church. And this, since we have little or no notice of it in the heathen writers, resolves itself into an endeavour to depict the state of society in the then Roman world, combined with a summary of what the Christian writers have said on the subject. It is only in very modern times that *the people* and their ways have begun to be interesting to the historian; and, accordingly, there is some truth in Mr. Wilberforce's remark, that "the Acts of the Apostles tells us more than any heathen writer of the social working of Roman society." He seems to forget the satirists; for, though we may put Juvenal aside as the Veuillot of his day—the man whose imagination ran riot in evil—and though Martial is the poet of a class, we cannot read Horace without learning a great deal about the ways of Romans of all ranks. Still, no one would go to Livy for a picture of manners; his "picturesqueness" never leads him to forget "the dignity of history." Suetonius, that Greville of the first emperors, never even mentions Christianity; we cannot expect him to do so any more than we expect Horace Walpole to estimate the value of Methodism as a spiritual force, or to draw an elaborate comparison between Wesley and Whitefield. Except the very brief notice in Tacitus, the few lines in Juvenal, and the well-known letter of the younger Pliny, "the classics" give us no help at all. *Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo* may well be applied to the growth of that tree which sprang from the grain of mustard-seed. Hallam notices the common failing of historians, who

make so much of an obscure royal marriage, and are wholly silent about matters of the greatest importance, e.g. about the introduction of standing armies; and certainly Christianity came in silently as far as the Roman historians are concerned. There was nothing grand to tell: "*Non eloquimur magna sed vivimus*," was truly said by an apologist (Minucius Felix) of what began to be contemptuously called a *tertium genus* (a set of nondescripts), when it could no longer be confounded with the Jewish sects.

Of other writers on the subject Mr. Wilberforce much prefers Gibbon to Merivale. Gibbon's book (he says) may almost be called ecclesiastical; it never ignores Christianity, "for the writer's hatred made him *feel* Christianity as some people feel a cat in the room." Merivale he accuses of keeping Christianity out of sight—of "reserving his religion for Sundays." Of Dr. Farrar's book he takes no notice, though there are passages in it as eloquent as any which he quotes from Champigny. The Count labours to set forth the wonderful completeness of Roman civilisation, and the harmonious dovetailing together of all the parts of which it was composed, and then to show how it all fell as by the touch of enchantment. His pictures of how the Romans lived are no doubt too highly coloured, but they have not the lubricity which mars a good deal of Renan's last work (St. Paul—e.g. the Dirce passages and others referring to Nero's persecution). For him, of course, Antichrist (who for Renan is Nero) is imperial Rome; and we are to suppose that Rome fell to secure the independence of the Papacy—to pave the way for the establishment of the temporal power. The fearful persecutions carried on by some, and the persistent hostility shown by all the emperors up to Constantine, are indeed brought in to account for the visitation which befell the imperial city; but as that visitation came long after the empire had become Christian, these can only be meant as additional reasons; for those who read history through Mr. Wilberforce's glass, the reason which we have assigned above must seem quite adequate to overthrow the world's empire. It certainly was a complete overthrow. "For many weeks," says Mr. Wilberforce, "the very ruins of Rome were deserted. He who now visits her, instead of singing with the godless poet: alas, the lofty city! and alas, the trebly hundred triumphs! should rather recall those words in the Apocalypse: Rejoice over her, O heaven,

for in Rome, when she fell, the crimes as well as the civilisation of a thousand years were accumulated." But then for nearly 600 of these thousand years Christianity had been at work in Rome, and for nearly half that time it had been the established religion under those Popes from whom Pius IX. traces his descent. It seems rather hard, therefore, to say that "the empire was removed not to give place to desolation, but to the throne on which Christ should visibly sit in the person of His Vicar." The Vicar was there before; all that removal of the empire did for him was to lead to his establishment as a temporal prince.

The fact is that considerable exaggeration prevails both as to the morals of imperial Rome and as to the effects of Christianity in breaking up the empire. On the first point it is certain that the debauchery of the capital produced no more effect on the empire at large than the orgies of the Second Empire did on the peasants of Brittany or Lorraine; nor must we trust the picture drawn by Juvenal and Apuleius any more than we should accept Paul Féval as a correct delineator of French society. As to the second point, Christianity was one of many solvents; some few Christians were at times not unfairly accused of bad citizenship; moreover, by smoothing away the differences between Roman and barbarian, they made the final conquest easier; it seemed far less terrible that Rome should succumb to a Christian Goth than to a heathen Hun, and this feeling no doubt blunted the edge of resistance. But Rome fell, not only because the empire was opposed to Christianity, but also because it was the most wasteful system of government that ever existed. It is useless to boast (as Mr. Allies does) of the smallness of the Roman armies, while her centralisation sucked the life out of all her provinces, and gradually reduced them to the state to which the almost total destruction of the small farmers had reduced Italy. *Latifundia*, resulting from the *vastitatem Italiae* brought about by the Punic and other wars, ruined the empire; and when it fell, Christianity was there, by God's providence, to give life to what succeeded it. Thoughtful men felt what was coming, though they did not see how to apply a remedy, and the feeling accounts for the gloomy view which every writer, from Cicero to Tacitus, takes of the world's progress. The Roman world was neither so morally bad nor so politically as Mr. Wilberforce and his friends would have us believe. They are brilliant advo-

cates, and what we want is calm statements of facts. It is a fact that when Gaul was left to itself, A.D. 68, the chiefs of the nation met at Trèves, and agreed to remain under the Roman rule; but this does not prove the perfection of that rule, it rather proves the faith of the Gauls in the vitality of that empire which had several times taught them that it had a long arm and a heavy hand. M. de Champigny's contrast between Cicero and St. Augustine (he chooses them because each has told us so much of his own character) is clear, but it is certainly unfair.

Of course there is a good deal which we eschew as matter of course: "The Protestant falling away, whereby the supernatural is displaced, is just now restoring the characteristics of heathenism," is a passage of this kind. So is the following: "The salt by which Christianity acts on the world is martyrdom and holy virginity, which last (says Chrysostom) the Jews hate, but the Greeks marvel at." There are, too, occasional specimens of what we may call Roman reasoning; e.g. Cardinal Wiseman had been speaking of the Virgin Mary's robe at Chartres and of St. Ursula and her 1,100 virgins, and some reviewer, naturally enough, understands him to undertake to prove that the robe is really her robe, and that the virgins had a substantial existence, and have left their bones in Cologne for the edification of the faithful. "No such thing," says Mr. Wilberforce; "his Eminence never meant to prove this as one would prove a prisoner guilty of murder. He only undertook to show that the common objections against the relics are of no force. He and the reviewer are like knights who looked at opposite sides of the gold and silver shields in the way in which they approach the traditions of a thousand years."

But, on the whole, there is far less of this kind of writing than we might expect. There are even concessions—as where we are told (p. 40) that "in France and elsewhere certain degraded castes, despite the absorbing power of the Church, left proscribed remnants till the time of the Revolution;" we fear the poor *cagots* were indeed proscribed, though, if they were the descendants of Albigeois, we certainly demur to their having been originally inferior to those who degraded them. There are many shrewd observations. It is quite true, for instance, that there is far less liberty of locomotion and of many other kinds of action to a modern European, trammelled

with passports, &c., than to a citizen of the Roman Empire. It is also true that the Roman system was based on slavery, and that one great glory of Christianity is that its spirit is everywhere the death of slavery. We cannot, however, convert the proposition and assert (as Mr. Wilberforce does) that no land is free from slavery which has never been Christian, for we cannot believe that the spread of Nestorianism into China, and the fact that the insignificant sect of St. Thomas's Christians was discovered in India, had anything to do with the non-existence of slavery in those countries.

Another shrewd remark is, that Christianity is in one sense anti-national; it tends to draw nations together, while patriotism often sunderes them. Our national idol, we are told, is the will of the nation (as that of our neighbours is the glory of France); and it is the stubbornness of this national will which has so long kept us as a nation out of "the one fold."

Now and then, by the way, our author is haunted by a suspicion that things in the Middle Ages were not altogether so well as they ought to have been under the almost undisputed sway of the one true Church. For instance, he thus explains the backwardness of Christian countries in the arts of peace:—"We must consider that their public men had almost every year to head armies and engage in wars, while those in heathen lands were sometimes free from this necessity. What (he adds) could be expected from our legislators now-a-days if Mr. Gladstone and Sir Roundell Palmer had to take the field almost yearly, as mediæval statesmen had?" What a confession! We "modern heathens" have at least got rid of this necessity.

But we have said enough about a book which is chiefly remarkable because Mr. Wilberforce wrote it. His brother, the bishop, was certainly rather a man of action than of literary power. What capacity for action our author might have had his perversion prevented him from displaying. His death last year was little noticed, for he had passed out of sight more completely than might have been expected. We could wish that Dr. Newman had told, or had allowed him to tell, something about the mental process which led him over to Rome. As it is, we can only say again, that the perversion of such men is a mystery.

- ART. V.—1. *Iliad of Homer in English Blank Verse.* By EDWARD EARL OF DERBY. London: Revised Edition. Murray. 1865.
2. *The Iliad of Homer in the Spenserian Stanza.* By Rev. T. S. WORSLEY, and PROFESSOR CONINGTON. London: Blackwood. 1866.
3. *The Iliad in English Verse.* By E. DART. Longmans. 1866.
4. *The Iliad of Homer in English Accentuated Hexameter.* By Sir JOHN HERSCHEL, Bart. London: Macmillan. 1866.
5. *The Iliad of Homer Translated into English Blank Verse.* By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. Boston: Osgood. 1870.
6. *Ilias Traduite en Vers Français.* Par P. Q. THOMSON. Paris. 1870.
7. *The Iliad of Homer Translated into English Blank Verse.* By I. G. CORDERY. London: Rivingtons. 1871.
8. *Omero, dalla Rapsodia IX. dell'Iliade: La Reposta de Achille.* Nella Versione inedita di AGO HINTO. Livorno. 1872.
9. *Homer, Translation from the Iliad.* By Right Hon. W.E. GLADSTONE. London: Strahan. 1865—1873.
10. *Iliade Traduite en Français.* Par le Prince LEBRUN. Limoges. 1874.

To Greece alone was it given that her first poet should be her greatest, if not the greatest of all poets. From the brain of Homer Greek poetry leaped into life at one bound, full-featured, perfect in form, and mature in strength, even as Athênê is fabled to have leaped from the teeming brain of Jupiter into the fulness and perfection of being. The poetry of other nations was born after many throes and many abortions, and their noontide splendours were the slow and struggling growth of dim and repeated dawns. But the sun of Homer, as it has had no setting, so it has had no dawning. It burst upon the world in the full blaze

of its meridian splendour when it rose to fill the poetic firmament with its glory, and the mind of mankind with astonishment and admiration ; and so vivid are its beams, and so strong its power of attraction even now, when the shadows of thirty centuries have diminished nothing of its original brightness, that we come to look upon Homer, as we look upon our Bible (to compare the "lesser light" with the "greater light"), as an inspiration created for all ages and for all generations of men ; which time touches only to quicken with new life, and man has criticised only to endorse its transcendent excellences and echo the proclamation of its early fame.

There is something unspeakably marvellous in the enduring fame of Homer. Three thousand years have slipped away since "the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle" sang the song of the *Iliad*, and its reputation, so far from declining, is on the increase. Successive races have been employed in celebrating the singer's glory, and generation after generation of civilised humanity has paid him the homage due to the sovereign prince of singers. Epic poets have acknowledged his supremacy by imitating his machinery, by adopting his characters, by copying his similes, by seeking to catch the spirit of his muse. Critics have founded the laws of epic poetry on the characteristic and constituent principles of the *Iliad*; the painter's pencil, and the statuary's chisel, for more than two thousand years, have sought to body forth to the eye his yet breathing conceptions. There is one poet, and one poet only, throned by the side of Homer on the sublimest height of Parnassus—and that poet is Shakespeare. These two poets have the highest gifts in common. To none other has it been given amongst the innumerable sons of men to draw characters by the strength of their own individual hands in lines of such clearness and vigour as to become for ever the inheritance and the glory of civilised mankind. To none other has it been given to touch the universal heart of man with those sympathies of a kindred nature which appeal to all with a force and an interest that never grows old. From all other poets are they distinguished in that their genius is as universal as our race, as individual as ourselves, instinct as it is with the spirit of humanity, and not with the prejudices or passions of particular races, or religions, or climes, but "wide and genial as the casing air." Above all other poets Homer and Shakespeare are



gifted with the highest gifts of invention; they have traversed a wider range of character, they have gone deeper down into the recesses of the human heart, and have sung as none others have sung of its terrors and its tendernesses, of the joy of sorrow, of what is manliest in manhood, of what is most womanly in womanhood, of the dignity and power of conscience, of the sweetness and sanctity of love and its potent spell on the haughtiest heart, as a passion or a sentiment.\* Of all dramatic poets Shakespeare is incomparably the most epic; and of all epic poets Homer is the most dramatic, and as the dramatist and the epic poet each seeks, after his own fashion, "by the vision and the faculty divine," to see Nature with his own eyes, and to present it so idealised to the eyes of others, so in Homer and in Shakespeare, as nowhere else in poetry, we find every

\* A careful comparison of Shakespeare's forms of thought, his similes, and his language, with those of Homer, will supply the critical reader with many striking resemblances hitherto unnoticed. With Homer's fondness of representing the *joy of sorrow*—as when Achilles (*Iliad* xxiv. 799) cries—

"Come near, stand by me, let us but this once  
Embrace, and take our fill of heavy woe"—

we may compare Constance's cry of consolation in King John—

"Then have I reason to be fond of grief."

In Achilles' thought of his father softening his heart towards old Priam, pleading for his son, we are reminded of Lady Macbeth's heart softened into the same mood, and by the same touch of filial affection—

"Had he not resembled  
My father as he slept, I had done it."

Paris, made a coward by his conscience, and starting back, "as a man that sees a serpent in his path," at the sight of Menelaus, is the very type of Macbeth as he quails and trembles with a guilty conscience before Macduff—"Of all men else have I avoided thee." The following simile is a very remarkable resemblance between the imagery of Homer and Shakespeare—

"Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,  
And hang their heads with sorrow."—*King Henry VIII.*

"As Zephyrus descends on rich wide-wavy corn,  
And all the ears are bowed before the blast."

*Iliad* ii. 110 (Wright).

Compare also Shakespeare's "The other lads like lions wanting food," with *Iliad* iii. 21; "The labouring spider weaves tedious snares," with *Iliad* iii. 295; "Contention like a horse full of high feeding" (*Henry IV.*), with *Iliad* vi. 527. It is curious, too, to note such verbal parallels as *ἐπιπροχάδην*—"this tongue that runs so roundly in thy head" (*Richard II.*); *ἑρκος* *ὀδόντων*—

"Within my mouth you have enjailed my tongue  
Doubly portcullised with my lips and teeth."—*Rich. III.*

With Shakespeare's "human mortals" (*Midsummer Night's Dream*), we may compare *θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*—Chapman's "Mortal Humans."

epithet given to a natural object and every image taken from one is the faithful though idealised transcript of the truth. "The peculiar excellence of Homer," writes Colonel Muir, "is the combination of epic and dramatic management, a faculty which he possesses in a degree far surpassing any other poet. . . . The characters are never formally described, but made to develop themselves by their own language and conduct. It is among his many great qualities which chiefly raises Homer above all other poets of his own class; nor, with the single exception perhaps of the great British dramatist, has any poet ever produced so numerous and spirited a variety of original characters of different ages, ranks, and sexes."

That Homer has lost nothing of his hold upon the cultivated intellect of this country is clear from the number of translations which have appeared within the last dozen years from men of culture, whose labour has been a labour of love, and the strongest evidence of their sincere homage to the genius of the poet. For nearly three centuries (from Chapman to the present day) we have gone on translating Homer, and Homer is yet, unhappily, untranslated in English. Three distinguished poets—Pope, Cowper, and Bryant—who were not Greek scholars, have tried to give us Homer, but have failed. Three accomplished scholars, who were not poets, Professor Newman, Mr. Worsley, and Mr. Cordery, have made the same attempt, almost with the same results. Two statesmen, of the highest rank and culture, the foremost orators of their time—the late Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone (the latter only partially)—have sought, with different degrees of success, to bring the winged words of Homer to the ear and eye, of the English reader. "For my own part," writes our latest translator, Mr. Gladstone, "with reference to this business of rendering Homer in another tongue, I have involuntarily conceived of the poem as a fortress high-walled and impregnable, and of the open space around as covered with the dead bodies of his translators, who have perished in their gallant but unsuccessful efforts to scale the walls." In this conviction we have long shared, and the main purpose of this paper is to demonstrate its truth; and we fear that Mr. Gladstone's measure of success in scaling "the impregnable fortress" bears no proportion whatever to the high talents and the fine scholarship he has brought to bear on the attempt.

The causes of failure in these translators are to our mind not far to seek. In most cases the Greek original has been misunderstood, and, consequently, misinterpreted. In some cases, and notably in the case of Mr. Dart, who adopts English hexameters, a metrical form of presentation has been used, incapable of reproducing the measured ease and sweetness and strength of Homer. In others the failure is owing to a want of mastery over the language into which the translator renders the original; and in no single instance has a thorough knowledge of the Greek of Homer been combined with a thorough knowledge of the English tongue, and this again with a thorough mastery over the music of our metrical forms, hence the absence in our language of a worthy rendering of Homer. Pope's rendering—*splendide mendax*, as it is from beginning to end—is the only version that has in any great measure won the ear and the heart of the English nation, partly because it is not without much of the magical inspiration of Homer, and partly because of the consummate charms of its stately and sonorous versification. Each of the versions now before us has special merit and special demerit of its own, although all fail, albeit in different degrees, in some of the qualities we hold essential to a perfect presentation of the original.

Much may be said, and with justice, of Lord Derby's brilliant and spirited version. In the battle scenes and the speeches his lines are full of healthy life, and quiver with the movement and the emotions of the original hexameters. It is, undoubtedly, the only version in blank verse that reads with the fluency, and ease, and naturalness of an original poem; the only one that at all approaches to the directness of diction, the fulness of style, and the rich and varied cadences that mark the measured music of the Homeric epic. Had Lord Derby been as consummate a master of Greek as he was of English, we believe he would have given us a version of the *Iliad* worthy of taking high rank at once in our literature as the nearest possible approach in English to Homer's *Iliad*.

In dealing with the Homeric epithets, Lord Derby has been occasionally most felicitous in his renderings. "The mighty daughter of a mighty sire" is both a splendid and adequate equivalent to *ὀβριμοπάτρη*, and "Hector of the glancing helm" and "the gloom-haunting goddess" are true transcripts of *κορυθαίολος* *Ἔκτωρ* and *ἡεροφῶιτις*.

But his "many-dashing" and "stag-eyed" for "many-sounding" and "ox-eyed" are alike unpoetical and un-Homeric. More than once or twice Lord Derby has made mistakes school-boys dare not perpetrate. Take for example his version of Book ix. 332:—

"He, *safe on board* his ships, my spoils received."

Here the Greek is *παρὰ νηυσὶ*—beside "his ships"—a manifest reference to the practice described by Homer himself of hauling ships on the beach, and *camping with the stores beside the ship*.

Nothing can be more magnificently grand, nothing more Homeric in the whole of Lord Derby's version, than his rendering of Hector's assault at the close of the Twelfth *Iliad*, when every line preserves to us the torrent-like sweep of the original.

"Close to the gate he stood, and planting firm  
His foot, to give his arm its utmost pow'r,  
Full on the middle dash'd the mighty mass.  
The hinges both gave way ; the pond'rous stone  
Fell inwards ; widely gap'd the op'ning gates ;  
Nor might the bars within the blow sustain :  
This way and that the severed portals flew  
Before the crashing missile ; dark as night  
His low'ring brow, great Hector sprang within.  
Bright flash'd the brazen armour on his breast,  
As through the gates, two jav'lines in his hand,  
He sprang ; the gods except, no pow'r might meet  
That onset ; blazed his eyes with lurid fire."

One fault and one fault only we find here. Lord Derby misses altogether the Homeric epithet for night—"swift"—as do almost all the translators, and with it the full significance of the suggested comparison of Hector's dark brow to the darkness of night, and the hero's swift and irresistible onset to the swift and irresistible onset of the night. Lord Derby has well sustained Homer's picturesque contrast between the gloom of Hector's "lowering brow" and the lightning blaze of his armour, and, with equal fidelity, he has followed Homer, and not Pope, in reserving the terrific fire that burns from Hector's eye to crown the climax of the description.

In the Fourth *Iliad*, 558—566, Homer presents to us Juno telling Jupiter what she *thought* of the affair of

Thetis' visit, and, playing on the word *thought* (*ὀττω*), Jupiter replies, catching her up: "*Think, madam, you are always thinking thoughts of your own*" (mere fancies). Such is the force here of the contrast marked by the poet by his use of the middle voice of the verb. This Lord Derby, with almost all our translators, has altogether missed. Pope, finely and falsely as usual, gives the passage:—

"Oh, restless, full of pride,  
That strives to learn what Heaven resolves to hide."

Cowper is much closer to Homer:—

"Ah, subtle, ever teeming with surmise."

Wright has:—

"*Suspicion* in thy bosom ever lurks."

Lord Derby simply paraphrases it, and skulks out of the difficulty:—

"Presumptuous to thy busy thought thou givest  
*Too free a range.*"

Mr. Cordery does better:—

"Thou makest, my wife, *conjecture* without end."

Mr. Bryant has:—

"Harsh-tongued, thou ever dost *suspect* me thus."

Le Prince Lebrun writes:—

"*Déesse inquiète, le soupçon t'agète sans cesse.*"

But Mr. Gladstone carries off the palm by coming closest of all:—

"Moonstruck, thou art ever *throwing*, never can I scape thy ken."

Two of the translations before us, those of Sir John Herschel and Rev. E. Dart, adopt as their metrical form what Lord Derby well described as "*the pestilent heresy of the so-called English hexameter.*" Even in the hands of such a master of metrical music as Longfellow, the English hexameter proved a failure, and became monotonous, though handled with consummate art, and made the vehicle of a tender tale of surpassing interest; and yet Sir John Herschel most unaccountably vindicates its claims as "*that of all metres it is the one in which a long poem can be written or translated without being monotonous.*"

Now, in the Greek or German languages, where a compound vocabulary predominates, the hexameter may be well sustained, through a long poem, without producing monotony, but certainly not in English, with its prevailing monosyllabic element.

Blank verse, on the other hand, with its unlimited powers of expression, which may be "all things to all men," if we may so speak, is bounded in its range only by the poet's skill in using it; and it is well known that Dryden held it to be the only worthy metrical form of purest epic poetry, though he sacrificed his better opinion to the fashion of a rhyme-loving age. The best, and by far the most Homeric lines of Sir John's version, are those descriptive of Hector's charge. (*Iliad* xiii. 136.)

"On came Troy to the charge, and Hector in front of the Trojans,  
Rushing amain : like a boulder crag from the brow of a mountain,  
Torn by the wintry floods when the rain comes down in a torrent,  
Mining its base, and loosing its hold on the cliff; and, in ruin,  
Bounding along it flies, and the forest crashes beneath it."

Sir John's sins of omission and commission are literally legion in number. His most besetting sin is that of *addition* to the original. For example, we read in *Iliad* xvi. how Meriones reminds Æneas, "Thou too art mortal"—words few, but with a world of meaning in them.

These Sir John renders :—

"Thou art mortal,  
Then remember, and wait thine hour, which sure will overtake thee."

"Son of a virgin" (v. 179) is the astounding rendering he gives for *παρθένιος* (one born out of wedlock). Mr. Dart's version is most inferior in form and in matter to Sir John's. He is at his very best in the Homeric similes, though bad, indeed, is his best rendering. Take for example this specimen from *Iliad* xvi. (the battle scene) :—

"As with opposing blasts, when the fury of Eurus and Notus  
Falls upon some dense wood, in a glen deep down on a hill-side,  
Beech or tough-grained ash, or the long-leaved boughs of the cornels;  
And, as the blast drives over, the tall trees mingle their branches,  
Rasping and grating together, or breaking perchance with a great crash;  
So, and with equal din, did the armies of Troy and Achaia  
Seek each other's breasts, and fear was forgotten among them."

Mr. Dart renders *φάγος*, which he evidently mistakes for the Latin *fagus*, by "beech tree," instead of oak (the esculent oak), an error into which almost all the translators have fallen. Again he mistakes here *τανύφλοιον* for *τανύφυλλον*, extensively *barked* for extensively *leaved*; to pass by such impertinences and amplifications as "tough-grained," "tall," "with equal din," and "the armies of Troy."

The versions of Mr. Cullen Bryant (the distinguished American poet) and of Mr. Cordery, known as an elegant classical scholar, come to us in the form of Shakesperian blank verse—with its free licenses and its dramatic cadences, and the flexibility of its construction. The touching appeal of Thetis to Jupiter, on behalf of her darling Achilles, at the close of the first *Iliad*, is thus given by these two translators:—

## MR. CULLEN BRYANT.

"She spake, but cloud-compelling Jupiter  
 Answered her not; in silence long he sat.  
 But Thetis, who had clasped his knees at first,  
 Clung to them still, and prayed him yet again:—  
 'O promise me, and grant my suit, or else  
 Deny it—for thou need'st not fear—and I  
 Shall know how far below the other gods  
 Thou holdest me in honour.'"

## MR. CORDERY.

"She ceased, to whom the Ruler of the clouds  
 Gave not one word, but long in silence sate;  
 Till Thetis closer clasped his knee, and clung  
 About him, and besought once more, and spake:—  
 'Promise me true; confirm it by thy nod,  
 Or else deny me—what hast thou to fear?  
 Speak then, that I may learn, and lay to heart  
 How far below all gods I lie disgraced!'"

Mr. Bryant's special excellence as a translator consists in his simplicity of style, his closeness of diction, his ease and elegance of movement. This makes his translation read with much of the naturalness of an original poem. He evidently owes much to his long and loving familiarity with the best models, and his life-long cultivation of the art of poetry. Wisely, too, does he follow the natural

order of Homer's words. He sins much from his ignorance, in many passages, of Homeric idioms, and from his constant inclination to paraphrase, as when he renders *μυχῶ Ἀργεος ἰνποβότου* by—

"Lapped in the pasture-grounds where graze the steeds of Argos."

Though Mr. Cordery brings to his labour of love more of Greek scholarship, yet for an accomplished Oxford scholar, as he is, he makes some very singular mistakes. "Gentle sleep," for example, is given by him for Homer's *νήδυμος ὕπνος*—"deep sleep;" and for *παρελευσέαι* he gives "pass me by," instead of "overreach"—in vulgar slang, "get over." With which we may compare Shakespeare (*Henry VIII.*) :—

"O Cromwell, the king has gone beyond me."

What can Mr. Cordery mean by such lines as—

"Beholding this  
Hippocrates, as twin *Hebes* in their halls?"

One great and practical merit in Mr. Cordery's version is peculiar to himself—it is that he translates every significant proper name where the force of the context calls for it. After this fashion he renders *Iliad*, vi. 512 :—

"But all the people called him *Astyanax*,  
*Prince of the city.*"

Mr. Gladstone's translations are unfortunately fragmentary and detached passages, published at various times. Mr. Gladstone adopts the ballad measures of Sir Walter Scott, and much of his tone and style is, to our mind, much more after the manner of Scott than of Homer, but without any approach to the sweetness and strength of Scott's versification. From the "Reply of Achilles," recently published in the *Contemporary Review*, we take this random specimen :—

"Should the kindly gods deliver,  
And my safe returning grant,  
Peleus will be there, to find me,  
And to give the wife I want;  
Beves of Achaian maidens  
Hellas, ay and Phthia, bear,



Sprung from chiefs the best and bravest,  
 Maidens of their cities fair.  
 I can surely, if so please me,  
 Make a loving bridal there."

Passing by many minor faults in Mr. Gladstone's translation, we may note that where the Greek in this passage means "*whom* I would," Mr. Gladstone has rendered it by "*if* so please me," evidently confusing the Greek relative *ἣν* for the conditional particle *ἐάν*. His "*Shield of Achilles*" is, however, his most signal failure, not merely because of its un-Homeric sing-song—the ballad measure—but for its sins of omission and commission against the Greek, which occur almost in every line. Here is a specimen:—

"There he wrought Earth, Sea, and Heaven,  
 There he set the unwearying Sun,  
 And the waxing Moon, and stars that  
 Crown the blue vault every one;  
 Pleiads, Hyads, strong Orion,  
 Arctos, hight to boot the Wain.  
 He upon Orion waiting,  
 Only he of all the train  
 Shunning still the baths of Ocean,  
 Wheels and wheels his round again.

"There he carved two goodly Citicæ  
 Thick with swarms of speaking men.

"Weddings were in one, and banquets,  
 Torches blazing overhead,  
 Nuptial hymns, and from their chambers  
 Brides about the city led.  
 Here to pipe and harp resounding  
 Young men wildly whirling danced;  
 While the women, each one standing  
 By their porches, gaze entranced."

Of all foreign translations of the *Iliad*, that of Voss, a German, is incomparably the best and most perfect, though we may note that none of them have, evidently, had a greater influence on Mr. Gladstone's recent attempt than the Italian version of one bit of the "*Reply of Achilles*." Of the more recent Continental versions we cannot altogether pass over the admired and spirited free version of Le Prince Lebrun, which has been

revised by a learned and scholarly ecclesiastic. It is rapid, simple, and full of Homeric fire, though it dilates much of the force and fire of the original by amplification and paraphrase. We give the struggle around the body of Cebriones in the Sixteenth *Iliad* as a specimen of the splendid and spirited paraphrase of the French translator:—

“Hector se précipite de son char, et vient disputer à Patrocle les restes de Cébriion. Acharnés sur ce malheureux cadavre, tous deux ils brûlent de s’immoler. Tels, au sommet d’une montagne, deux lions en proie à la faim dévorante, tous deux animés d’une fureur pareille, s’arrachent les lambeaux encore palpitants d’une biche égorgée.

“Hector saisit la tête ; Patrocle s’attache aux pieds ; tous deux ils luttent avec une vigueur égale. Autour d’eux combattent les Troyens et les Grecs. Les traits sifflent ; les javelots volent dans les airs ; les boucliers gémissent sous les pierres qui les frappent ; la terre est jonchée de cadavres. Ainsi, quand, resserrés dans un vallon, les vents du nord et du midi se livrent de bruyants combats, les forêts mugissent, les hêtres, les peupliers, les chênes, ploient, éclatent, tombent, et du bruit de leur chute font gémir les échos. Tels, autour Cébriion, les deux peuples déploient leur fureur et leur rage. Aucun ne fuit, aucun ne cède : environné d’un nuage de traits, l’infortuné guerrier presse la terre de son poids, et son adresse, avec lui, est ensevelie dans la poussière.”

We may here note that Pope has twice translated the closing portion of this remarkable passage, but in two widely different versions. In the *Iliad* (xvi. 776) he gives us:—

“But when the rising whirlwind clouds the plains,  
Sunk in soft death the mighty chief remains,  
And stretched in death forgets his guiding reins.”

In the *Odyssey* (Book xxiv. 90) he goes far from this version, and does much better when he writes:—

“In clouds of smoke, raised by the noble fray,  
Great and terrific even in death you lay ;  
And deluges of blood flowed round you every way.”

Certainly “sunk in soft death” is anything but a vigorous and faithful rendering of μέγας μεγαλωστί. Here we prefer the Odyssean rendering—“great and terrific even in death.” How truly and beautifully has Virgil, the most faithful of Homer’s followers, caught the spirit of the passage in his—

“Ingentem, atque ingenti vulnere victum.”—*Æn.* x. 842.

There is a translation of this passage quoted by Gilbert Wakefield from Ogilby's forgotten translation, which perished under the sneers of Pope, well worthy of notice. It runs thus:—

“When in a dusty whirlwind thou didst lie,  
Thy valour lost, forgot thy chivalry.”

The most amusing of all Continental translations of this passage, however, is the Dutch, where the forgetfulness of chivalry is rendered by Ver Van as “leger-wagen”—“Far indeed from thy *baggage-wagon!*” as if the last thought of the warrior was about his baggage.

The subject of Homeric translation is one of national importance to a highly civilised country such as our own. Few can read Homer to enjoy him in the original, but we have all an interest in not being made the dupes of Homer's unsuccessful translators. For their want of success it is easy to account. It is not difficult to reproduce the *matter* of the *Iliad*, but it is extremely difficult to reproduce its *manner*—which is the unfailing charm—the characteristic glory of the poem. It is hard, too, to reproduce Homer's music without Homer's tongue, as difficult as it is to build a marble Pantheon out of brick. But Homer's language is not only Greek—the most perfect and poetical of all languages—it is Greek specially moulded by the skill of the workman for his special work, to represent to the ear by the very sound the meaning he intended. Again, the structure of the Homeric verse is constructed with a skill so consummate and inimitable, that every phase of passion, every form of action, every object in itself and in its effect on the beholder, is so pictured to the mind, so echoed to the ear, at times by the mere sound, at times by the mere mechanical collocation of the words, that the appreciative translator must often feel himself utterly incapable of reproducing Homer's verse without Homer's Greek, and without his genius. On these grounds a translator worthy of Homer needs such a mastery of the English language and its musical resources as Homer himself wielded over Greek; and of all who have attempted to translate Homer, Tennyson alone has shown himself adequate to the task, in the short and sole translation he has attempted—the night scene at the close of the Eighth *Iliad*, which is too well known to be quoted. It is equally requisite that a worthy translator of Homer should be a

gifted and thorough Homeric scholar; and not one of his translators hitherto has been so gifted, for they have all failed, though in different degrees, in dealing with the text of the original Greek.

Few of Homer's translators seem to appreciate the marvellous effect produced by his skill in collocation, and none of them have done justice to it by adequate reproduction. Mr. Bryant professes to follow the Homeric collocation, but his practice is certainly not consistent with his theory. The most remarkable case of this occurs in the First *Iliad*, in the description, a few lines beginning with *ἐκ*, in the Disembarkation at Chrysa's Isle, which Mr. Bryant thus renders:—

“They cast the anchors, and secured the prow  
With fastenings. Next they disembarked and stood  
Upon the land, and placed the hecatombs  
In sight of Phœbus, the great archer. Last,  
Chryseis left the deck, and, leading her  
Up to the altar, wise Ulysses gave  
The maid to her dear father, speaking thus:”

Literally these lines run as follows—keeping to Homer's collocation of the words, which Mr. Bryant, significant though it is, utterly ignores:—

“Out were the anchors cast, and down the cables bound,  
Out did the sailors leap upon the sea's rough margin,  
Out was the hecatomb brought for the archer-god Apollo,  
Out Chryseis came forth from the ship that sped through the sea.”

All Homer's translators have shown a like disregard to the *metaphorical* language of the poet—which is oftentimes the very essence of his poetry, as in it the imagination often speaks out its highest utterances. In the Third *Iliad*, for example, at verse 140, Homer writes—“Then spoke the goddess, and *shot* within the soul (of Helen) a longing delicious for her former spouse,” thus the great beauty and the full force of the metaphor, here and elsewhere (see *Iliad* xiii. 383), is diluted or ignored after this fashion by the translators:—

“This said, the many-coloured maid *inspires*  
Her husband's love.”—*Pope*.

“So saying, the goddess into Helen's soul  
Sweetest desire *infused*.”—*Cooper*.

- "So saying, she a soft desire *awoke*  
Of husband lost."—*Brandreth*.
- "Then as she spoke, in Helen's heart *arose*  
Fond recollections of her former lord."—*Lord Derby*.
- "In Helen's heart the thrilling words divine  
*Woke* a sweet longing for her former spouse."—*Wright*.
- "Speaking, the goddess in her heart *instilled*  
A strong fond yearning for her olden lord."—*Cordery*.
- "Then spoke the goddess, and within the heart of Helen *wafled*  
Sweet longings for her ancient."—*Professor Newman*.
- "She said, and in the heart of Helen *woke*  
Dear recollections of her former spouse."—*Bryant*.

All translators too have failed to reproduce the alliterative style of Homer, the full force of his particles, often very significant, and the distinctive force of his tenses, and above all his use of the aorist imperative in the sense of rapidity of action. Now, in the whole of the cases of gross ignorance of Homeric Greek, against the many translators of Homer, home and foreign, except the German, Voss, the formula in *Iliad* i. 360, "she *thought* the word, and out she uttered it," is of common occurrence in the *Iliad* and is never once correctly given by his translators. Some translate it by "called by *name*," even when the *name* of the person is not *named*. The simple and obvious meaning of *ἐφάτο* here is "*spoke with herself*," and so *thought*, a sense the past has sometimes in the active, and therefore much more in the *middle voice*. We should remember that the analogy between *thought* and the expression of thought, between the word in the mind and on the tongue, is a thoroughly Greek conception, which found its complete development latterly in the word *λόγος*, the thought *unexpressed*, and the thought *expressed*, combining both forms.

In nothing have the Homeric translators failed so deplorably and so persistently as in rendering the Homeric epithets, which are for the most part poems in miniature and essentially characteristic of the Homeric poetry, and the failure generally arises from a shrinking from literal translation. "The purple sea" does not give us Homer's *οἶνοπα πόντον* (the wine-dark sea). By *γλαυκῶπις* Homer meant to describe the fierce and stern expression of Minerva's eyes, and not their colour, which his translators

have rendered "*blue-eyed*." Nor is this all. Homer abounds with such personal epithets as ἀντίθεος (*a match for a god*), θεοειδής (*beautiful as a god*), δίων (*descended from a god*), θεοεικέλος (*like to a god*). These distinctive epithets are merged for the most part into one, "godlike," by his translators, who either do not see Homer's distinctions, or, seeing them, sin against the light that is in them; and the consequence is, that though Homer calls Polyphemus "*a match for a god*," and Paris "*beautiful as a god*," his translators call them both "godlike," forgetful of the fact, that Paris was anything but "godlike" in his actions, and Polyphemus was anything but "godlike" in his person or in his actions.

In proving Mr. Gladstone's assertion that Homeric translation into English has been a signal failure, we have dealt with this question in detail with the sole view that future translators may be warned by the signals we have given from the rocks on which their predecessors were made shipwreck.

As we have found fault with all our English translations of the *Iliad*, and not the least with Mr. Gladstone's recent version of the "*Shield of Achilles*," we venture to submit to the shafts of criticism the following version of our own of that celebrated episode.

## I.

And there he wrought the world, the sea, the sky;  
The unrepining sun, the full-faced moon,  
With all the starry signs that crown the heavens,  
The Pleiads, and the Hyads, and Orion's might,  
And Arctos, named the Wain by name, who wheels  
His restless round, to watch Orion's ways;  
Sole star that never shares the ocean's baths.

## II.

And there two cities beautiful, and full  
Of men he made, with language on their lips.  
In one were feasts and bridal banquetings,  
And brides borne from their bowers from street to street,  
Beneath the blazing torch, to Hymen's hymns;  
And many a merry strain, from lute and lyre,  
Made music as the dancers danced their rounds;  
And women from their thresholds gazed entranced.

## III.

And in the market-place trooped multitudes,  
For there two suitors held a suit of blood,  
Touching the were-geld of a murdered man ;  
One vowed to heaven he paid the fine in full,  
So moved the multitude ; and one made oath  
He naught received, asserting each to leave  
The issue to the judgment of the judge.  
Crowds clamouring for each, and helping each,  
The heralds curbing down the crowd, the while  
The elders sate in holy synod, throned  
On polished marble. In their hands they take  
The herald's sceptre-staff ; the air still full  
Of heraldings ; and rising one by one  
Delivered doom ; two golden talents set  
Before their sight, the guerdon of the judge,  
Whose upright doom was deemed most just of all.

## IV.

Around the second city sate two hosts,  
Shining in arms, divided in desire  
To dash it into dust, or harry half  
The lovely city held within her walls ;  
Surrender scorned, for ambush silently  
They arm. Upon the walls their sweet wives stand,  
Their children, and their sires of years infirm,  
To guard their homes. On marched the men led forth  
By Mars and by Minerva, each in gold,  
And each in golden garments garmented,  
Divinely beautiful and tall. In arms  
Far off they shone, and dwarfed the mortal host.  
And when the haunt for ambush seemliest  
Was won, a river running near, where flocks and herds  
Were wont to drink, they hid them in that haunt,  
Armoured in shining bronze. Two scouts apart  
Were set to watch the coming sheep and kine,  
Of crumpled horn ; and when with shepherds twain,  
Who piped their pleasure, heedless of all guile,  
They came, intent to intercept the kine  
And sheep in silver fleeced, the ambush sprang  
And did to death the feeders of the flocks.  
When by the band before the battlements  
A thousand tumults from amongst the flocks  
Were heard, they mount their fiery-footed steeds  
And break upon the pillagers. Each host

Made halt beside the river's bank and fought  
The fight, each smiting with the bronze-bound spear.  
Tumult and Strife and Fate raged there—  
Destroying Fate—one with his gash still green  
She grasped a captive, and one without a wound,  
And one in death she dragged forth by his feet  
From out the battle. Bright with blood the robe  
Upon her shoulders blazed. Like mortal men  
Ranging the field, and mingling in the fight,  
They slew, and haled from either host the slain.

## V.

And there he wrought a fat and fallow field  
With softest soil, thrice-turned, and broad, wherein  
Went many a ploughman driving to and fro  
His yoke of oxen, and when on each return  
They touched the limit of the lea, ever  
One came with cup of wine as honey sweet ;  
Then back they turned, athwart the furrowed field,  
To gain the fronting limit of the lea.  
So from behind the lea grew black, as black  
As tilth new turned, though graven all in gold ;  
So marvellous this miracle of art.

## VI.

A park was there, with meadows deep in corn,  
Where reapers reaped, sharp sickles in their hands.  
Here falls the grain upon the ground ; hard by  
The binders stand to bind it into sheaves.  
Three binders bind, and to their hands those boys  
Behind bring gathered handfuls in their hands  
Without one pause ; midmost their monarch stands,  
In silence, holding his sceptre-staff in hand,  
And happy in his heart beside his sheaves.  
Apart beneath the oak his seneschals  
Set forth the feast, and slay the stately steer  
For sacrifice, while there the maidens dress  
The reaper's mess, made thick with barley meal.

## VII.

Thereon he graved a vineyard all in gold  
Most beautiful, and burdened to the ground with grapes.  
Black were the branches, stayed on silver stakes  
In rows, dark-blue the fosse around, and white  
With tin the fence. One only path was made  
For vintagers to pass to gather grapes.  
Young men and maidens in their merriest mood  
The fruit, as honey sweet, in baskets bore.  
Midmost a boy harped on his shrill-stringed harp



Deliciously, and sang the Linos lay  
In tones of tenderness. Around they danced,  
Beating true measure to the melody  
With feet that flew to follow all his song.

## VIII.

Thereon he wrought a herd of beeves high-horned,  
In gold were some, and some in tin. Forth from  
Their stall they sprang lowing, to browse beside  
The rapid and the roaring river, fringed  
With many a rushy reed ; four herdsmen, graved  
In gold, and at their heels were hounds of speed.  
A leash of grisly lions seized a bull  
In front, and dragged him, bellowing bitterly.  
To rescue rushed the hounds and herdsmen swift.  
The lions tore the big bull's hide in twain,  
And lapped his bowels and his purple blood.  
In vain the herdsmen hounded on the hounds,  
Shouting, to take the lion by the teeth,  
Yelping around, but holding all aloof.

## IX.

And these the lame-limbed god in pasture placed  
With silver sheep in a delicious dale,  
With folds and sheltering stalls and creeping cots.

## X.

And there in quaint device a dance he wrought,  
Like to the dance that Dædalus designed  
Of yore in spacious Cnossus to delight  
The fair-tressed Ariadne. Many a maid  
Worthy to win the wooer's gift of kine,  
Of countless kine, danced with their partners there,  
Wrist upon wrist, and hand on hand, the maids  
Mantled in tender-tissued gauze, the men  
In tunics glossy, as the gloss of oil ;  
Those crowned with crowns of beauty, these  
With swords of gold from belts of silver swung.  
They whirled the dance with fleet and practised feet,  
With ease, as when the working potter whirls  
His wheel, to gauge his gear, and spins it round,  
To rule its circling speed ; so, with all ease,  
These wheeled around, and crossed from side to side,  
While crowds delighted stood around the dance  
Of joy. The holy minstrel, in their midst,  
Sang meanwhile to his harp ; and tumblers twain  
His song took up, and tumbled as they sang.  
And for the margin of that matchless shield,  
The mighty strength of ocean's stream he made.

- ART. IV.—1. *A Chapter of Autobiography*. By the Right Honourable W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. 1868.
2. *Ritualism and Ritual*. By the Right Honourable W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. (*Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1874.)
3. *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance. A Political Exposition*. By the Right Honourable W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. 1874.

It is some years since, in reviewing *Lothair*, we did our endeavour to present a dispassionate view of the career of its eminent author, such as an impartial historian in the next age, not a partisan in this age, might be expected to give. In so doing, we avoided all evil construction of ambiguous passages in his history. To-day the occasion seems to demand that we should do in respect of the renowned statesman who at present towers pre-eminent over the ranks of "Her Majesty's Opposition" what we then attempted in regard to his rival. Those who expect us, in so doing, to write an ungenerous or unkindly criticism on such a man, will certainly be disappointed. Our article will, we hope, be discriminating, but hostile it will not be. It is necessary that we should in the first place deal with the man himself in his early prime and his later developments, as he stands revealed to us in his autobiography and other records, or else we shall not be able adequately or truly to understand and estimate his recent manifestoes on Ritualism and Vatican Romanism, or his actual position and opinions.

Glimpses—most interesting glimpses—of the future statesman are caught in Bunsen's letters, as published in his memoirs by his wife. There we are enabled to mark him as he was in his youthful fervour and promise, at the very period when he published his work on *The State in its Relations to the Church*. "Last night, at eleven," says Bunsen, under date December 18, 1838, "when I came from the Duke [of Lucca], Gladstone's book was on my table. It is the book of the time, a great event—the first book since Burke that goes to the bottom of the vital question; far above his party and the time. . . . Glad-

stone is the first man in England as to intellectual power, and he has heard higher tones than any one else in this island." "Gladstone is the first living intellectual power on that side," writes Bunsen to Arnold a few days later. "He has left his schoolmasters far behind him, but we must not wonder if he still walks in their trammels; his genius will soon free itself entirely, and fly toward heaven with its own wings." "Still," he writes again, a few days later (26th December), to another correspondent, "he walks sadly in the trammels of his Oxford friends in some points, e.g. the Apostolical Succession as identical with the continued series of bishops. . . . I wonder Gladstone should not have the feeling of moving on an *inclined plane*, or that of sitting down among ruins." On February 18th, 1889, the sagacious and generous Prussian writes as follows:—"On Sunday, I went at eleven with Gladstone to his own parish church, after which we began our conference, closeted in his room. . . . This led to my *declaration of love* to him for having consciously thrown a stumbling-block in his own way, as a statesman, because he came conscientiously to those consequences for which he was so violently attacked. This morning I found a note from Gladstone, with three copies of his work. This man's humility and modesty make me ashamed; I hope and trust I shall profit by it; but in his kindness I delight." On the 28rd October, writing to his wife, the same distinguished witness tells of his driving with Gladstone to Richmond, to a dinner in celebration of the constitution of the Jerusalem bishopric. As to his return home he says, "We drove back to town in the clearest starlight; Gladstone continuing with unabated animation to pour forth his harmonious thoughts in melodious tone."

Such is Bunsen's picture of Mr. Gladstone in his early prime; such was the forecast as to his character and career by one who, whilst rightly prognosticating and predicting as to the man and his future position and power, not less truly, at the same time, discerned and estimated the stumbling-block which his special form of High Churchmanship was destined to place in his way. One other extract we will give from the same memoir, referring to a considerably later date, and exhibiting another phase of Mr. Gladstone's character, now as a statesman and a party politician. The extract occurs in a "Contemporary Notice," in the nature of a journal, kept by one of Bunsen's

children, and the date is December 19th, 1852. It is as follows:—"My father's excitement on the fall of the Ministry was redoubled when he read the debates and found that it was Mr. Gladstone who had virtually turned out Mr. Disraeli, by a speech in which he went through the Budget, and showed it to be impracticable. This is the second time only that Gladstone has spoken; he was asked one day by my father why he did not speak oftener, when he replied that he was withheld by mistrust in himself, lest he should find too much difficulty in keeping within Christian bounds of moderation, in endeavouring to utter faithfully the truth, and yet avoid all that might be construed into personality."

The extracts we have given are not only interesting but valuable, as showing what manner of man Mr. Gladstone appeared to be in his earlier life, not merely or chiefly as a politician or a statesman, but in his private and personal relations, in his confidential intimacies, and in respect of his conscientious convictions and aims as a Christian man having public responsibilities. The insight into character and the historical foresight of the German diplomatist and scholar, are very remarkable. We shall be better able to appreciate, with these passages in recollection, the three publications, the titles of which stand at the head of this article, and the view of Mr. Gladstone's character and history, and of the development of his opinions, which may be gathered from a study of them.

Mr. Gladstone's is by no means a character hard to read. There is nothing about him inscrutable or mysterious. He is a man of many sympathies, and with many sides to his character. On this account he is, indeed, liable to be misunderstood and misconstrued. But he has never shrouded in deliberate concealment or in immovable reticence either the nature or the reasons of his opinions. It is a common judgment that he would have done well to have practised more reticence than he has done. Besides the many-sidedness of his sympathies and his culture, moreover, it is undoubtedly true that his later opinions traverse at several points of public importance his early principles. Bunsen foresaw that his first book would stand in the way of his progress and of his inevitable life-work; he foresaw that the force of facts and of the world's life-current must break up the young theorist's ideal, and spoil all his conclusions. In fact, Mr. Gladstone has had

through all his practical course as a statesman to contend against his own early ideal as one of his great hindrances, prejudicing his position, and throwing obstacles in his course at several critical periods of his political career, and affording a pretext to those whose aim it was to bring into question not only his wisdom and foresight, but his sincerity. It was this very fact which extorted from him nearly seven years ago his *Autobiography*, the object of which was to explain the nature and reasons of his change from the ideal Toryism of his early youth to the wide Liberalism and, as to matters ecclesiastical, the plastic quasi-secularism—for, after all, Gladstone does not in principle take his stand on secularism proper in any sphere—of his later years. In this explanation he seeks to show that, beneath whatever apparent inconsistency, there is a deeper ground of consistency in his principles and judgments; and, indeed, that he could hardly be said, with justice, to have deserted his principles, so much as to have been driven by the concurrent action of all parties, abandoning, as they did, the ground of principle for that of compromise and expediency, into a region of practical politics to which his ideal principles, as set forth six-and-thirty years ago, could have no relation, and in which any application of them was simply impossible. Doubtless, such an apology as this is tantamount to a confession that the principles set forth in his famous early work were mere *eidola specūs*, mere student-dreams, theories woven out in complete and almost ludicrous ignorance of the actual facts of English history and life in their broader and more popular aspects, the speculations of a recluse idealist, pacing his cloister, amid pastoral meadows and placid waters, silent and almost somnolent in their gentle flow, far away from the stir of national life and the mighty and gathering tide of modern thought and of awakening popular want and will. We imagine that Mr. Gladstone himself would be forward to confess the ignorance of all but the rising elements of life and power in the Church of England, which is one of the characteristics of his book. He does, indeed, confess and explain this ignorance of his in one of the passages of his *Autobiography*.

It is the peculiarity, indeed, of Mr. Gladstone that he combines, in an extraordinary manner, in his intellectual character, the ideal and the practical, possessing each quality in a very eminent degree, and with these qualities

unites an exceedingly sanguine disposition, and a bodily frame lean, lithe, and sinewy, which no excess, save at times that of mental toil or official fatigue, has ever wasted or exhausted. From this rare, and, in its degree as formed in him, perhaps unexampled, combination, arise most of the peculiarities of his career. If we add to the characteristics we have noted the influence of Oxford training and Oxford High Churchmanship, and the after influence of official discipline and Parliamentary life, we have all the elements necessary to understand the character of Mr. Gladstone. His early illusions and his later abandonment of these illusions; his remarkable power at once of grasping and keeping clearly in view principles, and of mastering and explaining details; his vast natural impetuosity, ever ready to flash out or pour along, and yet, along with this, his very great power of self-control, holding his immense force of onset or impulse ordinarily within the limits of a studied moderation, especially in all matters of personal criticism; the sweep of his eloquence when fully fired by political purpose and passion, or when a sentiment inspires him, or a bright vision of the future rises before his sanguine spirit, and, at the same time, the intense and very evident delight with which he revels in all the intricacies of a financial statement or a business calculation; his power as a Parliamentary expositor, and his greater power as a debater, especially in swift and crushing reply; his triumphs, that is to say, equally in oratory and in finance, his high ecclesiastical sympathies, combined with a Broad Churchmanship which undertook the vindication of *Ecce Homo*, and an ecclesiastical Liberalism which has drawn towards him the sympathies of many of the most influential Nonconformists, and which sustained him in the heavy task of disestablishing the Irish Church; finally, his sympathy, so long maintained, with the Catholicism of the Latin Communion, and yet his final breach, in the end, with the Roman Curia and its consummated policy; all are intelligible when once the composite and complex character of his mind and temperament are understood. In such a man there cannot but be many tendencies more or less conflicting or divergent. But when all his energies and faculties are once combined in full harmony for any particular purpose, the resultant force of the whole cannot but be overwhelming.

Mr. Gladstone, in his *Autobiography*, does, in effect, classify himself with men of "impressible and sanguine minds." The phrase occurs in the eloquent description of the change which began to come over the English Church, and which was felt at first, especially in Oxford, soon after the year 1830 :—

"An extraordinary change," he says, "appeared to pass upon the spirit of the place. I believe it would be a moderate estimate to say, that much beyond one-half of the very flower of its youth chose the profession of Holy Orders, while an impression scarcely less deep seemed to be stamped upon a large portion of its lay pupils. I doubt whether at any period of its existence, either since the Reformation or perhaps before it, the Church of England had reaped from either University so rich a harvest in so short a time. At Cambridge a similar lifting up of hearts and minds seems to have been going on, and numbers of persons of my own generation, who at their public schools had been careless and thoughtless like the rest, appeared in their early manhood as soldiers of Christ, and ministers to the wants of His people, worthy, I believe, as far as man can be worthy, through their zeal, devotion, power of mind, and attainments, of their high vocation. It was not then foreseen what storms were about to arise. Not only in Oxford, but in England, during the years to which I refer, party spirit within the Church was reduced to a low ebb. Indiscretions there might be, but authority did not take the alarm; it smiled rather, on the contrary, on what was thought to be, in the main, a recurrence both to first principles and to forgotten obligations. Purity, unity, and energy, seemed as three fair sisters, hand in hand, to advance together. Such a state of things was eminently suited to act on impressible and sanguine minds. I, for one, formed a completely false estimate of what was about to happen; and believed that the Church of England, through the medium of a regenerated clergy, and an intelligent and attached laity, would not only hold her ground, but would probably, in great part revive the love and the allegiance both of the masses who were wholly falling away from religious observances, and of those large and powerful Non-conforming bodies, the existence of which was supposed to have no other cause than the neglect of its duties by the National Church, which had long left the people as sheep without a shepherd."

The quotation just given not only shows that, according to Mr. Gladstone's estimate of himself, he is a man of "sanguine and impulsive mind;" it also explains the nature of the illusive appearances which suggested to him

his dream, his theory, his ideal, as to the relations of Church and State, as given to the world in his first book. It would not be difficult to show that the picture which is contained in the extract we have quoted is, in some respects, a surcharged and delusively coloured picture. The effects at Oxford of which he speaks were produced quite as much by the Tory reaction, following the epoch of the Reform Bill, by the gathering of the clans of Anglicanism to the rescue of their Church and its ascendancy, following the abolition of Dissenters' disabilities and the Anglican Church's hour of seeming humiliation and peril, as by the real religious revival, which at this time was just beginning at last deeply to stir the hitherto lethargic pulses of the life of Anglicanism proper, as distinguished from Anglican *quasi*-Puritanism or Evangelical Churchmanship. Political influences and feelings of caste, to put the same truth in other words, contributed quite as much as genuine feelings of religious conviction and zeal, to the result which the quotation describes. No better illustration, however, could be afforded of the sanguine idealism of the writer.

Mr. Gladstone had, indeed, two cherished ideals, both of which were to be shattered to fragments by the course of events—to be broken to pieces on the wheel of revolving destiny—one very soon, the other at a much later period. The first of these was his theory of Church Establishments, the second was his dream of Catholic Union, as visibly approaching, and to be realised in after days, if not in this generation—the union of the Latin and the Anglo-Catholic communions in one great Western Catholic Church, or intercommunity of Churches, and, through the Anglican Church and its good offices, the ultimate reunion, into a Catholic confederation and sisterhood of Churches, of the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican “Catholic” Churches. This latter was his most fondly cherished dream, a peculiarly Oxford ideal; nor does he seem to have relinquished his hopes of at least a sisterly concordat being established between these Churches, and first between the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches, until the summer of 1870, when, according to his view, the Vatican Decrees placed an impassable gulf of division between the Latin Communion and the Anglo-Catholic Church. It is necessary to bear in mind these two ideals, in order to understand Mr. Gladstone's course, his consistency in the midst



of his inconsistencies, his illusions and the means and process of his disillusionising; the way of change and the line of advance in which only, if in any, it was possible for him to move.

When he first started in life, Mr. Gladstone knew as little about the living realities of English religious life and thought, beyond the line of his own immediate ecclesiastical and collegiate horizon, as other Oxford students and theorists, who, until very recently, have been distinguished as a class for an ignorance of all belonging to English Nonconformity as profound as if they were divided from it by planetary spaces. "There was an error," he himself says, "not less serious" (than his expectations and claims in regard to the Church of England) "in my estimate of English Nonconformity. I remember the astonishment with which at some period—I think in 1851-2—after ascertaining the vast addition which had been made to the number of churches in the country, I discovered that the multiplication of chapels, among those not belonging to the Church of England, had been more rapid still." When once his eyes had been opened, however, he was not the man to shut them again, and since the period to which he thus refers he has taken care to keep himself informed as to the life and growth of Nonconformity. It is not an altogether insignificant point, that, in the course of this auto-biographical narrative and explanation, he quotes John Foster from memory, with a familiarity which shows that although the name of this Nonconformist author is probably still little known to Anglican University men, and though not very long ago he was sneered at, by the *Saturday Review*, as an undercultured, or, at least, underbred Dissenting writer, he is, notwithstanding, familiarly known to Mr. Gladstone, as one of England's standard essayists.

We have referred to Mr. Gladstone's Tory and Anglican immunity, as an Oxford ecclesiastical idealist, from all consciousness of the great realities of Nonconformist life and power and claims, that we might render more intelligible the illusion, as to the prospects and possibilities belonging to his beloved Anglicanism, which in 1838 had captivated his imagination and spell-bound his intellect. The dream must indeed have been a dazzling and fascinating one, which could have maintained its hold upon him, notwithstanding the apprenticeship to real life which he had already begun to serve. More than six years had

elapsed since he had taken his degree as double-first. In the meantime he had not only visited the Continent, where he was not likely to learn what he needed to know as to his own country, but had held office as Junior Lord and as Under Secretary for the Colonies, under a Tory Government (Sir Robert Peel's), for a few months in 1834 and 1835, and had afterwards sat in Parliament for three years as a member of the Tory opposition. We can only conclude that, as yet, he had been either shut up in his private studies, or entirely surrounded by party associations and suggestions as to questions both of Church and State. He had enough general knowledge and enough originality, to feel that no existing theory of Church and State was adequate to the conditions of the problem, even so far as he then apprehended it, or to the demands of modern thought, but he had no true ideas whatever as to the actual realities of religious conviction and life in England, as existing especially in the middle ranks of society and among the more independent operative classes. Perhaps his Scottish parentage may in part help us to understand this. Religious conditions in Scotland furnish no analogy whatever to religious conditions in England; and the scion of a Scottish Episcopalian family, transplanted to England, and nurtured in the University of Oxford, would be little likely to enter into the realities of English Nonconformity, with its characteristic spontaneity, its energetic independence, and—how unlike Scotland, especially the Scotland of forty-years ago in this respect!—its manifold varieties of creed and government and forms of worship. It seems necessary to take these matters into account, in order to understand the absolute unreality, the prodigious sort of merely individual speculation, of adventurous assumption as to the ecclesiastical possibilities, nay, probabilities and duties, of the near future, which distinguish the volume of which we have been speaking—a volume which might well have been written by one who had seen nothing whatever of life, who knew nothing whatever, even by book study, of the most active and energetic religious organisations of England, who was a speculative philosopher from another world, knowing England only by her history before 1688, and theorising from afar.

The state of his eyesight obliged Mr. Gladstone to take a tour in Europe during the autumn of 1838. During this period his book was printed, the product doubtless of

many previous months of meditation. It was as absolute a speculative ideal as Plato's *Republic*; it was the fruit of a mind much more Platonising than Aristotelian in its general cast, or at least in the tone which dominated it at this time; of a mind, however, which was destined soon to be reduced to obedience to the claims and laws of reality by the breaking up of its idols, and by familiar converse with the business of life at its very centre, the centre of England's manifold living activities. The talent and eloquence of the treatise, added to the rising fame of its author, as the most distinguished and gifted young politician in the House of Commons, and in combination with the newly kindled enthusiasm and glow of Anglican zeal and fervour, carried it rapidly through three editions. A fourth, carefully revised and much enlarged, was published in 1841. By this time, however, the hollowness and unreality of the whole speculation had come to be generally felt. Macaulay's masterly review in the *Edinburgh* had smitten it to the heart; but, yet more, the test of time and thought had shown all sober thinkers that the whole was but a dream. With the manly frankness, characteristic of the whole *Autobiography*, Mr. Gladstone himself says, "all interest in it had gone by, and it lived for nearly thirty years only in the vigorous and brilliant, though not (in my opinion) entirely faithful picture, drawn by the accomplished hand of Lord Macaulay."

The leading principle of this treatise was that the State was in duty bound to maintain a Church-Establishment as a witness to Christian truth; the State was bound to maintain the teaching of the true religion. Such a theory could not be maintained in this country, even thirty years ago, as unconditionally and absolutely binding. We do not say that it has no foundation of truth; we do say that, as a theory of law or government for England, it has, by force of circumstances, come, ages since, to be quite impracticable; and that any attempt to carry fairly and fully out its meaning and actual application throughout all the legislation of this country could not but violate those principles of practical equity, which are a much more direct and evident dictate and demand of Christianity, as applied to administration and government, than any abstract theory whatever could possibly be. This had already come to be felt, if not always frankly acknowledged, by statesmen of every class and colour, even at the time when the book was

published. Already the men of highest practical sagacity in the Tory no less than the Whig party had abandoned the idea of practically asserting, on behalf of the Church by law established, "those exclusive claims, which become positively unjust in a divided country governed on popular principles."

Mr. Gladstone believed fervently in his own theory at the time, but he very soon discovered that no one else did. "Scarcely," he says, "had my work issued from the press when I became aware that there was no party, no section of a party, no individual person probably in the House of Commons, who was prepared to act upon it. I found myself the last man on the sinking ship." "The condition of our poor, of our criminals, of our military and naval services, and the backward state of popular education, forced on us a group of questions, before the moral pressure of which the old rules"—the old exclusive principle—"gave way." In respect to none of these cases was it any longer possible to act on the principle that the Church of England alone was to be the legally appointed and recognised instructress of the people. The failure of the education clauses in Sir James Graham's Factories' Bill was a signal illustration of this truth. At this time Mr. Gladstone was a member of the Tory Cabinet, and he tells us that "the very first opinion he was ever called upon to give in Cabinet was an opinion in favour of the withdrawal of that measure." The case of Maynooth came on in a very few more years (in 1845) to test still more severely Mr. Gladstone's theory. He felt that the author of such a work as his treatise ought not to be a member of the Ministry that proposed permanently to endow Maynooth, and he resigned his office. Nevertheless he held that, in the actual circumstances of the case, it was impossible to resist the arguments in favour of the endowment, and, although he had resigned, he both voted and spoke on behalf of the proposal. How false, however, he felt the situation to be which seemed to demand such a legislative vote, may be judged by the sequel, a quarter of a century later. Mr. Gladstone's resignation, and subsequent vote, in 1845, may be said to have brought after them as a direct, though distant, consequence, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

"My work," he says "had used none of the stock arguments for maintaining the Church of Ireland. I did not say, 'Maintain it lest you should disturb the settlement of property.' I did not

say, "Maintain it, lest you should be driven to repeal the Union." I did not say, 'Maintain it, lest you should offend and exasperate the Protestants.' I did not say, 'Maintain it, because the body known as the Irish Church has an indefeasible right to its property.' I did not say, 'Maintain it for the spiritual benefit of a small minority.' Least of all did I say, 'Maintain it, but establish religious equality, setting up at the public charge other Establishments along with it; or, by distributing a sop here, and a sop there, to coax Roman Catholics and Presbyterians into a sort of acquiescence in its being maintained.' My ground, right or wrong, was this: 'the Church of Ireland must be maintained for the benefit of the whole people of Ireland, and must be maintained as the truth, or it cannot be maintained at all.' The moment I admitted the validity of a claim by the Church of Rome for the gift of new funds for the education of its clergy, the true basis of the Established Church of Ireland was for me cut away."

The consequences of the practical refutation thus given to Mr. Gladstone's ideal theory may be easily traced. Too logical to rest content with a position of compromise, assailable on every side; too earnest and conscientious to accept as a permanent settlement of so grave and fundamental a question any arrangement of mere expediency; he could not find any resting-place short of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the reduction of all Christian organisations in the sister island to a basis of voluntary organisation and independent self-government. This was a conclusion limited, indeed, to Ireland, and growing out of the special circumstances of Ireland. It did not follow that he was to be committed to the principle of disestablishment for England. But it did follow, and, indeed, had become for him an evidently necessary conclusion at an earlier period, flowing from the proved impracticability of his own *a priori* theory—that the question of the maintenance of the Established Church of England could thenceforth only be for him one of practical equity and of Christian expediency, as regarded in the light of moral and political considerations of the highest and largest kind, and was no longer a question of necessary abstract principle. The following facts mark the position in which he stood at the corresponding dates.

In 1847, when he succeeded Mr. Estcourt in the representation of Oxford University, Mr. Gladstone having been challenged as to his views respecting the disestablishment

of the Irish Church, refused to give any pledge to "stand by that Church," as Lord Coleridge, the secretary, at the time, of his election committee, has distinctly testified. In 1851 he voted against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and at the same time declared the impossibility of changing "the profound and resistless tendencies of the age towards religious liberty." In 1863, as Lord Selborne has declared, Mr. Gladstone "told him privately that he had made up his mind on the subject of the Irish Church, and should not be able to keep himself from giving public expression to his feelings," and that he was anxious, accordingly, that "his friends connected with the University" should "consider whether or not they would desire, for that reason, a change in the representation of the University." In 1865, on the motion of Mr. Dillwyn, he made a speech in which he declared that, as to the Irish Church, present action was impossible, and at any time immense difficulties would have to be encountered; but yet that this was "the question of the future." This speech brought his seat for the University in peril. Dr. Hannah wrote to him respecting it, to whom Mr. Gladstone replied in a now somewhat famous letter. He stated strongly his views as to the abstract question, but, at the same time, said that, as a practical question, the subject was remote, and had no bearing on the actual politics of the day, excusing himself on this ground from entering into details respecting it, or committing himself, even in general outline, to any sketch or statement of a plan for the disestablishment. It is obvious to remark that there is some apparent inconsistency between his saying, on Mr. Dillwyn's motion, that this was "*the question of the future*," and his writing to Dr. Hannah that the question was so remote as to be "out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day." The discrepancy, however, is not important. Perhaps an easy explanation might show that there is hardly any real inconsistency whatever.

In 1868, as is well known, Mr. Gladstone announced the question of the Irish Church as the first of all matters to be dealt with in the new chapter of reform and progress which was to be opened. How it was that in three years a question which he had not regarded in any sense as a "burning question," or one of present and pressing policy, came to be, in his judgment, by a sudden turn of political affairs, by an unexpectedly rapid development of political progress, and by a

new "reform" in the representation, a living question, Mr. Gladstone has explained in his *Autobiography*. He may well have expected that a gradual work of political advance and reconstruction in England would have been his final work as a statesman. He found, as by a vast landslip, the whole prospect changed before him; and Irish questions, with the Irish Church question in advance, when the intervening questions were suddenly disposed of and moved away, seemed to confront him close at hand. All this he had not foreseen. As he says himself, the question of Parliamentary Reform, though settled (for the first time) in 1832, seemed to be a remote question in the first half of 1880. "For my part," he also says, "I have never been so happy, at any time of my life, as to be able sufficiently to adjust the proper conditions of handling any difficult question until the question itself was at the door." "I referred to my own political life-time. A man who, in 1865, completed his thirty-third year of a laborious career, who had already followed to the grave the remains of almost all the friends, abreast of whom he had started from the University in the career of public life; and who had observed that, excepting two recent cases, it was hard to find in our whole history a single man who had been permitted to reach the fortieth year of a course of labour similar to his own within the House of Commons; such a man might surely be excused if he did not venture to reckon for himself on an exemption from the lot of greater and better men, and if he formed a less sanguine estimate of the fraction of space yet remaining to him, than seems to have been the case with his critics."

Before we leave this matter—the question of Mr. Gladstone's first great illusion, and how it has been disposed of—it is necessary to show where and how he stands as to the subject of Church Disestablishment at the present time. He has not given up one set of abstract and doctrinaire principles, one ideal, simply to be driven into a contrary position of *a priori* idealism. He is no doctrinaire adherent of the disestablishment theory, nor does he even accept the position of his masterly critic Macaulay, whom, however, he admits not only to have refuted his theory, but to have held a more reasonable theory than his own, and one which had at least the merit of being adapted to the circumstances of the times. He stands on an intermediate ground, which, holding on in some measure to the

spirit of his early ideal, yet admits of being practically adapted to the complex conditions and divided claims of our modern life.

"It seems to me," he says, "that in every function of life, and in every combination with his fellow-creatures for whatever purpose, the duties of man are limited only by his powers. It is easy to separate, in the case of a gas company or a chess club, the primary end for which it exists from everything extraneous to that end. It is not so easy in the case of the State or of the family. If the primary end of the State is to protect life and property, so the primary end of the family is to propagate the race. But around these ends there cluster, in both cases, a group of moral purposes, variable indeed with varying circumstances, but yet inhering in the relation, and not external or merely incidental to it. The action of man in the State is moral, as truly as it is in the individual sphere; although it be limited by the fact that, as he is combined with others whose views and wills may may differ from his own, the sphere of the common operations must be limited, first, to the things in which all are agreed; secondly, to the things in which, though they may not be agreed, yet equity points out, and the public sense acknowledges, that the whole should be bound by the sense of the majority."

"I can hardly believe that even those, including as they do so many men both upright and able, who now contend on principle for the separation of the Church from the State, are so determined to exalt their theorem to the place of an universal truth, that they ask us to condemn the whole of that process, by which, as the Gospel spread itself through the civilised world, Christianity became incorporated with the action of civil authority, and with the framework of public law. In the course of human history, indeed, we perceive little of unmixed evil, and far less of universal good. It is not difficult to discern that (in the language of Bishop Heber), as the world became Christian, Christianity became worldly; that the average tone of a system which embraces in its wide-spreading arms the entire community, is almost, of necessity, lower than that of a society which, if large, is still private, and into which no man enters except by his own deliberate choice, very possibly even at the cost of much personal and temporal detriment. But Christ died for the race, and those who notice the limited progress of conversion in the world until alliance with the civil authority gave to His religion a wider access to the attention of mankind, may be inclined to doubt whether, without that alliance, its immeasurable and inestimable social results would ever have been attained. Allowing for all that may be justly urged against the danger of mixing secular motives with religious administration, and above all against the



intrusion of force into the domain of thought, I for one cannot desire that Constantine in the government of the Empire, that Justinian in the formation of its code of laws, or that Charlemagne in refounding society, or that Elizabeth in the crisis of the English Reformation, should have acted on the principle that the State and the Church in themselves are separate or alien powers, incapable of coalition."

"But there are two causes, the combined operation of which, upon reaching a certain point of development, relaxes or dissolves their union by a process as normal (if it be less beneficial) as that by which the union was originally brought about. One of these is the establishment of the principle of popular self-government as the basis of political constitutions. The other is the disintegration of Christendom from one into many communions. As long as the Church at large, or the Church within the limits of the nation, is; substantially one, I do not see why the religious care of the subject, through a body properly constituted for the purpose, should cease to be a function of the State, with the whole action and life of which it has, throughout Europe, been so long and so closely associated. As long as the State holds, by descent, by the intellectual superiority of the governing classes, and by the good will of the people, a position of original and undervived authority, there is no absolute impropriety, but the reverse, in its commending to the nation the greatest of all boons. But when, either by some revolution of institutions from their summit to their base, or by a silent and surer process, analogous to that which incessantly removes and replaces the constituent parts of the human body, the State has come to be the organ of the deliberate and ascertained will of the community, expressed through legal channels—then the inculcation of a religion can no longer rest in full or permanent force upon its authority. When, in addition to this, the community itself is split and severed into opinions and communions which, whatever their concurrence in the basis of Christian belief, are hostile in regard to the point at issue, so that what was meant for the nation dwindles into the private estate as it were of a comparative handful—the attempt to maintain an Established Church becomes an error fatal to the peace, dangerous perhaps even to the life of civil society.

"It is then by a practical, rather than a theoretic test that our Establishments of religion should be tried. In applying this practical test, we must be careful to do it with those allowances which are as necessary for the reasoner in moral subjects, as it is for the reasoner in mechanics to allow for friction, or for the resistance of air. An Establishment that does its work in much, and has the hope and likelihood of doing it in more; an Establishment that has a broad and living way open to it into the hearts

of the people; an Establishment that can command the services of the present by the recollections and traditions of a far-reaching past; an Establishment able to appeal to the active zeal of the greater portion of the people, and to the respect or scruples of almost the whole, whose children dwell chiefly on her actual living work and service, and whose adversaries, if she has them, are, in the main, content to believe that there will be a future for them and their opinions, such an Establishment should surely be maintained."

We have thus dealt with one of the two ecclesiastical illusions which have been the great stumbling-blocks and snares in Mr. Gladstone's pathway as a statesman; we have traced the steps by which he was constrained to retreat from his original position; and have shown what is his present position. We propose now to deal with the other illusion of which we have spoken, his Anglo-Catholic illusion, with which has been of necessity connected his over-great sympathy and indulgence towards the Roman Catholic Church, with all its errors and usurpations and superstitions. From this illusion we apprehend that he is as yet but half emancipated. We fear, indeed, that his radical error still remains. Politically he now altogether revolts from Popery, he has quarrelled definitively with the Papal Curia, but we fear that he still clings to those Anglican errors and superstitions which are the root of all hierarchical superstition and usurpation, which, in good sooth, not only bind the Anglo-Catholic in sympathy to the great Latin organisation, but have power even to sanction subserviency to the hierarchy of Rome.

Let us briefly explain our meaning. We fear that Mr. Gladstone still adheres to Oxford sacramental superstitions, and to that view of Church organisation and unity which regards the visible and external as necessary to the true integrity, continuity, and unity of the Church of Christ. He has never, so far as we know, said a word to imply that, as to these points, he has abandoned the principles of his early treatise, or the creed and doctrines which have been held by all his most intimate Oxford friends, and which dominate in the ecclesiastical school with which himself and his family have been always identified. If this be so, Mr. Gladstone's is as yet but a very imperfect enlightenment, but a very partial conversion, so far as regards the great ground of jealousy and suspicion which

lies between himself and the Protestant heart of his country.

The theurgic superstition which underlies the doctrines of necessary sacramental efficacy, which invests the episcopally ordained priest with the awful attribute of sacramental "conversion," or transubstantiation, makes necessary the maintenance of the "fable" of Apostolic Succession, affords a sufficient basis for all hierarchical assumptions and usurpations, and binds the Anglo-Catholic Church to that of Rome, historically and doctrinally, as her mother and mistress, her perpetual superior, her head by Divine and undeniable right. So also the claim of external continuity and visible unity, which is parallel with the postulates of sacramental superstition, which ultimately, indeed, coalesces with them, can only be maintained for the Anglican Church by identifying that Church with the communion of Rome. Mr. Gladstone fastens a quarrel on Rome because of the Syllabus and the Infallibility Decree, because of the Vatican Council of 1870. If the effect of these decrees be to lead him to abandon the whole ground of his allegiance to Rome, it is well; but unless they detach him from the old Oxford moorings he remains in an utterly untenable and unsatisfactory position.

We need hardly say that we can well sympathise with that yearning after Christian visible Church unity which has possessed the mind of Mr. Gladstone, and so many devout and superior men. We understand the fascination of that vision of Catholic unity, as of the visible city of God, the New Jerusalem, descending from heaven, of which we spoke in the earlier pages of this article. But yet we must insist on the hard truth we have now stated. If we turn to Mr. Gladstone's Essay on Ritualism, in the *Contemporary Review*, we find no evidence that he has yet recognised what is the fundamental question between him and the Protestantism of this land. It is very singular indeed how, in that essay, he ignores the very essential point of the real controversy. This omission, very serious in its meaning, if deliberately and consciously made, most surprising and significant, if altogether unconscious, renders the whole essay, in which doubtless are many good and true things excellently said, irrelevant and unsatisfactory. The one objection to Ritualism is the eucharistic doctrine and the hierarchical assumptions which its sym-

bolism is intended to teach, and which all its recognised heads and leaders affirm it is their supreme object to enforce. Mr. Gladstone quite ignores the purpose of Ritualism. He reduces the whole question to one of taste and mode. He indeed intimates that corresponding ritualistic displays may be found in Protestant countries on the Continent. Suppose we grant this—although, in a full sense, we are far from granting it—what is this to the purpose? In this country the ritualistic displays are confessedly intended to teach symbolically the doctrines to which we have referred. If in other countries they were used without any such reference, the same objection would not there apply. As a matter of fact, however, two things are to be noted. One, that “histrionic” and “symbolical” displays and performances to any similar extent are seldom, if ever, to be seen in the Churches of Continental Protestantism, the other, that the Churches of Continental Protestantism, in which ritualistic displays, in any degree similar to these, are to be found, are themselves Churches corrupted by semi-Popish superstitions, superstitions from which Lutheranism, like Anglicanism, has never been purged, and which, of late years, have been carried to great lengths. Students of Continental Protestantism have long been aware of this; and it is many years since, in an article in this Journal, entitled *Religion in Germany*, the extent of sacramental superstition in High Lutheranism, and the parallelism between the doctrines and designs of the *Kreuz Zeitung* party and those of our own Tractarian and Ritualising school, were pointed out.

No doubt Mr. Gladstone himself is averse from extreme ritualising displays. We mark in his *Autobiography* a sentence which contains the germ of his essay on Ritualism:—“There is no reason to doubt,” he says, referring to the period 1830—1840, “that at that time at least, and before such changes had become too decidedly the fashion, the outward embellishment of churches, and the greater decency and order of services, answered to, and sprang from, a call within, and proved a less unworthy conception of the sublime idea of Christian worship.” Nevertheless, it would seem that Mr. Gladstone holds those doctrines which constitute the essential poison of all extreme Anglican Ritualism and of all Popery. For which reason we do not rate his last pamphlet—his *Expostulation*—as of as high importance as, for the present,

the public seems disposed to rate it. We do not indeed question the sincerity of the writer, but we do for the present doubt the depth of his insight, and the thoroughness of his conversion.

We do not, we say, question the sincerity of the writer. We could not do so for reasons to ourselves altogether conclusive. Since July, 1870, we have had decisive information that Mr. Gladstone's views in regard to the Roman Catholic Church have been greatly modified. It is well known that from the very date of the Vatican Decrees, from the month of July, 1870, to which he himself refers in his *Expostulation*, Mr. Gladstone has been frank and ready in the expression of his views as to the effect of those decrees, the effect of the consummated policy and legislation of the Roman Catholic hierarchy as embodied in the decisions of the Vatican Council—as placing an impassable gulf between the Latin Communion and English Christianity, between the Church of Rome, as its position was defined by those decrees, and all that belongs to Christian freedom and modern progress. Mr. Gladstone expressed these views freely to politicians, and to clergymen of different schools, to English Churchmen and to Dissenters. From that date, accordingly, many have understood, whilst a considerable number have known, that Mr. Gladstone had come to identify modern Romanism, viewed as a system, with Ultramontaniam, and had decided that the public policy and the public men of England could thenceforth keep no terms, and be in no sort of compromise or understanding, more or less, with the authorities, whether ecclesiastical or quasi-political, of the Papacy.

So long as Mr. Gladstone was Premier, it was difficult for him, without saying what in Parliament would have been either irrelevant and out of place or rash and dangerous, to give any Parliamentary or political expression to these feelings. But he embraced, more than two years ago, a convenient non-political opportunity of giving public expression to his views. At a meeting held at Willis's Rooms, on May 14, 1872, on behalf of the Special Endowment Fund of King's College, he used the following language, addressing the Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided at the meeting. "Indeed, my Lord Archbishop, when we look abroad we cannot conceal from ourselves that in that which is the greatest Christian communion, events have of late taken place of portentous significance. I must own

that, admitting the incapacity of my understanding to grasp fully what has occurred, the aspect of the recent decrees at Rome appears to me too much to resemble the proclamation of a perpetual war against the progress and the movement of the human mind." Such are his words as reported in the *Guardian* newspaper, words which his audience greeted with "loud cheers." When he spoke them he was Prime Minister of England, and he must have known how deeply such words could not but offend his Irish supporters in the House of Commons. Nothing but a profound conviction on his part, coupled also with a deliberate intention of marking his sense of the political, as well as intellectual, defiance, which the Papacy had launched against national progress and true human liberty, can account for his utterance of such words on such an occasion. They were at once flashed by the telegraph to Rome, to America, to Germany, to France, and all round the world.

Nor was there any conscious inconsistency on the part of Mr. Gladstone, after having spoken these words, in the introduction of the Irish University Bill. The principles of that measure, as intended by Mr. Gladstone, and as apprehended at first by the House of Commons and the public press, were in harmony with the modern educational policy of Parliament, and seemed to be obvious principles of equity. The deep mischief of that proposal was not revealed until it was examined in its details. The working of the measure would have been to hand over the rule in the higher education of Ireland, as it has long ago been handed over in Irish primary education, to the Roman Catholic bishops. But this was far from apparent on the face of the Bill. In its general outline, and in the spirit which governed its form and shaping, so far as its main purpose was concerned, it was a Bill not only of statesman-like comprehensiveness and scope, but of equitable and altogether unsectarian intent. But the minor provisions and detailed arrangements and proportions seemed to be skilfully contrived for the purpose of playing into the hands of Rome. Mr. Gladstone ought to be acquitted of all personal complicity in the mischievous intent of these clauses. Before the vote was taken on the second reading, he had signified his willingness to sacrifice them all, and, retaining only the most general principles of the Bill, to make changes which would have removed all danger in its working of Roman Catholic predominance. But these

concessions came too late to stay the tide of English antagonism to the Bill—indeed, the effect of the promised concessions had hardly been appreciated by the Protestant opponents of the measure when the division came—while they were instantly comprehended by the Romanists as fatal to all their hopes of making great capital out of the Bill, and as essentially opposed to the daring demands of their Church. The consequence was that whilst the concessions saved not many votes on the one side, they lost for the measure all the Roman Catholic votes. So ended Mr. Gladstone's final attempt to make a settlement, at once satisfactory and equitable, of the question of Roman Catholic higher education for Ireland. Since that time the O'Keeffe controversy, in and out of Parliament, must have taught him how perilous are all dealings with public education where Rome is concerned, and how thoroughly unsatisfactory is the present condition of primary education in Ireland. We imagine he will be wary about coming near any of these questions again; and that, if he should undertake them, it will hardly be in a sense favourable to the pretensions of Rome. So far, however, as regards the Irish University Bill, with which alone we are now properly concerned, our remarks are intended to show that Mr. Gladstone's proposals were not, so far as his purpose and their general principle were concerned, inconsistent with that anti-Papal feeling and intent which, since 1870, had become so strongly defined within him, and which he utters so impressively in his *Expostulation*. On the contrary, Mr. Gladstone would no doubt contend that, so far as his Bill was equitable in its spirit, it would have strengthened the State and strengthened Protestantism in maintaining their rights against Romanism—since equity in dealing with dissidents or enemies must always strengthen those who stand in a position at once of power and of right—and, besides, that the spread of modern science and knowledge, to the utmost possible extent, by means of national University culture, was likely to prove the best antidote, in a Roman Catholic country and among Roman Catholics themselves, to the spread of Ultramontane bigotry and bondage.

If, however, prior to the defeat of the Irish University Bill—if, nearly three years before that date, as we have seen—the Vatican Decrees had convinced Mr. Gladstone that, in the interests of truth and freedom in the widest

sense, there could be no Concordat with Rome, there can be no doubt that his impressions to that effect were not only deepened, but received a special point and confirmation, by his experience in connection with that Bill. The Pope spoke, and, as one man, the Irish Representatives voted against the Bill, against a Bill which had been meant to do justice to the educational claims of Irish Roman Catholics, in the sphere of higher education, and as to which Bill the universal report seems to be more probable than the representations of public rumour often are, to the effect that it had received the approval at least of Archbishop Manning, if not also of the leading minds among the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy. It is true that the Bill these authorities approved was by no means the Bill which would have been carried, after Mr. Gladstone's concessions, and after the debate on the second reading, if the Roman Catholic members had not turned and voted against it. But yet Mr. Gladstone, conscious of his own equitable meaning, painfully aware that, for the sake of doing generous justice to the Irish Roman Catholics, he had exposed himself to suspicion and misrepresentation, and that, at any rate, no one could either intend more fairly, or operate more favourably, in the interests of Roman Catholic higher education than himself, felt very keenly his desertion at the final hour of decision by the Roman Catholics obeying the command of Rome. In this he seemed to see a pregnant illustration of the meaning and spirit, and an immediate instance of the effects, of the Vatican Decrees. Here he recognised at once their antagonism to true higher education and to national liberty and progress. Here he saw how the Papal prerogative and power stands in necessary antagonism alike to the rights of sovereigns and to the independence and liberty of nations, how they are incompatible with loyalty as with enlightenment on the part of submissive Roman Catholics.

The experience of the past has borne its fruit. A sentence in Mr. Gladstone's *Essay on Ritualism*, contained, in a single paragraph, a pointed and eloquent expression of the convictions which the reflection and experience of four years had wrought into the mind of the writer. This paragraph having excited the anger and animosity of the Roman Catholic press in England and Ireland, Mr. Gladstone had a fair opportunity of explaining and justifying it, and in so doing of explaining himself fully as to the



present position of Rome and as to his understanding of the Vatican Decrees. Mr. Gladstone knew, of course, that so to explain himself would be an advantage to himself with his countrymen, would tend to remove misapprehensions, and to reinstate him, both as a Protestant Christian and as a politician, with multitudes who had, on ecclesiastical or religious grounds, disliked, or, at least, suspected him. His *Expostulation*, we have no doubt, is sincere and true; but quite as little do we doubt that, in sending it forth, Mr. Gladstone anticipated, or, at least, hoped, that it might prove to be politically opportune, and might be accepted by many of his alienated countrymen as an effective defence of his own genuineness as an English Protestant and Churchman.

As such, rather than as contributing anything essentially valuable or permanently important to the controversy with Rome, are we prepared to welcome Mr. Gladstone's last pamphlet. It has also a secondary, but by no means unimportant value, as having served to elicit from such men as Lords Acton and Camoys, Mr. Henry Petre, Mr. Delisle, and Serjeant Shee, disclaimers of all sympathy with the Vatican Decrees, and from Bishop Clifford a renewed statement of the Old English Roman Catholic position—heresy perhaps it might be called by Dr. Manning—that the Pope can have no right or power to interfere with the civil allegiance of English subjects.

The chief gist of Mr. Gladstone's contention is that, by the Vatican Decrees, an essential change has been effected in the relations of the Roman Catholic Church towards the State in this country, and towards the civil power generally, and that whereas before there was no essential incompatibility between the allegiance owed by a Roman Catholic to his sovereign and that which he owed to his Church, now there is such an incompatibility. We confess that we cannot altogether agree with this conclusion. One important question to be asked is, whether a Roman Catholic is to be understood to be bound by all that his Church, or the authorities which claim authority over his Church, require or decree. If the answer is in the affirmative, then we think it to be most certain that at no period for many centuries past has the duty of the Roman Catholic to his Church been compatible with the loyal performance of his duties to his sovereign. If the answer be in the negative, then it is obvious that Roman Catholics cannot be held to

be personally responsible for decrees to the passing of which they were no parties, and that it ought not to be assumed that all of them will, as a matter of course, yield obedience to such decrees. It is impossible to understand past ages in a truly historical and philosophic spirit, without continually bearing in mind that the Papal Curia has never been co-extensive in its influence, or in its real representative character, with the Latin Communion. The yoke has been made by the Pope and his counsellors, has been forged and completed by a succession of Popes and Popish counsellors, and (so-called) General Councils, working ever through the ages towards a system of fatal and fated results, arising necessarily out of the false principles which the hierarchical government of the Church implies as its postulates; but all the while the nations of the Latin Communion have but partially accepted, often they have passively rejected, or resisted, those results.

In other words, the members of the Church have often been better than the system of the Church. This has been true very often even of the priesthood and the monastic orders; it might well, therefore, as to civil affairs and relations, be true of the laity. In different countries, also, different degrees of religious enlightenment, or of civil light and liberty, have prevailed. When Rome in part reconquered Germany it was obliged, notwithstanding, to concede something to the spirit of the Reformation. Hence German Catholicism has, at least since the Reformation, been always comparatively liberal and enlightened, altogether different from the Catholicism of Italy and Spain, or, which is the same thing as of Spain, of Belgium, so long under Spanish influence. The same is in some sort true as to France, which, although it cast out cruelly the Puritans, has never ceased to retain memories of Henri Quatre, and, if not of religious liberty, at least of "the Gallican liberties." So also the Catholics of England defied the Pope (at least some of them), and fought for their country and Queen Elizabeth, and have for the most part retained loyalty to the Queen as a part of their religious duty. Nor can it be imagined that even Ireland has been beyond the reach of similar influences, unhappy as were for ages her relations with this country. At the present day, in the case of not a few Irishmen, especially among the barristers and judges of the island, we have striking illustrations of the possibility of combining fidelity

to the Roman profession with allegiance to the laws and sovereignty of the empire.

All this, however, by no means proves, in our judgment, that up to the year 1870 firm and assured, let us say supreme and religious, loyalty to the throne was any more compatible with thorough-going obedience to the Church of Rome than it is now that the Vatican Decrees have passed. Those decrees declare the Infallibility of the Pope, and claim for him universal obedience and authority. The latter claim, however, is really the one which strictly and directly concerns the allegiance of Roman Catholics to the laws and government of the country in which they claim citizenship. And surely the Pope's claim to be King of kings and Lord of lords, is almost as ancient as the very name of Pope, and has never been suspended. It is a claim which requires no General Council to sanction it; the Vatican has but reaffirmed what has always been a Papal assertion, and what, in the Middle Ages, as we know, was no idle pretension. A Pope could, and can now, in virtue of his undoubted ecclesiastical prerogative and authority, enforce this claim by the most stringent spiritual penalties, even by an Interdict. Such ecclesiastical authority seems almost of itself to imply, to confer, a civil power superior to that of any monarch or potentate. If, in the present age, such authority has become a mere name, it is certain that by the Vatican Decree it will not be galvanised into new vitality, or even into spasmodic activity for a season. Read in the light of these considerations, Lord Acton's enumeration in his calm and learned letters to the *Times* of the claims, and effronteries, and monstrous misdeeds of Popes in the past, is full of instruction. Such power have Popes in the past not only claimed but exercised, such deeds have they done: and yet in those very ages ecclesiastics in this country set the laity the example in defying the Pope and all his anathemas, the Pope and all his spiritual powers; in those very ages Englishmen retained their allegiance to their sovereign and to the laws of their country. It may well be believed, accordingly, that in this age no Vatican Decree will avail to terrorise the Roman Catholic gentlemen of England, or even of Ireland, into the renunciation of their allegiance to the throne and laws of the land.

If Mr. Gladstone points to the conduct of the Irish Romanist members about his Bill, it is obvious to reply that

Irish votes had been given in mass on former occasions in obedience to Papal influence; and also that, on this occasion at least, no question of loyalty was involved. What we do not see as yet is—that matters have been made by the Vatican Decrees radically or essentially different from what they were before. Bad may have been made worse, but there has been no revolutionary change. English Roman Catholic gentlemen will find some means to escape from the pressure of the Infallibility Decree as they have done from former claims of the Papacy. Serjeant Shee, indeed, and others, have been showing the way. Vulgar Romanists, no doubt, will maintain the Infallibility of the Pope in the future; but so, for the most part, they have done in the past; or, if they have not, the priest has been virtually an infallible religious referee and authority, an absolute authority and guide for them; and so, we apprehend, it will be in future.

No doubt some German and English, and perhaps also some French catechisms, in which heretofore the Infallibility of the Pope has been denied, will have to be altered—at least for the present. At this moment, also, there is, in consequence of the Vatican Council, a high pressure put upon bishops everywhere to maintain in words and as a dogma the Infallibility of the Pope. But, so far as any practical assertion of that prerogative, or of the Papal claim to obedience, in connection with civil allegiance and everyday life, is concerned, we do not see that the present Pope or his successor—whose turn cannot but come soon—will be at all more likely to succeed in its enforcement than the feeblest of his predecessors. Never were the times so little favourable, indeed, as now to ecclesiastical usurpations. The Vatican Council has put the last touch to the fabric of Papal usurpation; words can hardly go further than the Vatican Council has pushed them, but those claims were never less likely to take practical effect than now. Archbishop Manning, before he left for Rome, published a Missive, in which he virtually pronounced excommunication on all who did not accept the dogma of Papal Infallibility. That desperate resort of ecclesiastical authority has already recoiled on the Archbishop and his Church.

Doubtless the claim of Infallibility set up for the Pope is monstrous, but not more monstrous than the hierarchical and theurgic superstitions on which all his pretensions

rest ; not more monstrous than the assumption of priestly prerogative in transubstantiation, which is virtually claimed by our own High Churchmen, by Mr. Gladstone's intimate friends and co-workers, in England to-day. Indeed, the Papal Decree—a decree sent forth and promulgated on the authority of the present Pope, and not of any Ecumenical Council—by which the Immaculate Conception was erected into an article of faith, was, as we have ever felt, a much more revolting and awful act of spiritual usurpation than the claim and Decree of Infallibility, and, moreover, implied the infallibility of the spiritual potentate who sent it forth. Nevertheless Dr. Newman professed, in his *Apologia*, his submission to that decree, and, both in his *Apologia* and also in his *Essay on Development*, has used language in regard to the Church's claim of infallibility, and the decisions of the "Infallible Chair," incompatible with any other view but that of the Infallibility of the Pope, as apart from Councils. Indeed, the Church must have been for centuries practically denuded of its boasted attribute of infallibility if the Pope were not infallible. No council had assembled since that of Trent. Had the infallible Church been through all the interval bereft of infallible guidance? For an out and out Romanist there could be but one answer to the question. To deny the Papal Infallibility in view of such an alternative was to abandon the Church's highest claims, and to prove the denier to be by no means an implicitly obedient or perfectly orthodox son of the Church.

The dogma of Papal Infallibility is a logical necessity in the Roman system : we regard it as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the system, but not as one whit more absurd, or impious, or awful a claim than many others which have for some ages been a part of the system. It is our comfort to reflect that, notwithstanding, there are Catholics and Catholics ; that the Latin Communion is not throughout and in the persons of all its votaries absolutely identified with the Roman system of dogmas and usurpations, that, in spite of the Vatican Decrees and the Syllabus, light must and will continue to spread more and more through "Catholic" nations ; that civil liberty as well as general enlightenment is spreading and working ; that nation after nation must begin, before long, to emancipate itself from spiritual thralldom by the sword of civil liberty severing its bonds, and by the uprising power of national liberty and life : and that, even in the Vatican Council itself may be

recognised the crisis of the contention, from which a visible and growing defeat must be dated.

It is true, no doubt, that the Vatican Council was intended not only to revive, but to consolidate and to extend, the impious and audacious claims of the Papacy to temporal supremacy, as well as spiritual absolutism throughout the world. The Council was a deeply laid conspiracy against the liberties and progress of the nations, and was connected with political manœuvres and influences of a subtle and powerful kind, such as Count von Arnim described at the time to his principals at Berlin, and as Bismarck has lately denounced in the German Parliament. But, politically, the Council has been detected, exposed, defeated. The Papacy, borrowing courage from despair, has never perhaps for centuries past been so insolent, so daring, so full of political purpose and activity, as now; but, at the same time, it has never had arrayed against it convictions so deep and so wide-spread, political intelligence and influence so powerful and so far-reaching, so wide a common consent of nations, so vast and mighty a movement of the popular will.

Thirty years ago Mr. Disraeli, in marrying his heroine, Sybil, the daughter of "two nations,"—viz. the aristocracy and the working people—with an English nobleman, made the factory manager's daughter to be not only of the old blood of England but of the "old faith," thus symbolising in his own way the union of rank and labour, of the landlords and the land-workmen, of the old Catholic and the modern Catholic faith. That was his "Young England" creed of thirty years ago, when Lord John Manners was the poet and one of the rising hopes of the party which aspired to new-model the Toryism of England, but had not as yet duly learned its *métier*. *Lothair* shows how many years have passed since then, and how well its author has learnt the lesson of the times as to the ambition and craft of Popery. It is satisfactory to find that Mr. Gladstone has now learnt, at least in part, the same lesson, and that neither leader is in danger of attempting to mislead Parliament into fostering an influence which, if left to itself, will be comparatively powerless, at least in England, but which has derived great and mischievous power from political bids for its influence, and from a false indulgence of its anti-civil and anti-social demands and pretensions.

ART. VII.—*Forgiveness and Law. Grounded on Principles Interpreted by Human Analogies.* By HORACE BUSHNELL, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

DR. BUSHNELL has won for himself the distinction of being the chief American representative of a theory of the atonement which renounces the notion of expiated guilt. As such he has been much read and admired in England. He is quoted by all historians of the doctrine, and extolled for his boldness, vigour, and eloquence by both the friends and the foes of his views. His place has been assigned in the class of which Robertson, Young, Jowett, and McLeod Campbell are brilliant expositors. He must often have seen himself ranked with them as an advocate of what is commonly called, though without any special propriety, the moral theory of redemption. But he seems now desirous of emancipating himself from the yoke of any particular theory, and of setting up a new one of his own. Since the publication of his well-known book on *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, he has received fresh light, and comes forward now with a partial recantation and revision. As we have made our readers familiar, by more than one notice, with his ancient views, it is only right to let them know the fact and the value of the change that has come over the author, or which he supposes to have come over himself. The little book we have to notice evidently calculates on a wide circulation in England; we therefore feel bound to offer our comments as soon as possible. They will be simply comments on the book, not entering fully into the great subject to the right understanding of which it professes to be a contribution.

It is only bare justice, both to the author and his readers, that the circumstances of the change should be noticed. They will be given in his own words, and speak for themselves. If we mistake not, the statement will itself go very far to undermine the foundation of any doctrine that Dr. Bushnell may have to teach, and to neutralise any influence he may have already exerted. The age is impatient, especially on this subject, of new

views which are loose, indefinite, and avowedly not amenable to formula.

"It will be understood, I presume, that I suppose the two revised statements or solutions of doctrine I am now going to propound, to be really new. I frankly allow that I do, and also as frankly confess that on this simple fact my courage and confidence are most weakened by misgivings. For who can expect a great subject like this, which has engaged so many of the most gigantic minds of so many past ages, to be now, in these last times, more sufficiently apprehended and better expounded by an ordinary teacher, at his common level of standing. It is difficult, I allow, not to be greatly appalled when confronted by this objection. But it must not be forgotten that now and then some person will be stronger in his accidents than other and greater people have been in their powers; also, that God himself sometimes makes accidents for minds by His own private touch, when He will unfold some needed lesson; also, that God has a way of preparing sometimes for the uncovering of truth, and that as He would not have His Son appear till the fulness of time should come, so He will not expect His Son's Gospel to be duly conceived till the times are ready, and all the suggestive conditions ripe that may set us in upon it. No greatest man or champion is going to conquer a truth before its time, and no least competent man, we may also dare to say, need miss of a truth when its time has come, and the flags of right suggestion are all out before him. How easy a thing it is, in fact, to think what the times have got ready to be thought, and are even whispering to us from behind all curtains of discovery, and out of all the most secret nooks and chambers of experience. That now the clock has finally struck, and the day has fully come for some new and different thinking of this great subject, I most verily believe."—P. 14.

We have no disposition, when treating a theme like this, and judging a writer who has laboured hard to understand it and make others understand it, to be satirical. But we are bound to say that there never was a more ambitious flourish before a slight achievement than this. Let us examine the points on which it has been the author's privilege, as he thinks, to catch the last breath of the spirit of true development in the doctrine of the atonement.

The former treatise held firmly to the theory of "the work of Christ as a reconciling power on man." This was declared to be the whole import and effect of it. The thought of any propitiation of the Divine displeasure, or expiation of the guilt of sin, by a satisfaction of God's



justice, was denounced with the utmost energy, and, sometimes, as we shall hereafter have to show, with what in England would be called irreverence. But a keen eye might detect in that former work the signs of discontent with his own views. Reading some parts of it we could not help feeling that Dr. Bushnell was a secret traitor to his theory, and a secret half-unconscious adherent of the truth. On what principle could such sentences as the following be interpreted?—"How shall we come to God by the help of this martyrdom? How shall we turn it, or turn ourselves under it, so as to be justified and set in peace with God? Plainly there is a want here, and this want is met by giving a *thought-form to the facts which is not in the facts themselves*. They are put directly into the moulds of the altar, and we are called to accept the crucified God-man as our sacrifice, an offering or oblation for us, our propitiation, so as to be sprinkled from our evil conscience,—washed, purged, and cleansed from our sin. . . . We want to use these altar terms just as freely as they are used by those who accept the formula of expiation or judicial satisfaction for sin. . . . The most cultivated and intellectual disciple wants them now, and will get his dearest approaches to God in their use. We can do without them, it may be, for a little while; but after a while we seem to be in a Gospel that has no atmosphere, and our breathing is a gasping state. Our very repentances are hampered by too great subjectivity, becoming, as it were, a pulling at our own shoulders." These sentences of the older work are not among the recantations of the present one. They were, and still are, evidence that the writer's heart is better than his theory. How comes it that the *thought-form* put into the facts by the feeling of awakened Christians should so universally commend itself to the penitent soul? Moreover, how comes it that the expression of that *thought-form* cannot be explained, even by one who thinks that they are not in the facts themselves, but in the very language which is current in Scripture? Surely this is paradox, inexcusable paradox. Argument takes refuge in desperation. It amounts to this, that the doctrine of the atonement, in which is the life of men's souls, and the unfolding of which is most certainly the central object of the entire Scriptures of truth, is so set forth as not only to permit but to demand a wholly erroneous interpretation on the part of those most

vitality interested in understanding it aright, and at the very time when it is felt to be the one thing needful. Remembering that former confession, we naturally look in the present volume for some explanation. Taking it up, and finding in its preface the promise of amended views, we eagerly look for some tokens of concession. But in vain. Dr. Bushnell has modified some views and statements. But we look in vain for any decided indication of an approach to the faith once delivered to the saints. There is the same satirical contempt for the "jail-delivery" theory, for the "paymaster scheme of justification," the same preference for a Gospel "not bolted in by the legal majesty of Sinai, but melted in by the suffering goodness of Christ," and the same feverish anxiety to get rid of all "summation of doctrine" and all "hard-pan justice" hypothesis, and to "recover the living ideas we have killed by the dry timber words in which we put them, and, finally, to recover the living and flexible senses of the words themselves." In short, our author has grown almost reckless; and among his last sayings in this professed improvement are these:—"The speculating, over-dogmatising habit that has been pressing us into the literal method, has also, for the same reason, been making our Gospel narrow and close, and a more nearly choking bondage than either it could afford to be, or we to make it. And thus again, for a double reason, we are to have our account in almost any variety of Gospel version, that will take us clear of the nearly fatal syncope of our literal tethers, and give us a more easy play in the figures and poetic liberties of the truth."

These words give us fair warning what to expect. There is to be no mercy for dogmatic statements of any kind—that is, of dogmatic statements that are too faithful to the language of Scripture itself. Some kind of formal statement of Divine revelations Dr. Bushnell admits to be necessary. In his Introduction, he says:—"The supposition is, that, being given to intelligence, intelligence will fall at work upon them, and that human thought, labouring in the outward images of things, will generate modes of speech and laws of experience that compose a kind of second language on the bare level of nature. And so it will, by-and-by, begin to be the problem how to get the simple indicative matter of revelation into the forms of thought prepared in the thought-language of the mere

understanding." We venture to assert that the forms of thought are already provided in Scripture itself. The enmity to systematised dogma goes higher than the dogmatic divines of the Reformation, or the Scholastics, or the early Fathers; it assails the New Testament generally, and St. Paul in particular. Nor does it leave the great Teacher Himself untouched. For the very best dogmatic statements of the doctrine of the atonement we receive from His lips.

Dr. Bushnell is feeling his dim way onwards, but it is not towards the light, and a matter of reasonable complaint is that he should come with such ingenious simplicity before the public with his transitional mood. It were better to wait until the ripe product can be given, be it what it may prove to be. Evidence of the groping and restless state of his mind, we think we see in the strictures upon the work of McLeod Campbell, a work of our author's former school of thought, and incomparably the best of the kind. After paying its last edition a generous tribute, he gives a slight but vigorous sketch of Dr. Campbell's views; and, as this is highly interesting as coming from a writer of the same school, a few sentences from it may be extracted:—

"He maintains, in this negative criticism, a spirit of candour and deference that will so far incline almost any reader to acquiesce in the conclusion at which he arrives: viz. that the world is waiting still for a doctrine of the Cross that has not yet been taught in a way to satisfy the rational doubts of inquiry. This now he undertakes in the more positive way to supply; beginning at the vicarious relation into which Christ is entered by the love that brings Him into the world, and the personal identification He acknowledges with us in our human nature. It does not set Him legally in our place, or make Him a partaker in any of the liabilities of our guilt, it does not allow any such identification with us as permits any claim of justice or any right of punishment against Him on our account; but He is so drawn to us in His feeling that He has all our burdens upon Him. So that, spiritually speaking, He is the human race, made sin for the race, and acting for it in a way so inclusively total, that all mortal confessions, repentances, sorrows, are fitly acted by Him on our behalf. His Divine Sonship in our humanity is charged in the offering thus to God of all which the guilty world itself should offer. And so 'his confession of sin is a *perfect Amen in humanity to the judgment of God on the sin of man.*' 'He responds in it also to the Divine wrath against sin, with a perfect response—a response from the depths of that Divine humanity, and in

that perfect response He absorbs it. For that response has all the elements of a perfect repentance in humanity for all the sins of man . . . and by that perfect response in Amen to the mind of God in relation to sin is the wrath of God rightly met, and that is accorded to Divine justice which is its due, and could alone satisfy it.'"

This is a fair statement of the views propounded in the work of Dr. Campbell, successive editions of which have come before the public, exerting, as we think, a wider and more subtle influence than any other book of the class. It will be useful now to summarise Dr. Bushnell's criticism on his former coadjutor: partly for the sake of the racy style in which he executes the task and the satisfactory issue of most of his criticism, and partly for the sake of the glimpses it gives of the change for the worse which is surely coming over the mind of the critic. First, he discharges his missile at Dr. Campbell's "rather peculiar untheological modes of expression;" and this is grotesque, as a charge coming from one whose mintage is one of the most peculiar that it has ever been our lot to encounter. Perhaps, however, there is a touch of slyness about the mock charge; so let that pass. Next we have a critique of Professor Park on Campbell in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, who says, "After having implied that Christ repented of the sins of the race, we do not see why Mr. Campbell need object to the theory that He was punished for those sins." Quoting this critique our author remarks, "He certainly need not, and what is more should not." And then he proceeds as follows:—

"But is it clear, when Mr. C. speaks of repentance in this manner, that he means any such thing as we commonly understand by the word? Does he mean that Christ forsakes the sin of the world as being in the guilt of it, and casting it off with a hard and heavy struggle that amounts to a moral revolution of His nature? That would scarcely be a reverent imputation. He speaks, we observe, more than once in a way that magnifies 'the sorrow' of the repentance. He also calls the supposed repentance 'an expiation for sin' several times over. As if the superstitious ideas of penance had disfigured a little his conception of the wholly joyful and free nature of repentance; counting that the godly sorrow that worketh it stays by as sorrow, after it is worked, dragging heavily in it to the end. And yet we are in about the same doubt concerning the meaning of Edwards in the passage on which, as we may say, Dr. Campbell hangs, in a sense,

his whole theory. Thus, arguing for the necessity of an infinite suffering or sorrow, Edwards says that 'God could not be just to Himself without this vindication;' 'for there must needs be either an equivalent punishment or an equivalent sorrow and repentance.' This, too, he calls 'an adequate sorrow'; as if the pain, the sufferer's sorrow, of the repentance were its chief significance. Can it be that the religious apprehensions of Edwards were so far let down as to allow his putting the alternative thus between the pains of repentance and of punishment? Does he really imagine that some possible amount of repentance will even the reckoning of sin, requiring after that no other atonement? or is he only using the alternative as a by-play in argument, without any consideration of its merit or possibility?"—P. 31.

Dr. Bushnell does not give a fair account of President Edwards' views, which by no means entertain the thought of the possibility of a sufficient suffering penalty in repentance. The "adequate repentance" he speaks of is what he regards as a thing impossible: it never entered into his theological view that any amount of sorrow for sin could be an expiation. What Edwards says is this: "God would be unjust to Himself without this vindication, unless there could be such a thing as a repentance, humiliation, and sorrow for this, proportionable to the greatness of the majesty despised." And this he regards as utterly inconceivable. Therefore, as there must needs be either an equivalent punishment, or a sorrow and repentance equal to the offence, "sin must be punished with an infinite punishment." In his remark on Dr. Campbell, it seems to us that he gives an example of the use of terms, "as a by-play on argument, without any consideration of their merit or possibility. The Scotch divine speaks often of an expiatory repentance; the sorrow of our Representative for the sin of the race He represents having, in his theory, precisely the effect on the Father that orthodox theology expresses by the word propitiation. Now Dr. Bushnell delights in the word propitiation, and in the idea it conveys. But he has a strong disrelish for the word expiation, and therefore he charges the theory of expiatory repentance with forgetting that repentance is not a feeling of profound sorrow, but something "of a wholly joyful and free nature." Where, we would ask, is the propriety of violating in this manner the most universal instincts of the soul, and overturning the most established theological phraseology? That repentance leads to a free and joyful submis-

sion to a new law and discipline of life, and that evangelical sorrow for sin is the gift of the same Spirit who imparts new life for new obedience, is certainly true. But that conviction of sin, contrition of spirit, repentance proper, is not a feeling of sorrow, that is, of pure suffering in the spirit, cannot be asserted by any who soberly consider what they say. Dr. Campbell is not wrong when he uses the term "expiatory repentance:" that is, the collocation of the two terms is not inconsistent with the meaning he assigns to each. With him our Lord's repentance is an immeasurable sorrow; and the sorrow, being that of One who is perfectly righteous while he feels it and offers it to God, is expiatory, that is, has the effect of undoing the sin, making it as if it had not been. The theory is unsound; but the words are consistently used.

At this point, Bushnell fairly joins issue with Campbell. His charge—or, rather, the charge brought against him by Dr. Park—cannot possibly be repelled. If the Redeemer was so one with mankind, so "identified with sinners" as to feel the burden of human sin as a burden on His own spirit, a burden under which He died, His death cannot have been other than an expiatory satisfaction of Divine justice as well as of Divine love. "By offering up to God a perfect confession of them, and an adequate repentance for them, with which Divine justice is satisfied, and a full expiation is made for human guilt," Dr. Campbell argues, Christ may be said to have atoned for the sins of men. He goes so far as to admit that Christ's "*perfect amen* in humanity to the judgment of God on the sin of man" was no other than His "meeting the Divine wrath against sin with a perfect response out of the depths of His Divine Humanity—a response which (excepting the personal consciousness of sin) has all the elements of a perfect contrition and repentance." By this "the wrath of God is rightly met, and Divine justice duly satisfied;" for the Redeemer's confession may be regarded as "absorbing and exhausting the Divine wrath against our sins, in that adequate confession and perfect response on the part of man, which was possible only to the infinite and eternal righteousness in humanity." Against this "absorbing of the wrath of God," Dr. Bushnell protests.

"What is absorbed is taken on to be retentively held: is the wrath of God so taken on by Christ? This he certainly does not mean. Is it, then, simply quelled? That would be a very

remarkable consequence, to follow a mere representative repentance for sins, still and always going on, not quelled themselves. It is even more difficult still to find what is meant by the satisfying of God's justice, the repentance offered being that response to God's mind in relation to sin on which the wrath of God is rightly sent, and that is accorded to Divine justice, which is its due, and 'could alone satisfy it.' Is it, then, a satisfaction of God's justice that it is acknowledged to be just? This would be a new conception both of justice and the satisfaction. Besides, Dr. Campbell discards all the satisfaction theories, because they are *legal*, and the satisfaction here proposed in the pains of repentance is itself altogether legal, and gives a legal title to salvation if it gives anything. On the whole, it does not seem likely to me, as these brief strictures will indicate, that his positive doctrine is or can be sufficiently established."—P. 32.

We come to the same conclusion, but not for the same reason. Dr. Campbell's theory is not our present subject. But a remark or two upon it may not be out of place. It seems to us to involve two errors of an opposite kind: one of them overstating and exaggerating the Scriptural doctrine of penal expiation and the other understating and diluting it: a theory against which both these charges may be substantiated must be wrong.

The exaggeration is this, that it makes the Holy One of God, separate from sinners, into whose consciousness sin could not enter, experience, in sympathy with man, all the anguish of contrition and a broken spirit: His heart was broken, not by God's rebuke on the sinful race which He represented, but by His Divine-human adequate repentance, containing "all the elements of a human contrition." No amount of special pleading can reconcile us to this thought. It is utterly inconsistent with the first principles of the Biblical doctrine of our Lord's relation to mankind; it cannot be reconciled with any intelligible theory of the union of the two natures in the Incarnate Person; it is not supported by a single passage of the New Testament; and finally, it is no more nor less than a contradiction in terms. A fair consideration of this last would render the other arguments needless. A sorrow for sin that expiates by its bitterness must have in it the element of guilt, conscious guilt. However the theorist may recoil from including this in the passion of Christ, his theory demands it, if the repentance of Christ is the atonement, and if His atonement is His repentance. A mere sorrow

for the evil of sin, and sympathy with the race as miserable in consequence, and profound lamentation over the woes of mankind, do not make up atonement to the justice of God. All these are in the Divine mind apart from the incarnation, and have their abundant expression independently of the work of Christ. Our Lord Himself utters all these emotions towards men unsaved, whom He addresses as rejectors, and on the supposition of their being final rejectors, of His atonement. Such pitying sympathy we may suppose holy angels to feel, knowing as we do that they rejoice in human repentance. But the repentance of Christ for man in Dr. Campbell's theory is really the expiatory sorrow that absorbs the wrath of God against sin. He cannot help using these very words, and so declaring that he holds the doctrine of a vicarious satisfaction for mankind in reality while in words he rejects it. In his theory we have the active and the passive righteousness of Christ exhibited in a new form, and both of them exaggerated. The vicarious satisfaction to Divine justice is in his theory as certainly as it is in any; but the anguish of personal repentance on behalf of the race is an additional element which counterbalances the absence of the element of substitutionary endurance of the suffering due to sin. There is also the perfect righteousness of the atonement, the active obedience; which, as "the Divine righteousness in Christ, appearing on the part of man and in humanity, met the Divine righteousness in God condemning man's sin, by the true and righteous confession of its sinfulness uttered in humanity; and righteousness as in God was satisfied, and demanded no more than righteousness as in Christ thus presented." Expiation, in Dr. Campbell's theory, is the annulling of the sinful relation of man by a sorrowful confession of One who at once feels all the anguish of sin and presents the perfection of holiness on behalf of mankind. It is the orthodox doctrine; disguising, however, the endurance of the grief inflicted on the sinner by the justice of God, and adding the unimaginable and unscriptural sorrow and confession of the sin itself. Dr. Bushnell may well ask what is meant by "absorbing and exhausting the Divine wrath against our sins in that adequate confession and perfect response on the part of man, which was possible only to the infinite and eternal righteousness in humanity." The endless variety of special



pleading in Dr. Campbell's beautiful and gentle volume fails to convince us that he himself had any definite notion of the doctrine by which he endeavoured to displace the older tradition.

The other charge against it comes from another quarter. Dr. Campbell's theory requires a human supplement of the atonement, which is fatal to its acceptance. No one can have this benefit of Christ's intervention who is not by faith brought so into connection with it as to make it his own. But how can he do this? The theory supposes that Christ had no personal experience of sin: no sinner, therefore, can present the Great Repentance as his own. He must add his own personal sorrow, which is supposed to derive its atoning value, that is, to have adequacy imputed to it, through its union with the Saviour's grief. But is not this adding the satisfaction of the penitent to the Redeemer's satisfaction? Dr. Campbell refers to this point in an elaborate note appended to his second edition, in which he meets another objection urged against his theory. He says that the word repentance, as he uses it, "will have its full meaning in the personal experience of every one who accepts in faith the atonement (as now represented); for every such individual sinner will add the 'excepted' element of 'personal consciousness of sin.' But, if the consciousness of such repentant sinner be analysed, it will be found that all that is morally true and spiritual and acceptable to God in his repentance is an amen to Christ's condemnation of his sin, and that all the hope towards God, because of which his repentance is free and pure, and imbued with the spirit of worship, is equally traceable to the revelation of the heart of the Father in His acceptance of the Son's confession and intercession on man's behalf." Look how we may at this human amen to Christ's amen, we cannot find in it the union by faith with Christ's atoning person and work which St. Paul teaches us. It seems, on the other hand, perilously like the Romanist theory of contrition in the sacrament of penance.

But we have been forgetting Dr. Bushnell. What is the doctrine of propitiation that he wishes to substitute for the theory of Dr. Campbell, which he condemns in common with every other that is more avowedly orthodox? It would be exceedingly difficult to answer that question: indeed, utterly hopeless. But our object will be gained by showing that he, like Dr. Campbell, whom he criticises,

really holds even to exaggeration the doctrine that he rejects, and is orthodox *malgré lui*. He professes to discard and abolish the heathenish word expiation; but it is refreshing to find that he unconsciously pays it full homage under the disguise of propitiation; which, well considered, ought to be much the harder saying of the two for such a theological taste as his. It is almost amusing, in fact, to find how he delights in this sterner word as applied to God, and what an animosity he cherishes to the more innocent form of the same Scriptural word. Again, he resists with keen resentment the notion that the atonement, or the reconciliation, includes any change in the Divine sentiment toward man: "indeed, a great part of the texts cited for atonement, so called, conceiving it as a conciliation of God, have their whole meaning, if rightly understood, at the other side of the subject." But, if his favourite word propitiation is used, he will very strenuously insist that the very selfsame thing which theologians mean by reconciliation is altogether and only on the part of God, a "mitigation" of God's sentiments towards mankind in Christ, that is, in Himself, before the foundation of the world. We have no space in these few comments to examine the chapter at length: suffice that we make good these general charges.

It is rather startling to find Dr. Bushnell so far departing from the traditions of his school of thought as to explain propitiation altogether by human analogies. Generally, the dogmatics of the atonement are condemned for applying these analogies to the ways of God with man. Our author, however, not only permits the use of them, but goes so far as to say that "one great principle or fundamental fact" is "the universal solvent of it," and that is "the grand analogy or almost identity that subsists between our moral nature and that of God; so that our moral pathologies and those of God make faithful answer to each other, and He is brought so close to us that almost anything that occurs in the workings or exigencies of our moral instincts may even be expected in His." Applying this to the relation between the offended God and the sinner, Dr. Bushnell elaborately but confusedly shows that in our best moods, when "we forgive as God for Christ's sake has forgiven us," we seek identity with the offender by entering into his unhappy state, and by acts of cost and sacrifice, "which are, in proper verity, propitiations

of our moral nature itself," tone ourselves to a completely forgiving state. Now this is precisely as God forgives. In Christ, acting on His behalf, He makes great sacrifice for man and wins him thus, or seeks to win him. At least, "there is a propitiation accomplished in Christ's life, and especially in His very tragic death, which prepares a way of forgiveness for the sins of the world." Faith "beholds in it that sublime act of cost, in which God has bent Himself downward, in loss and sorrow, over the hard face of sin, to say, and saying to make good, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee.'"

It is a great and fundamental mistake which this theory makes when it establishes an analogy between the Divine propitiation of Himself and man's, between the Divine forgiveness and man's. When it said that we must forgive even as we are forgiven, the commandment means no more than that we must forgive because we are forgiven, or as we hope to be forgiven. There is not a solitary passage of Scripture which establishes the analogy which this author establishes. Man cannot, strictly speaking, sin against man. Against God and God alone is sin committed. The human forgiveness is an imitation of the Divine as it is the expression of grateful love taking the form of mercy, and as it is the exercise of emotions awakened by God Himself in the soul that has been forgiven. But human forgiveness is not the removal of guilt from the object of it; it remits no sentence; it takes away no sin; it imparts no grace. It does, indeed, recede from pressing certain righteous claims. It copies the Divine as far as it can. But its highest object in the Christian ethics is to bring the offender into a higher court, into the presence of God Himself, to be by Him forgiven. It in short seeks to gain the brother not to self but to God.

Supposing, however, that the analogy is accepted, and human forgiveness is made the perfect reflection of the Divine; does the author intend to say that the dispenser of human pardon ever forgives merely on the ground of the wretchedness of the object of his forgiveness? A careful consideration of the workings of the human mind in the act of compassion will effectually prove the contrary. Mercy may abstain from pressing its claims, and let the offender go, either leaving him to himself or seeking to reclaim him to a sense of his wrong. But it does not forgive him, without some reparation or attempt at reparation.

on his part. He must "turn again and say, I repent." Now that repentance is the admission of wrong, and therefore the propitiation in the injured party of his sense of injury done to himself. The offender is regarded as expiating his offence by feeling it and acknowledging it, and declaring his wish that it were undone. The very instinct of mankind protests against forgiveness on any other terms. It knows nothing of forgiveness springing from pure mercy looking upon pure misery. It has an altogether different class of terms to express the mutual relations of wretchedness and compassion. When forgiveness is in question, the notion of expiation of some sort invariably and necessarily enters. And as mercy in man is the faint reflection of mercy in God, and justice in man the faint reflection of justice in God, so expiation in human relations is the faint reflection of expiation in the relations between God and His creatures.

What that expiation which God demands, and which God has provided, is, He Himself must tell us. We cannot, with all deference to our teachers of this school, accept their conclusions drawn from human analogy. If we accept the teaching of human analogy, we accept it as indicated by God Himself in His Word. And He points us, by a thousand tokens, to the lessons we are to learn from that human government which is a reflection of His own government of the moral universe. The powers that be are ordained of God; and, though there is an eternal difference between the distributive justice of the human lawgiver and His own, there is also some similarity; enough, at least, to make us wonder that writers who, like Dr. Bushnell, start from the fundamental principle of human analogies, can talk in such a reckless manner against the doctrine of expiation as the human counterpart of propitiation in God.

We pass over many rhapsodical pages on the heathenish notion of expiation. It is admitted that "the Pagan religions were corruptions, plainly enough in this view, of the original ante-Mosaic *cultus*, superstitions of degenerate brood, such as guilt and fear and the spurious motherhood of ignorance have it for their law to propagate. As repentance settles into penance under this regimen of superstition, so the sacrifices settled into expiation under the same." Much might be said as to the wholesale injustice done to the great idea of propitiation in

the Gentile world. We do not believe that the sacrifices of heathenism had "no respect to the character of the gods." We do not believe that "everyone, at all versed in the classics, perfectly well knows that getting beforehand with the gods is the main thing in expiations." We have a very different idea of the sacred principle which even the abominations of heathen worship, at its worst, could not entirely suppress. As the evils of that worship were a "degeneration" from early and holy tradition, so the good in it was the prophecy of something better to come. Unless we are much mistaken, it aimed to propitiate something in the gods besides their "envious and bloody" wrath. The very derivation of the Latin term indicates this. Dr. Bushnell makes philology do him considerable service in his exhibition of theological truth. He should look at this word among the rest. Propitiating the gods was not merely paying homage to their malignant wrath, but entreating from them their favour and bringing them near. It is idle to speak of these inhuman and irrational "stratagems" of devotees as the whole of their religion. It had a fairer side also. On the basis of a great corruption of the expiatory institute there was upreared a system of corrupted peace offerings, thank offerings, and more genial oblations. Besides all this, the schools of philosophy were hard by the temples of sacrifice.

Dr. Bushnell carries the same sweeping and reckless manner of assertion into the Old Testament Scriptures. He has resolved to find in them no trace whatever of the idea of expiation: "Happily there is not a single case of expiation in the whole Christian Scriptures, or anything in the Scripture sacrifices which bears a look that way significant enough to support an argument." Now we quite agree with him, if expiation must needs mean what it means in the following passage:—

"At the same time it is not to be denied that, drawing back from the field of the classics into the field of Scripture, it is possible there to hold a severer and more nearly moral view of sacrifices, which still classes them as expiations. Sin, being a violation of the law of God, incurs, in that manner, a dread liability of pain or punishment, and sacrifices, it is conceived, make satisfaction to God for the offence and consequent bad liability, obtaining in that manner a just release. Thus a third party, Christ Himself, comes in to offer the suffering of pain as an evil, which is accepted as being a good enough match for

the evil that is due. In this manner He makes amends for the sin by evil paid for evil due, and that is expiation. But the scheme if not immoral, is fairly unmoral, as it ought to be under that word; showing that God accepts the pains of the good in payment for the pains of the bad, and is more intent on getting His modicum of pains than He is on having proper justice done—taking clean away the word and fact of forgiveness; for, if the debt of sin is paid, there is no longer anything to forgive; substituting government also by a kind of proceeding that has no relation whatever to conscience and right. Happily there is not a single case of expiation in the whole Christian Scriptures, or anything in the Scripture sacrifices which bears a look that way significant enough to support an argument. To verify this fact, I would go over a complete revision, if I had the time, as I did in my former treatise; but I think it will suffice just to recapitulate the points which anyone may establish by a very brief examination.”—P. 86.

We freely grant that expiation, as Dr. Bushnell understands it, is not in Scripture; nor is it in any such theology as we accept. Those systems of theology which have given him this notion we renounce as readily as he does. But we complain of the onesidedness which is disposed to represent this caricature as the ordinary presentment of orthodox faith. Our Lord does not, in Scripture, “offer the suffering of pain as an evil which is a good enough match for the evil that is due.” He offered a great obedience, and not a great suffering: in His great obedience He suffered, but it was not the amount or “modicum” of His suffering that was set against the guilt of man. We are not writing doctrine in these notes; and it is enough now to protest against such words as these. We take the opportunity also of protesting generally against the indiscriminate way in which our author, and many others of his school, impute to the orthodox generally the exaggerations and excesses of a doctrine which they repudiate almost as vehemently as they repudiate Dr. Bushnell’s. It would only be fair if he made a difference where there is a difference. There may be a few to be found who hold the commercial theory of the atonement which our author is always disputing with. But they are not many. The great majority of believers in the expiatory atonement of Christ regard the virtue of the great obedience as something very different from the virtue of certain agonies and sufferings culminating in death.

But if Dr. Bushnell would fairly examine the few words which carry with them the notion of expiation, he would find that his censure is quite misplaced. His anger against the word expiation is altogether irrational. It is a beautiful and most needful word; if he would only look at it steadily he would find it so. It is the translation of a word which undeniably has sin primarily for its object, or the sinner. Sin or the sinner is expiated; and by an act which effects that the man ceases to be an object of the Divine displeasure. Its effect is to turn away the wrath that rests upon him on account of sin, and to turn towards him instead the grace of God. Expiation is the cancelling of guilt as punishment. Dr. Bushnell gives us a catena of passages of the Old Testament, in which his purged vision sees no trace of that expiation which others find there. But he should not have omitted, for instance, the case of Numbers xvi. When the people, after the judgment upon the two hundred and fifty rebels, murmured against Moses and Aaron, and Jehovah would consume the people who took the side of these rebels, Moses said to Aaron: "Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them: for there is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun." Who can fail to see that the act of atonement came between the Divine wrath and human sin, to cover the sinner from its effects? Nor that of Phinehas, who atoned for Israel by his unsparing zeal. Though the term, the one common term, *Hilaskesthai*, has primarily sin for its object, it must needs refer also to God, especially when connected with sacrifice; nor has it its full rights until it is made to include this double reference; in this being like the word Reconciliation. Now what other term than expiation can be used as the counterpart of propitiation? The word atonement would perfectly suffice; but that is more appropriately the effect of the expiation, or reconciliation between God and man. Dr. Bushnell raises a pitiful and needless clamour against this most unoffending word. He takes its mother Greek term and appropriates it to the propitiation of God, forgetting that it must have reference to sin and the sinner as well; forgetting, in fact, that this latter is its first claim. The conventional language of theology takes the word Atone-ment as a more general term; otherwise he would be welcome to that. But he would gain nothing. Whatever

excites his fear or displeasure in expiation would excite it in the term atonement. We think he had better be at peace with the word.

It is impossible to revise the theological language of the original Scriptures: that is established by the Holy Ghost. It is, perhaps, impossible to make any considerable change in the theological language of the Church. It may be granted that there is room for improvement; but it is too late to effect it. The ambiguity in the use of the terms atonement and reconciliation is an instance in point. The two words are used interchangeably in our translations: atonement is used in the Epistle to the Romans for the translation of what is translated in the Epistle to the Corinthians by reconciliation. Perhaps it would be better to retain, in all cases, the latter word. Atonement has now generally forsaken its original sense of the reconciliation of God and man through the mediation of Christ, and is employed to signify the expiatory value of the death of Christ as based upon the merit of His sacrificial obedience. Now, this very meaning is, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, signified by the word reconciliation: "to make reconciliation for the sins of the people." So far as the translation of the Scriptures is concerned, this anomaly might be easily rectified. But it is impossible to restore the word atonement to its original signification in the language of dogmatic theology: it is now thoroughly established as meaning the universal virtue of the obedience of Christ. As to some other conventional terms—such as obedience, sacrifice, satisfaction—there is room for considerable rectification; and it should be the aim of systematic theology to define more exactly their relations. Were that object accomplished, the ground of the objections of the school of theology which we now consider would be absolutely taken away. Every such instance of destructive criticism as this is would be rendered nugatory by a fair statement of the exact sense in which these and some other terms are used.

Dr. Bushnell carries his polemic against the terminology of the atonement into the department of justification, where he has the same kind of fault to find with theological language. He challenges the attention of the revisers of our version to the signal wrong done by the Latin-born terms which are made to represent righteousness and its cognate ideas. In fact, he would have us believe that



whatever of declaratory or forensic there may be in the theological use of these words is due to the fatality of our adopting two sets of terms for the one set of terms in the Greek. He thinks that these words never have a forensic or judicial significance, but that they are invariably moral in their meaning. Now it is perfectly legitimate that Dr. Bushnell, or any man like-minded, should strive to frame theories to reconcile the righteousness of God with His acceptance of the guilty for Christ's sake. It is very possible that some improvement may yet be effected in the way of stating this truth, and that the last word has not been said as to its scientific statement. But to assert that there is no judicial and merely declaratory meaning in these terms, whether in the Old Testament or the New, is to speak as a "foolish and unlearned" person. It would not be very difficult to prove that this family of terms in all their branches have never any other than a judicial meaning; that even when they are seemingly most "moral" in their application,—that is, most intimately connected with internal moral character—there is an undertone of judicial and even forensic meaning in them. They belong to that aspect of the Gospel which is purely and throughout related to the law of right. The acceptance of sinful man is and must ever be, in time and in eternity, matter of imputation to faith resting on the ground of the meritorious righteousness of Christ. In whatever sense and to whatever degree the believer may fulfil the righteousness of the law, his righteousness must be for ever accepted for the sake of Another's: as his own it would be for ever invalidated by the fact of past transgression. There is the profound presupposition of an imputation of faith for righteousness always and for ever. The works of righteousness are the works of justifying faith, which derive their value from their connection with the righteousness of Christ. At the very best the righteousness of a sinner saved by Christ is only his being pronounced righteous. If his intrinsic, internal, and real character is referred to, there are other words which express that. It is so with the righteousness of Christ. Whenever our Lord is spoken of as righteous or righteousness the word has reference to His vicarious satisfaction of the demands of the law. Other terms are applied to Him in other relations—indeed the whole vocabulary of excellence is at His command and made poor by His virtue—but when He is called righteous

He is in a mediatorial court where Law is enforcing its claims on Him as the representative of others. So, finally, whenever the word is referred to God there is the same reference to the judicial meaning of the word. Other names of perfection are His elsewhere, but when His righteousness is mentioned He is the Lawgiver whose most glorious revelation is seen in the provision of a new method of making men righteous : by pronouncing them righteous for Christ's sake. He gives them new life, and sanctifies them wholly to Himself ; but the perfected life of their holiness is accepted only by grace when it is presented at the bar of judgment. It must for ever belong to one whose past sin would neutralise all were it not forgiven. Thus, while in one sense faultless in sanctity, in another sense he is only in the eye of law reckoned righteous by imputation.

All this Dr. Bushnell seems to fight against most strenuously. But he sums up by a sentence which proves that he holds the true doctrine without knowing it. We have seen that in his secret heart he holds the true doctrine of propitiatory expiation or expiatory propitiation ; but that he is pledged to maintain some views that shall correct the old-fashioned orthodoxy of which the times are weary. It will be seen by the following words that he also accepts the doctrine of the justification by faith which is the non-imputation of sin. But he is desperately bent upon introducing something that shall clear up the views and settle the doubts of these latter days : in fact, upon establishing a rational doctrine of justification. The result is a confused mass of statements which it requires much study to arrange into anything like coherency ; which, when arranged, proves to be a register of Antinomian errors and a rhapsodical assertion of what is generally termed the Arminian doctrine :—

“The experimental, never-to-be antiquated Scripture truth of imputed righteousness, on the other hand is this :—That the soul, when it is joined to faith, is brought back, according to the degree of faith, into its original normal relation to God ; to be invested in God's right, feeling, character—in one word, righteousness—and live derivatively from Him. It is not made righteous, in the sense of being set in a state of self-centred righteousness, to be maintained by an ability complete in the person, but it is made righteous in the sense of being always to be made righteous ; just as the day is made luminous, not by the

light of sunrise staying in it, or held fast by it, but by the ceaseless outflow of the solar effulgence. Considered in this view, the sinning man justified is never thought of as being, or to be, just in himself; but he is to be counted so—be so by imputation—because his faith holds him to a relation with God, where the Sun of his righteousness will be for ever gilding him with its fresh radiations. Thus Abraham believed God enough to become the friend of God,—saying nothing of justice satisfied, nothing of surplus merit, nothing of Christ whatever—and it was imputed to him for righteousness. No soul comes into such a relation of trust, without having God's investment upon it; and whatever there may be in God's righteousness,—love, truth, sacrifice—will be rightfully imputed or counted to be in it, because, being united to Him, it will have them coming over derivatively from Him. Precisely here, therefore, in this most sublimely practical of all truths,—imputed righteousness,—Christianity culminates. Here we have coming upon us, or upon our faith, all that we most want, whether for our confidence, or the complete deliverance and upraising of our guilty and dreadfully enthralled nature. Here we triumph. There is therefore now no condemnation, the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made us free. If we had a righteousness of the law to work out, we should feel a dreadful captivity upon us. If we were put into the key of righteous living, and then, being so started, were left to keep the key ourselves, by manipulating our own thoughts, affections, actions, in a way of self-superintendence, the practice would be so artificial, so inherently weak, as to pitch us into utter despair in a single day. Nothing meets our want, but to have our life and righteousness in God, thus to be kept in liberty and victory. Always by our trust in Him. Calling this imputed righteousness, it is no conceit of theology, no fiction, but the grandest and most life-giving of all the Christian truths."—P. 215.

We are puzzled to understand how one who could write this paragraph should so entirely loathe all such uses of the term righteousness, or justify, as should be limited to a judicial, forensic, external, or declaratory relation. We see gleaming feebly through the mist the very doctrine we hold, and which St. Paul teaches. There it is striving to utter its meaning, but afraid of the conventional terms of orthodoxy. We feel sure that Dr. Bushnell has mistaken an Antinomian doctrine of imputed righteousness, exaggerating the distinction between the active and the passive righteousness of Christ, for the orthodox faith of the Church. He seems to be altogether ignorant that there

is a clear, consistent doctrine of the Righteousness of Faith, which is not vitiated by the "jail-delivery" and the "eternal justification" theories. He really has nothing to say but what we have in many Christian Churches been saying much better for ages. "Normal relation to God," "invested in righteousness," "always to be made righteous," "faith holds him to a relation with God," "kept in liberty by our trust in Him," all these are phrases which belong to Dr. Bushnell's disguised orthodoxy. We can see through their Carlylian mask, and read their meaning. They are obscure, and impracticable, and worthless in the every-day language of theology; but they have a sound sense in them somewhere. Such as they are, however, they are in flagrant contradiction to every principle laid down by the author in his *Disquisitions on New Testament Righteousness*.

If in the light of this last paragraph we place some other sentences, how strangely do they read. Dr. Bushnell cannot avoid speaking of our relations to God, of our freedom from condemnation, of our righteousness from without. But he quarrels with the words that express it in Scripture. "I really wish it were possible to be rid of these Latin-born terms; for that syllable *jus* puts us thinking inevitably of something done for law and justice." Not more, however, than the word *right*, which is nothing without the justice of Him who administers it, and the law according to which He administers it. It cannot be denied that the word which we translate "justify" means, literally, "to make one a just person." But in what sense and in what way just must be determined by the context; and that the word has a forensic and declaratory signification in most of the instances of its occurrence, whether in the Old or in the New Testament, needs no proof for those who use their Lexicon and Concordance. And we may safely defy Dr. Bushnell, or anyone else, to express that idea in any better way than our translators have adopted. His own efforts in that way are grotesque in the extreme. It is too late to revise the phraseology of the whole theological world. Moreover, the doctrine of justification, as taught by the bulk of Protestant formularies, is beyond the impeachment of this author. It does not teach that man is absolved from his sin without any provision for the establishment of a righteous character. Man is regarded as righteous for Christ's sake, but he is also

made righteous. The one is never without the other in the theology of the Church, even as both are united in the contemplation of God, in the design of Christ, in the exhortations of Scripture, and in the experience of the Christian life. Almost every word alleged against the doctrine proceeds on the insufferable assumption that the method of God in making men righteous includes imputation only without the actual impartation of holiness.

There is one element of satisfaction in the sentiment with which we encounter Dr. Bushnell, and that is the good faith we perceive in him towards the authority of Scripture. He is very familiar with the Word of God, though he makes strange mistakes in expounding it. He is at home in its more hidden recesses, and some of his most beautiful argumentative points are recondite Scriptural allusions. But, above all, he makes the Scripture his final appeal. We are speaking of the present volume, which may be an improvement on the former in this respect, and leaves little to be desired. This fact, however, must be turned against our theologian. For the weakness of some of his interpretations of Scripture is quite on a par with the simplicity of his submission to it. Were this merely matter of occasional slip, or shown only in a paradoxical comment, here or there, we should not make any reference to it. But it is exemplified in the discussion of those salient passages which are the very foundation of the amended theology of this volume. When a writer stakes everything on his interpretation of Scripture, and writes dogmatically and positively because he is so strong in the warranty of God's Word, we respect his principle, and give diligent attention to what he has to say in support of his positions. When, as in the present case, he introduces views almost entirely new, and supports them by exposition peculiar, avowedly peculiar, to himself, we examine what he writes with a certain amount of prejudice, which it is hard to overcome, which, however, as honest critics, we are bound to strive against.

Our only illustration will be taken from the fourth chapter, which justifies the remarks just made, and exhibits a superficial theology, based on a wrong interpretation. Our author evidently designed that his readers and reviewers should take special notice of this chapter. His whole strength is in it; and he has directed attention to it in a most extraordinary manner. As follows:—

"My Chapter IV. occupies a ground by itself. How it came it will not be difficult to see, only it may be difficult to find why it did not come sooner, and to some, at least, of the great interpreters. It has to me the nature rather of an occurrence than a discovery; for how can that be called a discovery which the Master's words have been plainly teaching for eighteen hundred years, and which we, His disciples, have by some unaccountable dulness missed, even down to a particular day of accident within the last six months? an oversight all the more humiliating that the doctrine we have missed has been the doctrine of our Lord by Christ Himself; an operative doctrine indeed, and not a formulating, giving the outfit of the Spirit and the implemental forces by which He is to work. And, again, let it be the more valuable to us that it comes in after the formulating history is done, to be a Gospel by Christ's own authority, not inwoven with any of the old textures of the schools, but set in by an intercalation, to have its own footing, and its regulative sway in the respectful deference of the ages to come."—P. 12.

In showing how the Spirit was equipped with this three-fold outfit of doctrine, our author elaborately examines the names given to the Spirit and His work, discovers that the one office of the Holy Ghost is to present Christ and His Gospel to the world as a testimony of sin and righteousness and judgment, examines and analyses these terms respectively, shows how they are to be interpreted so as "the first lessons of atonement from the lips of Christ Himself." Now there is some basis of truth in all this, and what truth there is is presented with some skill and force; but as an exhibition of the Gospel as finally given by Christ, as our Lord's "complete and explicit summation of the results He will have accomplished by His life and death," it is one-sided, mingled with much error, and therefore as a whole to be rejected.

First, both the name and the office of the Spirit are glaringly misconceived and misstated. According to our Lord's testimony, He is supremely "the Spirit of the truth;" the interpreter and administrator of "the truth as it is in Jesus," of the person and work of the Christ. As such He is the reprover of the world, the Paraclete within the Church: to the world an unsought spontaneous pleader of the cause and claims of the Redeemer; to the Church an advocate called in, invoked and received by the prayer of penitent faith. To the disciples He was to reveal and apply the things of Christ, which to the world He was only

to proclaim and offer. Certainly, the whole mystery of the atoning work was to be set before the world in the threefold conviction; but only in a negative manner, as convincing sinners of their state and need. The full revelation of the mystery was to be given only to those who believe; to them alone should the Spirit show the things of Christ. Altogether forgetting this distinction, Dr. Bushnell gives the name Paraclete to the Spirit only in His relation to the world, and as a preacher of the Gospel to mankind. The passage in which he perpetrates this exegetical violence is one that we must not withhold; it is an instructive example of the bad effect of superficial exposition.

"There really appears to be no word of Scripture which has fared so badly at the hands of preachers and commentators as this word *Comforter*, of which I now speak. I say this considering the difficulty of finding any word in English that will fitly represent the Greek word, Paraclete. It is once translated, Advocate (1 John ii. 1). The commentators suggest other words, such as *helper, counsel, teacher, intercessor*. The very poorest representation ever proposed or adopted is our English name, *Comforter*. And it is all the worse that it is evidently intended to be taken as being naturally descriptive; for another word is even palpably mistranslated to conform to it: 'I will not leave you comfortless' (John xiv. 18), where the word 'comfortless' represents the word *orphans* in the original, the Saviour's design being in that word to say that He will not leave His disciples deserted, robbed of company and counsel; a very different matter from un comforted. As if their being uncomfortable, or not sufficiently comforted, were a principal or prominent concern of the Master; a friend whose dignity it was to hold the rational and manly view of all experience, and have it as a matter conceded, that the best thing for them will sometimes be a fall out of condition, and be as grandly superior to all self-sympathy in the loss of earthly comforts as He has been Himself. No, there is no such feeble, over-soft sympathy in the Saviour's mind in His parting hour, that He should be contriving how especially to put His disciples in comfort and leave them so. Besides, His concern here is not for His disciples, but specially for such as He calls 'the world;' for it is the world that He is going to convince and bring to righteousness. And if the Spirit to be given is to be a gift having special reference to this, which appears in the manner of the language, the name *Comforter* is a name wholly inappropriate. To be comforted is just the thing the world as such does not want. And the Saviour has a much heavier and nobler

concern ; viz. the organising of a grace for the world, such as He is just now bringing to completion. He is planning to unlocalise, universalise, and make victorious, the great salvation He has undertaken for mankind. And His idea stands on the face of the word He adopts for the designation of the promised ministry, whether we can find an English name for it or not. It is Paraclete—*para*, near ; *kletos*, call. The near-caller, the bringer-in, for salvation ; a word in no soft, soothing key, but a bugle-note of summons rather, such as the work of the Spirit, in the ingathering and organising of the everlasting Kingdom, fitly requires.”—P. 221.

This paragraph is full of error. Without absolutely defending the translation Comforter, we may plead that as originally used by our translators the word had not the soft soothing sense above attributed to it ; it meant, and still means, that invigoration and strengthening with might in the inner man which is the only comfort of the human soul. But we may confidently prefer the meaning derived from the passive participle ; one called in as an advocate or helper, with a judicial application. St. John, who alone uses the word, never uses the common Greek verb from which the participle comes, a verb which the other writers often employ to signify encouragement and consolation. But by no artifice can the passive participle *kletos* be made to mean *caller*, *call*, *bringer-in*. The older Greek expositors, who sometimes gave it an active signification, only meant to imply that He who was called in was an active consoler and comforter. No one, until a new light dawned on Dr. Bushnell, ever dreamt of the interpretation he gives us. The Paraclete is an active advocate and helper of the Church, because as passively called in He actively discharges His function. So our Lord in the heavens is our advocate with the Father ; not calling us, but called upon as such ; and taking care of our interests in heaven, even as His representative takes care of our interests below. In the Church, and through the Church, and as the representative of Christ, He pleads as advocate the cause of the Redeemer and His redemption ; but who Christ is, and what His redemption, He reveals more fully to believers as their Paraclete.

Before closing these miscellaneous remarks we must discharge our critical duty by protesting against the irreverence—or what we should call irreverence—which tinges the phraseology of this eloquent writer. This would not



be mentioned here, in the same pages which have treated so solemn a subject, were it not that flippancy of style is on the increase in England as in America, and we should be glad to contribute ever so little towards arresting it, at least within the circle of our own readers. It would be easy to collect a goodly list of offences against taste and theological decorum; but we forbear. Suffice that the reader of Dr. Bushnell, whom any remarks of ours might influence, is warned against the influence which his phraseological pleasantries might exert. For ourselves, we cannot understand how anyone who meditates upon the mystery of our Saviour's work—a mystery confessedly great, on any theory—can write about it in any other style than that of the utmost solemnity.

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# LITERARY NOTICES.

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## I. THEOLOGICAL.

### CHRISTLIEB ON MODERN DOUBT.

***Modern Doubt and Christian Belief.*** A Series of Apologetic Lectures addressed to Earnest Seekers after Truth. By Theodore Christlieb, D.D., University Preacher and Professor of Theology at Bonn. Translated, with the Author's Sanction, chiefly by the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, Ph.D., and Edited by the Rev. T. L. Kingsbury, M.A., Vicar of Easton Royal, and Rural Dean. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1874.

No words that we might employ could adequately represent the magnitude of the crisis through which the cultivated European mind is passing in reference to the fundamental verities of the Christian faith. Unbelief, which, in the so-called Dark Ages, was not to be found upon this continent, and, when it threatened invasion from another, was repulsed by the united energies of new-born nations, then first made conscious of their strength, has now gained conquests in the very heart of Christendom, and is leading captive cultured men who, of all others, should be the most potent defenders of the faith. Very different indeed, in both principles and tactics, are the forces now arrayed against the truth, from those on which the olden chivalry employed their prowess, and very different are the methods by which they must be met. The Saracen could only in a very metaphorical sense be counted as one of our "ghostly enemies:" he was a creature of flesh and blood, wielded a weapon, and carried a standard of recognised shape and form, offered the intelligible alternative of submission or the sword, and, when once beaten, fell to rise no more. Where he conquered, he did not simply destroy: the infidel himself proclaimed one primary truth, and by the very vociferousness of its utterance, seemed to drown every whisper of doubt. So successfully, indeed, did he impose his yoke, that the nations which accepted it are still the slowest to exchange it for a better. But the scepticism of the present day is a subtler thing; a universal solvent that corrodes the bonds which bind

humanity together no less than those which link it to the throne of God—a weird and lawless opium fiend, that momentarily mitigates the pains inflicted by the original curse, only, by a necessary reaction, to multiply them a thousandfold, and to superadd the stings of a self-originated despair. Its forms are protean as the offspring of human fancy. The men who begin by interpreting the Divine within them to be but the workings of human consciousness are ultimately, by a just retribution, abandoned to the chase of the chimeras of their own imagination, “and find no end in wandering mazes lost;” just as Israel of old, refusing the worship of the true and living God in the land which He had given them, were driven out to serve other gods in a land that was not theirs. The beginnings of this evil are generally slow and unsuspected. Too often they coincide in living experience with that critical period, the most momentous in its issues for each individual, when emancipation from the restraints of boyhood is conjoined with the awakening of the passions and the presentation of those opportunities and temptations which, according as they are used or abused, either make or mar the man. In such cases arguments for infidelity are frequently too much for the voice of conscience: the intellect, whose constitution bears the best witness for the existence of a God, forswears the principles that underlie it, and the heart, divided against itself, breaks away from the bondage of early convictions, and surrenders its defences to the factious clamour of its own unbridled lusts. Who can estimate the responsibility of older men if, so far from surrounding such with safeguards, and pointing out the perils to which they are exposed, they applaud the boldness of their speculations, and even lead the van of their assault upon the truth? For—and we sorrowfully concede the fact—there are men who have passed their meridian, men for whom the illusions of youth can no longer be pleaded, who have known something of the conflicts and disappointments as well as of the successes of life, who, during an occasional lull in the storm, must sometimes have heard within them a still small voice prophetic of the end that is approaching, upon whom, nevertheless, no chill of the opening tomb has fallen, and no questionings of the great hereafter have been enforced, men who are as busy when their strength fails them in disproving the existence of a rest that remaineth, as they were in the heyday of their blood in denying any supernatural authority to the conscience that kept them in check. Such men are to be found in all the walks of literature, science, and art. They are to be recognised by the eagerness with which they seize any argument against revealed religion, their obvious unfairness in criticising its claims, their insensibility to the grandeur of its mission and destiny, as exhibited, despite all drawbacks, in the magnitude of its moral

achievements, their supercilious treatment of its adherents, as if proved *ipso facto* incapable of refined taste and impartial judgment, their evident desire to interpret the signs of human progress in a sense favourable only to the pretensions of science or industry, or of their own particular panacea for the world's ills, and their self-willed rejection of all that transcends the bounds of finite reason and of sensuous facts.

While this state of things meets us in the higher circles of society, we have but to descend to the lower to find grosser manifestations of the evil. Multitudes of working men are not so much opposed to the truth as sundered from it by a wide gulf of ignorance and indifference. The social estrangement of these classes from those above them, arising from supposed antagonistic interests, has engendered suspicions of the religion professed by the latter, which the cheap newspaper, the poor man's oracle, has hastened to confirm. The alliance between the parson and the squire has been thought to be founded on a secret confederacy against the rights of the sons of toil, and all the zeal of philanthropy has failed to dispel the delusion. The disputes of the *savants* have also been brought to the ears of the unlearned, who, without being able to decide on the merits of the question, have shrewdly guessed that with so much smoke there must be some fire. A sullen attitude of defiance, repelling all overtures, thus characterises those whom we are accustomed to speak of as constituting the base of the social fabric; and the fact is one of grave significance for the future.

But besides all these forms of unbelief—the creations of passion, or prejudice, or social disquiet, there are others of a totally different order. Many candid and thoughtful men, whose motives are absolutely unquestionable, have had their faith shaken or retarded in its growth by the influences that surround them. Not all the objections urged against the Christian faith are captious: not all of them, in their mode of presentation at least, are to be identified with the dingy scarecrows which Leslie and Lardner, Paley and Whately so successfully overthrew. The new criticism of the physical and mental sciences has been applied unsparingly to the sacred records themselves, as well as to the human deductions thought to be most surely grounded on them. New axioms of philosophy and rules of interpretation have been employed, and it is no wonder if, through the unskilful or the over-subtle use of them, some things have seemed to be displaced that were regarded as immovable, much less that, in the sober and legitimate use of them, some things have been overthrown that were too easily assumed to be true. Hence arise important questions, and such as all sincere seekers of truth are pondering with the deepest solicitude. Does the faith handed down from our forefathers repose upon a sufficiently solid basis to withstand

the assaults made upon it by the destructive criticism of the age? Are the facts of Scripture, hitherto unhesitatingly accepted by the reverent Christian, not only in spite of, but even by reason of their marvellous character, doomed henceforth to sink to the level of unhistoric stories like that of the Anthropophagi, or pre-historic myths like the wars of the giants? Is the supernatural to be excluded from all influence upon human affairs, the kingdom of providence to be exchanged for the blind dominion of natural law, and the kingdom of grace for a mere instinct of fellow feeling and conviction of the necessity of order in the government of men? Or, if all is not thus lawlessly sacrificed, is there any principle by which to regulate the concessions to be made, and to preserve the nucleus of truth from further disintegration? and is there any criterion by which that nucleus is to be distinguished from sordid accretions? What authority is to replace the consent of Christian antiquity as to the canonical books? What meaning is to be attached to the term canonical? How much deference is to be paid to the plain letter of Scripture, and what oracle of interpretation is there to be found more infallible than the harmony of Scripture with itself?

In reference to these and many kindred inquiries, a better guide can scarcely be found than Dr. Theodore Christlieb. The work he has here presented to the English public through the medium of an excellent translation is, as the title-page shows, "addressed to earnest seekers after truth." With any other class of inquirers reasoning is out of place. In a subject so vast there must, of necessity, be difficulties serious enough and numerous enough to occupy the whole field of view, if only they be diligently collected and crowded together before the eye so as to shut out all that lies beyond. But in the process the relative size of the objects is of necessity distorted, and the smallest pea, placed near enough, will suffice to eclipse the orbs of light. The balancing of moral probabilities taxes, not the skill of the logical understanding, but the strength of the upright heart; and where the latter is so vitiated as to recoil from unwelcome conclusions, the premises which lead to them will not be allowed due weight. To the candid inquirer, however, the work before us will be a treasury of positive truth as well as an armoury of defence against error. It consists of eight lectures, the substance of which was, in the first instance, orally addressed to the educated Germans of London about ten years ago, when the lecturer held the pastorate of the German congregation in Islington. The various forms of modern doubt are here traced to their sources in "some of the vaunted principles and assumed results of metaphysical philosophy, historical criticism, and natural science. With the first," says the author "(Lect. I.—V.), and, in part, with the second of these sources (e.g. the modern critical theories of the Gospel

history and the origin of early Christianity, (Lect. VI.—VIII.), I have dealt in such a way that the whole argument is made to turn on one main central point, the Scriptural and Christian conceptions of the Divine nature. It has been my chief endeavour, by treating, first, of the fundamental relations between Reason and Revelation (in Lect. II.), and discussing the non-Scriptural conceptions of modern Speculative Theology (Lect. III.), to lead on the inquirer's mind to this one great central idea (as carefully developed in Lect. IV.), and then to avail myself of the positions so obtained in dealing with the question of miraculous agency (Lect. V.), and other points made matters of dispute by our modern negative historical criticism." Comprehensive as is the range of subjects treated of in this closely-printed volume of 549 pages, it does not exhaust the author's plan. A second series of Apologetic Lectures is in course of preparation, intended to deal "with the general question of the Inspiration of Scripture, and special points therewith connected (e.g. the genesis and credibility of particular books), as well as with the objections raised by the votaries of natural science to Scripture teaching on such points as the Creation, the Deluge, the Descent of Man, &c." From this sketch of the topics actually discussed and to be discussed by the Bonn professor of theology, it will be seen that the enemies of the faith meet here with an antagonist who has, at least, "the courage of his opinions." No vital truth is surrendered by Dr. Christlieb to his assailants, no doubtful principle of interpretation is admitted. He holds "the Catholic faith whole and undefiled," and comes forward in its defence, armed with weapons supposed to belong, of right, to unbelievers alone. Philosophy is confronted with philosophy, learning is met by learning, and science called forth to confute the too hastily formed conclusions of science. We wish it were possible, within the limits assigned us, to give some idea of the variety and fulness of the contents of this book, and of its value to all prepared by some previous acquaintance with the deeper problems here unfolded to appreciate the thoroughness of the discussion. As it is, we must content ourselves with gleaning a few ears from the rich harvest-field, and recommending our readers to compare the sample with the stock.

Having, in the first Lecture, examined the causes and extent of the breach between modern culture and Christianity, and established, both historically and from the nature of both, the unity of Christianity and true culture, the author proceeds, in the second Lecture, to define the provinces of Natural and Revealed Theology, and the relations that subsist between them. In the third Lecture he presents us with the various non-Biblical conceptions of God, arranging them under the heads of Atheism, Materialism, Pantheism, Deism, and Rationalism. The weak-

nesses of Pantheism are exhibited from four points of view, viz., from logic, from a consideration of the world, from the history of religions, and from moral and religious consciousness and life. "Let us first ask," says Dr. Christlieb, "philosophy and logic. Just as Atheism proceeds on the monstrous assumption that we are acquainted with all the forces in the world; just as Materialism presupposes that the matter of which the world is constituted is eternal, and has always existed; so, also, Pantheism depends on *assumptions which are unproved, and incapable of proof*. Let us take up Spinoza's *Ethics*, the classical text-book of modern Pantheists, which, to some extent, forms the groundwork of all their systems. Its fundamental assumption is the existence of an universal substance. This substance, with its attributes—i.e., in fact, this idea of God—is presupposed as a thing, of course, and from this the further conclusions are deduced with mathematical precision. The thing itself is, however, simply presupposed or assumed to exist, and its acceptance, therefore, requires as much faith as the utterances of the Scriptures about God. Spinoza does not attempt to investigate whether this idea of God be correct and true. Had he done so, he might have discovered that this universal substance, besides which nothing at all exists, which includes all actual objects as its individual qualifications, is, in truth, nothing but the highest logical *conception of universality*, in which all individual notions are blended into an undivided unity, and hence that it is a mere subjective idea, but not a real objective existence. But our philosopher immediately assumes, in the most uncritical manner, *that this merely subjective idea is an objective reality*, and that the merely imagined unity of notions in our consciousness is the actually existing unity of all things. Here, then, we see the same confusion of thought with existence which we meet with almost at every turn in modern philosophy. . . . We do not fare much better under the guidance of Hegel. He teaches us to regard God as the *absolute Idea* which, from endless ages, realises, inspires, and orders the whole phenomenal world; in other words, as the system of those conceptions in which all thought is necessarily based (e.g. being and becoming, force and effect, &c.), and which are supposed to possess reality, since without them all our thought would be null and void. But whence proceeds this absolute Idea? It is not conceived by a personal God, for none such exists. Neither can it conceive itself; for if it did, it would become self-conscious, and thus God would again become personal. How does Hegel get out of the difficulty? He says that the absolute Idea *posits itself* by means of the eternal position and organisation of the world. If we inquire, Whence proceeds the world? we are met by the reply, It exists, and is continually posited by the absolute Idea. And if we ask, Whence comes the

absolute Idea, from what is it derived, and in what does its actuality consist? we are told, It is posited in and with the world, and has none but a mundane actuality. Do you see how we are being mocked with a shadow? The world is supposed to be posited by the absolute Idea, and yet the absolute Idea itself has an actual existence only in the world. How, then, can this absolute Idea posit itself? and how can it be looked upon as the principle which posits the world, if itself attains actuality only in the world? . . . Besides this, the Pantheistic idea of God labours under two other great difficulties. In the first place, it cannot be understood how *personality* can proceed from an *impersonal* principle. We ourselves are persons, that is, we can conceive and determine ourselves; for in this personality consists. And although Spinoza denies the self-determination and freewill of man, still he does not deny his self-consciousness. Whence, then, is this self-consciousness supposed to proceed, if the soul of the world, from which we ourselves have emanated, has no consciousness? Can God communicate that which He does not Himself possess, and create forms of existence which transcend His own? Can the effect contain anything which does not exist in the cause? To this one simple question no Pantheist has as yet been able to give a satisfactory answer. Moreover, the idea of an *endless and aimless process of development* is illogical and self-contradictory. An endless development, an infinite process, which is for ever approaching its aim, but eternally remains infinitely far from it, is a contradiction with which our intellect cannot be satisfied. The chief argument which Pantheists bring forward against the existence of a personal God is, that *personality cannot be conceived without finite limitations*. Personality, they say, consists in the contraposition of self to another object, a non-ego, which forms an insuperable limit to the ego; and hence the conception of absolute, limitless personality involves a direct contradiction. In short, the infinite greatness of God is supposed to be incompatible with His personality. To this we first reply by a question: Is it in our own case the limitation of self by the cosmical non-ego which is the *cause* of our consciousness reflecting upon itself, and thus becoming *self-conscious* or personal, so that without the non-ego our personality would cease to exist? No, this limitation is merely the *occasion*; the original cause of the self-reflection consists in the peculiar constitution of the human subject as a spirit, which points to a primal Spirit-subject as its Creator? . . . If, then, even in the finite subject self-consciousness is the result of *its own* action, based upon an *esse per se* which is not dependent on the world, how much less can the absolute Subject, God, by reason of His personality, be considered to be entirely dependent upon, and limited by, externals? Doubtless, in the case of the *finite* spirit as such, the development of personal



consciousness can only take place under external influences proceeding from the non-ego ; not, however, because it needed the contraposition to an alien object in order to be self-existent, but simply because it does not in this nor in any other respect possess in itself the conditions of its existence. But we do not meet with *this* limitation in the nature of the *Infinite*. . . . And why should the idea of an eternal absolute Personality be self-contradictory ? For the very reason that we are finite, our personality is imperfect. To none but the Infinite can we ascribe perfect personality. But more than this, we are *compelled* to do so. Or, is not a personality superior to an impersonal object ? Is it not a matter of fact that the greater and higher a being is, the more perfect is his personality ? Do we not see the creation struggling toward personality, and mounting step by step through the preliminary stages of the vegetable and animal world, until in man it naturally attains to individual personality, and becomes a self-conscious mind ? And if personality constitutes the pre-eminence of man over the inferior creation, can this pre-eminence be wanting in the highest Being of all ? Can God, the most perfect Being imaginable, be devoid of personality, the most perfect form of Being ? Is God, indeed, the absolute and entirely perfect One, if He be wanting in any one excellence ? ”

These words are worthy of being pondered by those who, fascinated by the seeming breadth and profundity of the Hegelian method, have sacrificed the thousand manifestations of real being to the purely negative necessities of formal thought.

In the fourth lecture Dr. Christlieb places over against the denials of scepticism the assertions of Biblical Theism. On the Trinitarian conception of the Divine nature he has some passages which set this great doctrine in a new and glorious light. In all that he says upon the subject we cannot perfectly concur. Holding with him that a distinction must be made between the absolute or immanent, and the economical or redemptional Trinity, we are nevertheless among the number of those who shrink from any speculations concerning the mysteries which the former must involve. Yet we cannot but admire the manner in which, while allowing that no definitions can bridge over the chasm which here yawns between Faith and Reason, he illustrates the advantages afforded by the Trinitarian conception in respect of our theological and cosmological knowledge, and derives arguments in favour of the doctrine from considerations of the nature of God and of man, and the testimonies of modern philosophy. He proves plainly that the doctrine of the Trinity is the consummation and the only perfect protection of Theism ; that because God is love, there must be distinctions in Him, which by love are again brought into unity again ; and that the conceptions of philosophy, when they are most profound, come nearest to the

Christian doctrine. Some of the analogies adduced appear to be scarcely worthy of such application, such as the triplicity in unity of the fundamental form of Syntax—subject, predicate and union of both—the three fundamental colours, red, yellow, and blue, dissolving into the unity of white light, and yet preserving their own separate functions, viz., the caloric, luminous, and chemical properties respectively.

A bold stand is made on behalf of miracles, although here also we think too much is made of certain experiences that might as well have been classed with the natural and ordinary as with the miraculous, in so far at least as the ordinary supernatural operations of the kingdoms of providence and grace are to be distinguished from the properly miraculous. Yet they serve as a link of connection, whose importance is too often overlooked. We refer, of course, to answers to prayer, special interpositions, and the like.

A very exhaustive account is rendered of the Strauss and Renan views of the Life of Christ, as well as of the modern critical theory of Primitive Christianity in general. But upon these we have no space to dwell. We will conclude this notice of one of the most important bulwarks of the Christian faith lately reared by the skill of her defenders in the words of the author's preface:—"We all know too well how much injury German Rationalism and Infidelity have done to the cause of Christ in other lands. It seems, therefore, to be a special obligation resting on faithful orthodox theologians in Germany, to endeavour to extend their influence beyond the limits of their Fatherland, and to show to Christian students in other countries what weapons and tactics they have found useful in repelling the assaults of unbelief among themselves." We are glad to believe that the evangelical school in Germany are winning their way to a position and range of influence upon the modern thought of Europe which such works as the one before us must tend to strengthen and extend.

*The Image of Christ as presented in Scripture: An Inquiry concerning the Person and Work of the Redeemer.* By J. J. Van Oosterzee, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated from the Dutch by Maurice J. Evans, B.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster Row. 1874.

In his former two volumes on the Christology of the Old and New Testaments, Dr. Oosterzee has analytically examined the various inspired utterances which shed any light on the person and work of Christ: in this he synthesises the results of that process, and presents in its totality the image of Christ as reflected in Holy Scripture. And the manner in which he has accom-

plished his task is such as to render quite needless such a concession to "scientists" as we find in the preface. "Willingly will we allow ourselves to be deprived of the glittering crown of exact science, if we can at this price win for the gospel a mightier influence upon the practical life of our nation." Dr. Oosterzee cannot mean by this that theology in itself is not a science, and even an "exact science." It is as much so as any of those creations of modern thought which compete with the mathematical sciences for that honourable designation. There is, undoubtedly, a difference in the material of any moral science as compared with the physical, and one that necessitates some difference in the method. The phenomena of the moral world are not so easily discriminated as those of the material, and the estimation of their relative value makes demands on the moral nature of the observer unknown in that domain. But after making due allowance on this score we must hold that induction and deduction are as applicable to these as to any other. We see the two combined in political economy, as well as in that which is called mental science pre-eminently, and we see them in theology too. Dr. Oosterzee's own works form a good illustration. In his Christology we have the inductive method, and in the present volume the deductive, and he may justly claim to have exercised this twofold method as accurately and skilfully as any of those scientists who arrogate to themselves the dignity of the name. It is no invalidation of this claim to say that the theological inquirer needs qualifications which elsewhere may be dispensed with; the reverence, the spiritual insight and sympathy, the consciousness of God in short, without which the lights of this science become as darkness, are absolutely essential to a proper appreciation of spiritual verities. They are such as all may acquire, however; and their attainableness appears in an equally vivid light with their importance in the requirement made by the great Teacher of all his hearers to become as little children that they may enter into the kingdom of God.

To those possessed of such qualifications, Dr. Oosterzee's work will be a precious boon, especially if their confidence has been in any degree shaken by the rationalising views of the present day. So complete a portraiture of Christ, breathing throughout such subdued and yet fervid sympathy, gathering up the minutest traits of the perfect One, and combining them into so harmonious a whole, we do not remember to have seen. There is a vein of controversy and argument running through the book, but its temper is manly and confident, as of one who, far from fearing, rather invites impartial scrutiny both of his limnings and of the original they strive to represent; and all is strictly subordinate to the purposes of edification which the simplicity and purity of the style tend also so eminently to subserve. The comprehensive

ness of its range will be seen from the three parts into which the work is divided, viz. :—The Son of God before His Incarnation, Christ in the Flesh, and the God-man in Glory. Under the first the Son of God is regarded in His relation to the Divine nature, the creation, the human race, and the people of Israel. The second and largest division embraces the voluntary incarnation, the earthly appearing, the deep humiliation, and the beginning of the exaltation. The third completes the cycle with the God-man in Heaven, the God-man in the Heart, the God-man in the World, and the God-man in the Future.

The following passage from the chapter on the Voluntary Incarnation well exemplifies the character of the volume, and will be welcome to our readers fresh from the celebration of the great event it refers to :—

“ Even though we saw every day of the year the arrival of a Job’s messenger, there is yet *one* day which to the most unhappy among us brings glad tidings. It is the day on which the words of the first preacher of the Gospel, on Bethlehem’s Plains, are repeated. ‘Unto you is born a Saviour.’ What fairer festival than that of which Chrysostom testified even in his day, ‘that, though yet young, it was, nevertheless, observed with enthusiasm as great as though it had been in use from time immemorial!’ Now so many centuries old, it is ever afresh hailed with new joy, and, once more to use the language of the same Father, ‘as a good and noble shoot when it is planted, in a short time rises on high and brings forth much fruit,’ not otherwise has been the experience of Christendom with regard to this festival. The child hardly becomes weary of looking at the Child in the manger. The man exhausts not the thought, ‘God’s good pleasure in men.’ The devout old man even feels his breast glow with higher emotion at the joyful message that God has had towards him also thoughts of peace. Yea, we cannot even conceive the possibility that in the course of centuries this festival too should grow obsolete or be abolished ; it stands there resplendent with everlasting youth and unfading beauty, at the very threshold of the Christian festivals ! . . . But then what a *wondrous* incarnation, which has already for eighteen centuries afforded to Christendom an inexhaustible subject for thanking and thinking ! Every measure is wanting to us, to determine—even in some degree—the distance which separates the divine from the human. It is true the opposition between divine and human is not absolute but relative. Yea, truly, man was created after the image and likeness of God—spirit of His spirit, life of His life. God made him a little lower than the angels, crowned him with glory and honour, set him over all the works of His hands. The Logos assumes the nature, not of the irrational animal or the inanimate plant, but of the firstfruits of the creation of God. There

existed, as we have before seen, even from the morning of the creation, a direct relation between Him and humanity, which even by sin was not entirely broken. But yet, notwithstanding all the affinity between the divine and the human nature, there existed an original difference; and the distance, already so great in itself, became through sin a wide, and apparently insuperable, gulf. What is this poor earth for Him who, as Mediate Cause, called all things into existence? What is, on this earth, the equally transitory as sinful and lost man? And yet this distance was bridged over, in the moment when the Word was made flesh; and, O wonder of wonders! the divine and human nature in Christ blends together into one divine human personality. Do we mean by this confession merely that the Logos *reveals* Himself in an harmonious, spotless human life, as in less degree He is revealed in every particle of the creation? We should in that case arrive at no other conception than this: Christ the pure embodiment of humanity, and, *as such*, the visible image and the highest revelation of the Godhead; and we have already observed how far this conception falls short of the depth and fulness of the Gospel utterances. Not that the man who has humanly developed himself is, *as such*, the Son of God, but that the eternal Son of God appeared as faultless man, is the doctrine of Scripture and of the Church. Have we then to understand the matter in this wise, that He, who according to His divine nature filled heaven and earth, *confined* and, as it were, *imprisoned* Himself within the narrow limits of a human body, and even the body of a child? It is well known with what thoughtless and unworthy mockery this idea has been hailed, even in our own day, and how some of the mouthpieces of modern science have not been ashamed to compare the highest miracle of omnipotence and love as conceived of in this form, with the tales of Eastern magic. Precisely this we deem the ever unfathomable miracle, that the Logos, *as such*, is, and remains truly and everlastingly, God; that, even in the fulness of time, He did not cease to be one with the Father, and to uphold all things by the word of His power; that, as Son, He may be truly said to be in heaven while in the form of a servant He appears upon this mean earth. But He, who was truly and eternally God, *assumed the true human nature* of the flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary, through the operation of the Holy Ghost. He continues to be God and becomes man. He does not give up the supreme *possession*, but only the unlimited *exercise* of His divine nature and attributes. He, the exalted, divine *person*, very God, even as the Father, voluntarily unites Himself to the human *nature*, and from this peerless union arises nothing less than the highest object earth has ever witnessed, a Divine-human personality.

While expressing our admiration of the fidelity with which Dr.

Oosterzee places before our eyes the image which in every age has been the object of adoring contemplation to the most unlettered searcher of the Scriptures, we must also express our dissent from him in respect of some points on which, as it appears to us, his desire to realise the perfect humanity of our Lord has betrayed him, in common with many others, into an error of some magnitude. We refer more particularly to his views of the sinlessness of Jesus. Dr. Oosterzee says:—

"Become truly man, the Son of God can, if He will, sin, and suffer, and die. We have no thought, in thus speaking, of asserting that for the incarnate Son of God *either* sin, *or* suffering, *or* death, was in itself something inevitably necessary. . . . Born of the power of the Holy Ghost, He is free from the preponderating inclination to evil which animates us from our birth. Though manifold injury is done to Him by others, He merits it not, any more than He carries about in Himself the fountain of sufferings. His body, polluted by no sin, bears in itself no seeds of death; and His spirit is weakened by no violent tearing from its impure prison-house of matter. But though the necessity for all this does not in the least exist for Him, the *possibility* thereof is involved in His true incarnation itself. The Logos, *before* His incarnation, can no more transgress, or suffer, or die, than can the Father; the Logos, become very man, *sees* the possibility of the one and the other present itself to Him. Not a few Christians secretly doubt the *possibility* that Christ could sin. To such an extent justly, in so far as sinning must ever become for Him *less morally* possible in proportion as He more deeply felt His oneness with the Father, and in the midst of the most severe temptations more powerfully maintained it. But the *natural* possibility of sinning must surely be ascribed to the God-man, or we make of His temptation an empty display, of His victory a deceptive appearance, of His crowning an idolatrous homage. If His perfect obedience was simply an inevitable consequence—we had almost said a mechanical product—of His true Godhead, this is deprived of all merits, properly so-called, and the well-known words, '*Wherefore* God also hath (exceedingly) highly exalted Him,' cease to have an intelligible meaning."

If this last passage is all that can be quoted against the natural impeccability of Christ, we cannot see that it is at all disproved. Does not the Father Himself receive additional glory from the work of redemption? And yet that there might possibly be failure in the performance of it is not necessary at all to the intelligibility of His being glorified by the Son, neither is it to that of the Son's being glorified by Him. Dr. Oosterzee, as a Calvinist, should be the last to hold this opinion. But it is not with his Calvinism alone that this doctrine is inconsistent: it is at war with what he has plainly asserted but a few pages before of

the consciousness of Christ as not being twofold, but one. His illustration of this is the familiar one of two concentric circles, "a smaller and a greater, each perfect in itself, and existing the one outside the other." The incarnation, he says rightly, is "no mere *manifestation* in a life simply human; no *imprisonment* or *indwelling* in a human body, in the sense that during three-and-thirty years the Logos dwelt and exerted His power nowhere else than in the man Jesus; but *union* of the personal Logos, not with a human *individual* (in this way two personalities would arise), but with the human *nature*, which as such is designed for, and capable of, entering into communion with the Divine. No incarnation in which the Son ceases to be a sharer of the Divine nature, but one in which He henceforth shares it in communion with the human; no mutation of the Son of God *into* a man, but a manifestation of the Son of God *as* a man; no merely external connection of the two natures, but also no fusion, from which a new third nature arises." With all this we perfectly agree, but wonder that the inference should not, in Dr. Oosterzee's eyes, be inevitable that a Being so constituted *cannot* sin. Sin involves guilt as attaching to the personality of the transgressor: now as only one personality is to be ascribed to the Mediator, and that a Divine one, we cannot suppose a possibility of sin in the human nature without attributing a possibility of guilt to a Divine Person. If it be asked how impeccability is secured, we answer, Not by virtue of the conception by the Holy Ghost—that only guaranteed the production of the sinless nature as a fact: the impossibility of its ceasing to be such is guaranteed by the still deeper mystery of the hypostatic union. The sinlessness of the man Christ Jesus was thus placed on a level with the sinlessness of God, and in the one, as in the other, absolute necessity and absolute freedom are identical. The possibility of sin follows in neither from the possession of a moral nature. This involves, of course, the question of the possibility of temptation. But the pain of the temptation might be felt apart from the contingency of succumbing to it. We do not rob the words "tempted in all points like as we are" of any of their sympathetic potency by putting the strongest meaning conceivable into the accompanying "yet without sin:" nor is any of the preceptive potency of the injunction "as ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in Him," sacrificed by the hypothesis of an impassable interval between His righteousness and ours. The spiritual life of Jesus is nowhere spoken of in Scripture as inspired and sustained by the Holy Ghost, who nevertheless replenishes Him for the performance of His offices as our Redeemer: the Father has given unto the Son to have life in Himself. Were it otherwise, we cannot see how the interval between Christ and every spiritual man should be regarded as infinite,

and His character an ideal to which, while continually approximating, we may never hope to attain. The conception of the reality of a temptation which is not only actually but necessarily certain to fail, undoubtedly constitutes a mental difficulty for believers in a true Incarnation. But, on the other hand, if this be obviated by the supposition of a natural peccability, how vastly do the moral difficulties multiply upon our hands. The Incarnation becomes an experiment! The Second Head of the human race may share the fate of the first! The eternal counsel may be for ever frustrated, and the very Person selected for an unprecedented display of the Divine perfections may fall off from his allegiance, and become a co-partner with the arch enemy in the conspiracy against the very kingdom he was destined to set up! The tenor of our Saviour's utterances in the deepest gloom of His humiliation bears no traces of such apprehensions as these. Neither in His "thus it becometh," nor in His "thus it behoved," nor in His "I must work the works of Him that sent Me while it is day," do we mark any of the tremulousness which must have attended such a consciousness. On the contrary, under the very shadow of the cross we find His composure the most complete, and His assurance the most perfect, that "the things concerning Him have an end."

Nothing is easier, as Dr. Oosterzee says, than to attach to others the stigma of either Nestorianism on the one side, or of Eutychianism on the other, but it is hard to see how those who hold only a moral impossibility of sin can be acquitted of leaning too much to the former error, that of acknowledging only an outward union between the Divine and human natures.

Closely connected with the above subject is that of a supposed development of the Divine consciousness within the Holy Child. "He who there lies in swaddling clothes," says Dr. Oosterzee, "Himself at that moment possesses absolutely *no consciousness* of that which He unchangeably is. The Divine power of life slumbers within Him, only later to become known to Himself." He quotes also with approval from Gess's *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, a passage in which this unconsciousness is set over against that of Luther in his cradle, with the forces of the Reformation slumbering within him,—a purely human and irreverent analogy, and therefore utterly inadequate to explain the mystery of the Incarnation. We agree with our author that in becoming man the Son of God entirely renounces the *unlimited use* of His Divine nature and properties, though not their personal possession; but we cannot conceive of the Divine nature in Him sharing the unconsciousness of the human, as the above seems to imply. We think the author's own words well describe the reticence which, by its own silence, Scripture imposes on those who contemplate its greatest mystery. "Not seldom has the reproach been brought, and not



always unmerited, against the defenders of the orthodox confession, that in treating of the deep things of God they have lost sight of the rule to be 'wise unto soberness.' But may it not be recalled to mind, on the other hand, that often, in the contemplation of the Lord's earthly life, points are raised and notes are struck, in connection with which it seems to be entirely forgotten that He was not merely true man, but *God* man in all the force of the word? Here one gives the rein to the imagination in connection with the Lord's childhood and youth, as to all that may have passed in His soul during the days of preparation and development, concerning the fair expectations and dreams of His earlier years. Is it not as though men would be wiser than Scripture, in which a veil is cast over a period of eighteen years, a veil that even wholly remains untouched in most of the Apocryphal Gospels; and would it be possible to become so greatly absorbed in questions of such nature, if reverence for the Son of God always kept equal pace with curiosity as to that which befell the son of man?"

We are not quite at one with Dr. Oosterzee on another point, viz., the character and purpose of our Lord's Second Advent. Of course we believe that the Second Advent is to resemble the first in its being a bodily manifestation, though not for the purpose of establishing a carnal millennial kingdom. But that the millennial reign is to follow such advent, and to supersede the present economy of grace, appears scarcely satisfactorily proved, neither do we see how the Lord's personal presence on earth is to make up for the necessary termination of His intercession in heaven and continual donation of the Holy Ghost. Neither in respect of that intercession itself can we accept, without a certain qualification, the limitation implied in the following words:—"He who, turning away from Christ, still belongs to the unbelieving world, cannot console himself with the thought that he has an Advocate on high." St. John says, "If any man sin;" nor the limitation of the Spirit's work, as taking place "*only* where the Word is proclaimed;" for this is a light that "enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." But notwithstanding these deductions, Dr. Oosterzee's book must be regarded as a rich treasury of profitable truth for all who aspire to an acquaintance with "the mind which was in Christ Jesus."

#### LEATHES' BAMPTON LECTURES.

*The Religion of the Christ: its Historic and Literary Development considered as an Evidence of its Origin.*  
The Bampton Lectures for 1874. By the Rev. Stanley Leathes, M.A. Rivingtons. 1874.

THESE lectures are a noble contribution to the evidences of the Christian faith; and to those who have made themselves

acquainted with the author's previous works on the witness to Christ borne by the Old Testament, by St. Paul, and by St. John, they will have a special value, as consummating a cumulative line of argument which a very logical and a very reverent mind has exhibited with irresistible force. These lectures treat first of the anticipation of Christ in heathen nations. Here the lecturer has done good service by putting in a fair and true light the relation of Gentile religions to Christianity, with special reference to Max Müller and some other recent exponents of heathen myths. We cannot forbear inserting a quotation, which contains a fine vindication:—"May we not say, then, that the witness of mythology is clear, not only to the moral fall in itself, but also to the reality of that fallen condition of which it was at once the proof and the result? Why is there a tendency in human nature to deteriorate, an inability to rescue and restore itself, as the development of mythology and as practical experience alike testify, unless because of an original twist or wrench in our nature, from the effects of which we cannot recover ourselves? All things bear witness to this fact wherever we turn. All societies, religions, institutions, experience the effects, and bear witness to the truth of it. Is it not as useless to deny, as it is impossible to explain it? We may find it difficult to say what we mean by the fall, and may not care too narrowly to define; but the evidence of facts for the reality and truth of a fall is irresistible. And if the natural growth of mythology is itself a witness to this tendency to decline, how much more is the mythology full grown? Can anything afford more conclusive evidence of the depravity of the human heart than the ultimate form assumed by many of the legends of Greece, to say nothing of those of India? Is it possible to excuse or to condone the practices which were the immediate outcome of the cultus associated with those legends, and the deities to whom they referred? We may try to believe that their origin was more innocent than their result, but there can be no mistake about their result. The Pauline account of the heathen world in the Epistle to the Romans, is too vivid not to be true, and is too true to be disputed. And that was the actual outcome of mythology, for of religion, properly speaking, there was none.

"And can we believe that this was the method adopted by God for developing the growth of Christianity? Was Christianity the natural flower and fruit of such a seed and such a plant as this? Is Christianity what this developed into? Because, if we are to eliminate all but purely natural causes, we shall be constrained to confess that the Gospel, as it appeared at first, was the direct outcome, the spontaneous production of germs and forces such as these. The hideous and the impure originated the lovely and the pure. The unholy generated the holy. If my-

thology was but the progressive development of religious ideas spontaneously conceived in man, it must have been a direct link in that chain of which the pure Gospel of Christ was the ultimate result. And when we bear in mind the yet grosser and more openly revolting interpretation, which by some has been unhesitatingly assigned to universal mythology, construing its ever-varying development in the east, and the west, and the north, and the south, as but the unvarying repetition of the same ever-recurrent foul idea, one shudders to think of the awful blasphemy that is involved in any position which implies, or seems to imply, that the very life-blood of Christianity has been deduced through channels such as these, and owes its natural origin to the same ultimate causes. We may indeed say it may be science so-called, but it cannot be truth. Or rather, we may boldly say, this manifestly is not true, and therefore it cannot be science, for science is the handmaid of truth, and leads to truth."

This is straightforward and true, and contains a gentle but severe rebuke, administered by one who has a right to assume the tone of a judge to the whole company of enthusiasts who are endeavouring to place Christianity among the world's religions, and Christ literally among the masters of the human race. Equally true and important are the words which close the discussion:—"The all-important questions, of course, arise: How can such a Divine revelation be brought home to the minds of men? How can we recognise it when presented to us? How shall we know it when we see it, and be sure that we are not deceived? In answer to these questions, we may say that the mind is prepared for the reception of a professedly Divine revelation, by the combined weight of many convergent indications, and the accumulated force of many independent testimonies. It is notorious that several religions appeal to a professedly Divine revelation. The Vedas of the Brahmins, the Zend-Avesta of the Parsees, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the Kuran of the Muhammadans, all claim to be regarded, and are regarded by their respective followers, as divine. Are we called upon to admit the claim? Undoubtedly not. Every one of these collections of sacred writings rests upon a totally different basis from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. No man in his senses can compare them and not perceive their essential and intrinsic difference. We have no desire to exalt our own religion at the expense of others, or to depreciate others that our own may be exalted; but our allegiance to our own religion, if we believe in it, forbids us for one moment to place it on the same level with others, as it prevents us from being blind to its generic difference and its immeasurable superiority."

The lecture on "The Christ of Jewish History," with those that follow, are an original and striking view of the Christ idea

of the Old Testament. One could hardly expect to find the Messiah of the ancient records—Prophet, Priest, and King—exhibited with anything like novelty. But Mr. Leathes has shown how an old subject may be made new. After having read in a variety of treatises the growth of the Messianic idea among the Jews, we confess to a refreshing sense of surprise at finding how much there is in the Old Testament that had escaped our attention. We would advise the student to weigh this lecture well, and carefully to master the argument. Especially, we would advise him to note some of those more recondite points which Mr. Leathes so skilfully brings into prominence. When we reach the New Testament, we find ourselves still under the guidance of a master, though on perhaps more familiar ground. The lecture on “The Christ of the Pauline Epistles,” is one of the best essays on the subject that has ever fallen under our notice.

Mr. Leathes watches the current of theological thought and speculation with deep solicitude. His preface shows this. The topics which it discusses might have been expanded into another volume, and will deserve it. The strictures on some of the books that are now fascinating the spirit of free thought among us are valuable; though it may be thought that the censor is rather too lenient and tolerant. His tolerance is not, however, the result of fear; he knows the strength of his cause, and has a manly confidence in his own ability. And, perhaps, on the whole, it is more advantageous to a good cause to defend it temperately, than to indulge in the severities of declamation, or useless and irritating personalities.

We must quote another passage from the preface, the force of which, however, is impaired by separation from the context: “To what then, is this faith of the disciples traceable? To suppose that they were intentional deceivers is impossible; we can only imagine they were the victims of delusion. How did they themselves become possessed of the conviction that Jesus was the Christ? Two causes are at once apparent—the actual teaching of Jesus and His personal character. They could not have been for any considerable time in His society and have arrived at the conclusion that He was the Christ, unless His personal character had been in accordance with His claims. Nor would they have been very likely to adopt the notion of His being the Messiah unless it had been encouraged by Him. When, however, they had seen their Master expire on the Cross, there must have been an end to all their anticipations about Him, for it was precisely this death of His which was the least likely to convince them of His Messiahship. We are constrained, therefore, to postulate the occurrence of something after His death which had the effect, not only of reviving their hopes, but of establishing

on a secure basis their conviction that He was the Christ, in which they never afterwards wavered. If this was not His resurrection, it was at all events the belief common to all of them that He had actually risen. His resurrection, however, does not appear to have been an event for which they were prepared; on the contrary, it took them one and all by surprise; they were not, it seems, without difficulty brought to believe in it. To what, then, was this belief owing? The fact of the resurrection would at once account for it. Can it be otherwise accounted for? In their case, also, therefore, we have certain known results produced, which point us to a particular cause, but are not easily to be explained by the supposition of any other cause. And when to these results we add the others equally patent—of the peculiar life the disciples forthwith adopted of going about preaching the story of the resurrection, and of the remarkable consequences which followed their preaching, it becomes by no means easy to accept the answer that the belief of the disciples is a sufficient explanation of all the phenomena, on the hypothesis that the resurrection was not a fact, when it is absolutely certain that had it been a fact there would remain nothing which required to be accounted for. We are able, then, to determine how far a critical life of Christ is an indispensable preliminary to our belief in Him. Even on the assumption that we had no materials for such a life, it would not follow that belief in Him was an impossibility; for it is certain that the results which actually followed the first proclamation of Jesus as the Christ are such as to lead us up to a few broad and definite facts as their necessary cause, and to make us virtually independent of all others. Whether one blind man was healed at Jericho or two, may be more or less uncertain; but the uncertainty attaching to that event is no measure at all of the degree of positive knowledge we possess as to the death of Jesus, and the prevalence of belief in His resurrection."

We have not purposed to review this book at length. The passages selected will prompt our readers to study it for themselves, and we may promise them that they will not lose their labour. The work is worthy of its place among the *Bampton Lectures*, and that itself is high praise. We trust the lecturer will apply his skill in the sacred languages, and his large acquaintance with systematic theology, to the further prosecution of the subject which is entered upon, but not exhausted, in his previous volumes. Notwithstanding all that has been done by English theologians to place on its true foundation "the Science of Religions," there is room for another work on the subject. Indeed there is a crying demand for such a work; and Mr. Leathes is one of a very select number whom we would challenge to the task.

*Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine.* The Fifth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By Robert Rainy, DD., Professor of Divinity and Church History, New College. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1874.

THIS series will tend to keep up the high reputation of the Cunningham Lectures. The subject is one of the most important that can engage the theologian. Dr. Rainy has dealt with it in a masterly manner. His first and second lectures, in particular, are an admirable statement of the bearings of the subject, and its application to the Old Testament. In the remainder we miss something of systematic analysis; the several fundamental doctrines of Christianity are not exhibited in their germ with much precision. The scope of the author did not lead him to examine the New Testament from this point of view; but an additional lecture on this subject would have much enriched the work.

The following extract will give a clear idea of the author's design:—

“Ought we to recognise development of doctrine as a legitimate function of the Church of Christ? and if in any sense it is to be so recognised, then in what sense? This was pointed out in the opening lecture as a question lying before us, and it must now be more carefully examined. Development there certainly was under the Old Testament, the light shining more and more as the rising of the sun of righteousness drew nearer. But this was provided for in those days by a progressive revelation, which guaranteed what it gave. Development also may certainly be traced in the writings of the New Testament, brief as the period was during which they were given forth; but here, too, the inspiring Spirit, who guided the human element while He supplied the divine one, is to be confessed; and development becomes merely a new illustration of the way in which human conditions and processes can be made vehicles for the conveyance of the divine message. But ought we to admit that, under the New Testament economy, and after the removal of inspired teachers, doctrines are unfolded and elaborated as the ages pass,—doctrines which were not unfolded at the first, and which yet deserve a place in the system of the Church's faith? There need be no difficulty in admitting it on the part of those to whom the Scriptures are not completely authoritative, nor on the part of those who hold that they were intended to be supplemented by revelation reaching us through other channels, and to be interpreted by an ever-present and infallible judge. But by those who accept the Scriptures as the sole, complete, and adequate rule of faith, difficulty has been felt. For if revelation was completed, once for all, when the canonical writings were given forth; and if the record of revelation is

sufficient to make the man of God perfect; and if it be clear, so that the sense in necessary things can be discerned by prayerful readers, where can the room be, not to say the need, for development? What more of Christian truth can men have than the Apostles delivered by word and writ to the early Christians? Or, if more be asserted, does not the assertion imply, first, that the Scriptures are by themselves insufficient; and, second, that valid additions from other quarters (whatever these may be) have been made to the teaching which they contain?"

It seems to us that there can be no assured ground of certitude, no infallible regulator of truth, if we forsake the principle that with the revelation of Jesus Christ in the flesh development of doctrine ceased. Development was the law of a revelation that was given through the forerunners of the eternal oracle. But when He came all truth came with Him. He was *full of grace and truth*. As He accomplished the salvation of grace, leaving nothing to be done by any other instrumentality for the salvation of man, so He completed the disclosure of the Divine will. Hence He is the sole Revealer in the New Testament. There is, indeed, a development of His doctrine by the Apostles through the Spirit. But the Spirit was Himself; the Holy Ghost glorified the Divine teacher by bringing His words to the Apostles' remembrance, by expanding their meaning or glorifying His words, and by revealing the fuller and more ample meaning of His predictions. Development, therefore, ceased when the personal agents of our Lord's teaching ended their preaching and their teaching. It is fatal to the great theory of revelation to suppose that doctrine was to be developed afterwards. Any subsequent development was only that of dogma.

"Development has been powerfully asserted (as was noticed before) both by Rationalists and by some Romanists. Rationalists commonly regard and represent Christian doctrine as one branch of the general progress of the human mind. The Scriptures are, with them, not properly a rule of faith, much less a complete rule, but are rather the record of certain movements of the human mind, due to natural causes, or, as some of them would admit, due partly to causes which are in some sense supernatural. Those movements, with Scripture as the record which prolongs and perpetuates their influence, have communicated an extraordinary impulse to the religious thought and feeling of men, and have impressed on it a definite bent. Hence come forms of religious consciousness highly interesting and important, which, however, were destined to be elaborated in the furnace of history, in the reflections and discussions of many minds and many ages. They were to combine with all the elements of human thought, and with the lessons of human experience; and all along the process they were to be freely acted on by human reason, and by human

unreason too. This process has often gone on under conditions which hampered and impeded it, but the process itself was inevitable, and, through whatever difficulties, it did and does work itself out. Development, therefore, was natural and valid. It could not be dispensed with, and it could not be arrested."

This theory, of course, reduces the Redeemer to the level of human teachers. He was only a more highly educated spiritual instructor of mankind; bringing a keener intuition and a higher range of knowledge than others, but no more. The New Testament is only a stage in the religious consciousness of mankind; and the march of the religious intellect has long since transcended its views and apprehensions. This theory seems indeed to do honour to the principle of development; but is, in reality, fatal to its true idea. There must be a germ to be developed. Whence came it? From heaven or of men? If of men—that is, if it is merely the innate or connate idea that man brings with him into the world, Christianity is not a development of that; for Christianity asserts its total independence of any human instinct. It refuses to be regarded as a stage of human self-education. If of heaven—that is, if there has been a revelation from above to direct the instincts of human nature—then Christianity has no meaning unless it be supreme and final. It is, by its own testimony, the last word of the Eternal Word. Every attempt to make it a stage of revelation is self-convicted of denying the very foundation of Christianity itself. It is all or it is nothing.

"A companion theory has been brought out by some of the defenders of Rome. They have asserted, as necessary and valid, a development very like that of the Rationalists, in so far as the human forces are concerned, which urge on the process; but they represent it as superintended by the infallible Church, which sifts the results, and guarantees them (those which are authentic) to the faith of Catholic Christians. The most brilliant and ingenious expounder of this theory has unquestionably been Dr. Newman. His singular combination of speculation and faith, with equal degrees of courage in both, and his peculiar style—or flavour, as one may say—of learning, which goes through antiquity, attracting like a magnet what it finds congenial, and passing all the rest as irrelevant matters—these gifts and peculiarities perfectly fitted him for the task. The theory of development, not advanced by him alone, but by him more elaborately unfolded, stands unrebuked, as the more adventurous form of the Romish doctrine regarding the office of the Church as the keeper of traditions, and as the judge of controversies.

"On the other hand, development, as thus explained, was not the old Romish doctrine of tradition, and it is regarded with dislike and suspicion by many influential persons in the Church of Rome. Neither was it the original Anglican or High Church doctrine.



Indeed, that party, both in its ancient and in its recent or Tractarian form, proceeded on views totally inconsistent with any such theory. They relied on an alleged consent of the Fathers, as the explicit warrant for all they taught, and a sufficient ground of sentence against any later doctrines. Newman has told us how the break-down of this *via media* led him to embrace Romanism and the development theory both at once. What the High Church party, as a party, hold upon the subject now, I shall not undertake to say; but several of their writers seem to proceed on the notion of development, without explaining the principle or the limits of the development which they admit."

Not only here, but in other parts of his volume, Dr. Rainy has shown the baselessness of the modern theory of development in the Church. It is simply, in its later form, the refuge of despair. We can understand, while we reject, the old theory of a co-ordinate authority in the Church: a tradition running parallel with the Bible, and infallibly interpreting it, more especially in regard to its subordinate doctrines, and the usages and ordinances of the Church. But a theory which requires us to believe that the most vital doctrines of Christianity were left in uncertainty when the Bible was closed can never be accepted. That there was no doctrine of the Trinity until the Nicene age came; that there was no doctrine of the Person of Christ until the post-Nicene controversies determined it; that there was no doctrine of the Holy Ghost until the Macedonian heresy was condemned; that there was no doctrine of the Eucharist until the twelfth century; all this is intolerable. On such a supposition we know not what unknown doctrines await the hour for their development. Germs of new teaching may be in the New Testament which future decisions may elaborate into doctrines subversive of the Gospel. The Christian instinct is afraid of such a theory: it is fatal to the tranquillity of faith; and in fact transfers the ground of certitude from the saving and eternal Oracle to the shifting decisions of mortal men. But we must repeat the remark made above. There is unlimited development of dogma and arrangement of doctrine: no development of doctrine. The doctrine is of God; the dogma is also of God; but constructed in the Church from age to age.

Dr. Rainy's meaning is the same in this remarkable sentence: "But the truth is, that the development does not start from the completed Revelation; that would be a lofty starting-point indeed. It starts from the measures of understanding which the Church had of the Revelation at the time when Apostolic guidance ended; it starts from the measure of attainment in knowledge of the meaning, scope, and connection of the truth; from the thoughts, and especially the clear thoughts, which the Church then had of the truth set forth in Apostolic teaching, and em-

bodied with other elements in the Scriptures. There is a connection between these two—the completed Revelation, and the Church's attainment in knowledge by the means of it; but there is a very great difference between them, which it is quite wonderful to see so little appreciated by some who write on these subjects. Do men really suppose that the early Church, as it passed out of the Apostles' hands, had actually received into its mind the doctrinal fulness of the Scriptures? The difference between the completed Revelation and the Church's apprehension of it, was as great as that between the brightness of the sun and the reflection of it on some imperfectly polished surface, that gives it back again really, constantly, but with a diminished, imperfect, wavering lustre."

Now, the development of Christian dogma in the historical theology of the Churches of Christendom is simply the gradual exhibition of the way in which the perfect truth has been received and reflected from age to age. It has been adapted to the capacities of the catechumens of heathenism, and of the children of Christians. It has been systematised into definitions to repel the assaults of heresy. It has been moulded into conformity with the various confessions of faith which the development of the Church has required, and it has been modified, always in the way of improvement, by the increase of light which has been shed upon the original text, and its grammatical interpretation. But the doctrine abides for ever the same in the infallible word which is the final appeal, the unerring standard, and the firm foundation of all Christian theology.

We have read this volume with much satisfaction; and we believe that, if carefully pondered, it will repay, beyond most books on the subject, the student's attention. It requires earnest reading, and some parts of it more readings than one. The notes are exceedingly good. Take for instance the following exceedingly suggestive one:—

"The view of sin presented in the New Testament, e.g. in the writings of the Apostle Paul, is stern and dark, and has always been resented as exaggerated by a certain class of thinkers. It is anticipated, however, and the rudiments of it clearly furnished in the Biblical representation of the early world. Sin appears as, first of all, a free decision, beginning with unbelief and disregard of God's word and will. It causes a fall, and thenceforth the race appears in an exiled and perverted state. From time to time special instances of sin in particular men and races rise into portentous prominence, and an intense energy of divine displeasure is seen breaking through the patience and goodness of God, so as to write out His sentence on sin in large letters, for the world to read. But the whole Old Testament history is of such a character as to bring into special prominence this aspect of all

sin, that it is a forsaking of God, and imply that it is to be judged with special reference to that aspect of it.

"So, also, the hold which sin has upon man in his present state, its power over him, the strength with which it tends to its results, are everywhere made visible. This appears, not more from the dominion it exerts over evil men, than from the energy with which it rises up in men who are, on the whole, servants of God. In this connection it is interesting to notice how the significant word *flesh* begins as early as Gen. vi. to be charged with its peculiar weight of meaning. Notice how the word is harped upon and recurred to throughout that chapter. It is not maintained that the full sense of it is here already presupposed; but some sad divorce of '*flesh*' and '*spirit*,'—at the least, some mysterious weakening of the previous connection between them,—is implied throughout.

"If no doctrine is here dogmatically set forth, a mode of view and a mode of feeling are formed which are perfectly definite, and which are fitted to operate in receptive minds with an energy and a precision not a whit inferior to any that can be ascribed to dogmatic statements."

#### LUTHARDT ON ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

*Der Johanneische Ursprung des vierten Evangeliums.* [St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By Dr. C. E. Luthardt]. Leipzig. 1874.

No commentator on St. John has done more service than Dr. Luthardt, and he here crowns his contribution to that important literature by an exhaustive review of all theories, and, as we think, triumphant vindication of St. John's authorship. He examines every tradition, every adverse theory, all the various testimonies from every quarter, and weighs the whole with a sound judgment. In the course of his examination, he takes occasion to consider many contested points that have their interest apart from his immediate subject; and the whole is a work which we should be glad to see translated, notwithstanding the comparative richness of our present literature on the subject. We shall give a few condensed statements as to one topic that has been brought into special prominence, both on the Continent and in England.

It has become an established axiom of modern criticism that both the language and the doctrine, and indeed the whole style, of the Gospel and the Apocalypse are different: so different, that these writings could not have proceeded from one and the same author. Either the Apocalypse is the Apostle's, and not the Gospel; or the Gospel, and not the Apocalypse. The most

recent of the theories on the subject decline to receive St. John as the author of either. There are not many bold enough to regard him as the author of both.

The question as to the relation of the Apocalypse to the Gospel is of importance as to the latter only on the supposition that the Johannæan authorship of the Apocalypse is established, or at least more certain than that of the Gospel. But that is not the case. The oldest witness for his authorship is that of Justin, in his *Dialogue*. Justin quotes the passage concerning regeneration from the Gospel, though without mentioning St. John's name. But the Gospel existed under no other name than his; and even Papias, living under the influences of the Apocalypse, gives his testimony to the first Epistle, which is really a testimony to the Gospel. Indeed, the argument as between the two books goes for nothing. If they are inconsistent, that does not defeat the Johannæan authorship of one of them. But this alleged inconsistency must be examined.

Even the Tübingen critics called the Gospel the "spiritualised Apocalypse." But the language is certainly very different. The differences, however, may be explained away, or very much softened, by considering, first, the different objects contemplated by the two books; and secondly, the difference of the spirit and tone of the author's mind when engaged in the two compositions. It is true that the Gospel is correct in grammar, and the Apocalypse incorrect. But it seems to be a designed accommodation, in many instances, to the ancient prophetic style. The character of the Gospel is the calm and tranquil reproduction of remembrances of the long past, which have become the very being of St. John's inner life; that of the Apocalypse is the excitement and elevation of tone stimulated by the wonderful vision of the great futurity. The reader must be referred to the work itself for a luminous exhibition of the evidence on which this distinction is based, and by which it is justified.

The Apocalyptic system of doctrine is shown to be far from inconsistent with that of the Gospel. Of the several points, we may consider the notion of God, the Christology, and the Eschatology. In the Gospel God is Light, Life, and Love; these are the three fundamental words of St. John. Now they are found in the Apocalypse, but under symbols and prophetic representations. Throughout the first chapter God is the essential Life, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last. God is Light throughout its visions; a temple that needs not the light of the sun. Love suggests more difficulty. But the issue of all its prophecies is the tabernacle of God with man, no other than the consummated fellowship of love between God and man. The Apocalypse is no less a revelation of Divine love than the Gospel; even as the Gospel displays the wrath of God against those who

belong to the prince of this world. But the Apocalypse is more expressly a revelation of the wrath of God against the enemies of Christ and the Gospel.

As to the Christology, the two documents are at one. The Gospel elevates Christ into the sphere of divinity,—makes that its starting-point. And the writer of the Revelation was called *the Divine* by the ancient Church, because He so expressly taught the Divinity of the Logos. The heavenly spirits “honour the Father even as they honour the Son.” Christ is united with God throughout all the visions. Salvation, both now and eternally, springs from the One as from the Other. The government of the world belongs equally to Both. They receive the homage and service of the saints equally and without distinction. It is true that the Lamb is on the throne, as it were on its steps; but He is also seated on it. And the four living creatures, the representatives of the whole creation, pay Him divine honour. In a variety of figurative forms, the Redeemer sustains the same relation to the Father as in the Gospels: one with Him, yet in the mediatorial work, for a time, subordinate. If He is called, “the beginning of the creation of God,” *beginning* means not *initium*, but *principium*; through Him all creation has its origin and existence. He is here also “before all things,” and “all things were made by Him.” When the victory of Christ over His enemies at His appearance is spoken of, “His name is the Word of God;” not *is* called, but *was* called; not a future name, but an earlier name. As in the Gospel, Christ is the Word, as the absolute revelation of God, so it is in the Apocalypse. It is remarkable that *Lamb* is His name nine and twenty times in the Revelation; and sometimes with the addition that He was slain. Now in the Gospel the Forerunner announces Him as the Lamb of God, and the Crucified is the fulfilment of the Passover emblem. But the word is *Arnion* and not *Amnos*. This, however, is only a change of the word, not of the idea in the word; and the reason is obvious: the one refers to His historical humiliation, the other to His glorified estate. Nor must that remarkable citation of Zechariah xii. 10 be omitted: common to the two documents, and in both according to the Septuagint.

Much stress has been laid upon the supposed condemnation of the Apostle Paul and Pauline Christianity in the second chapter. Now if those liars who gave themselves out to be apostles, and were not, included Paul, and Paul especially, and if the Nicolaitanes were the Pauline Christians, then we should mark in this document a spirit which is utterly inconsistent with that of the Gospel. But it is time that this most ridiculous notion should be exploded.

As to the Eschatology, there is no real contradiction. It is true that the Gospel does not speak of Antichrist, and leaves the

visible return of Christ more in the background. His coming is primarily that of the Spirit; and is permanent in the Christian Church. This was required by the problem of the Gospel. But no one doubts that the first Epistle was written by the author of the Gospel, and that speaks of Antichrist. The elements of the Antichrist are in the Gospel; they are in the Jews and in Judas, whereas the Apocalypse transcends this limited view, and looks at the final consummation in the Person in whom will be concentrated all elements on a final historical exhibition. The theme of the Apocalypse is "I come." This coming has its stages down to the final personal return of Christ for resurrection and judgment. In the Gospel the stage is the presence of Christ through His Spirit. But the Spirit's presence is also the coming of Christ. Yet the personal return is not wanting to the Gospel, as the fifth chapter shows, verse 28. And the Apocalypse has its spiritual return of Christ also. We must not in a one-sided manner spiritualise the Gospel and carnalise the Apocalypse. The one has its stand-point in the spiritual manifestation, the other in the historical manifestation.

"How could a disciple who walked with his Master on earth, who stood in daily relations of common life with Him, attain to such a view of that Master as to invest Him with the Divine nature and attributes, and describe Him as an historical manifestation of the Divinity? Does not this glorification of the historical into the eternal, and of the human into the Divine, demand a greater distance, both in person and in time, than can be predicated of an actual disciple of Christ? Now, when the Tübingen school makes the Apocalypse a monument of judaising early Christianity, and of the proper Johannæan spirit in it, it has the same difficulty to encounter. It is not relieved by denying the Johannæan origin of the Gospel. The two are one in this, and the mystery remains unsolved." But there is a solution of the difficulty which these critics will not accept, which, however, is the solution of our Lord Himself. He chose His servant John to be the medium for His final revelation of Himself. He manifested His glory to all alike; but He chose one to be the special organ of His final teaching concerning His own person; and the Holy Ghost revealed to him again the earlier revelation.

Before leaving this little volume to our readers, we cannot help remarking that it does not do full justice to the great question of the union of the trilogy of documents on the authorship of St. John. We find it proved that there is no absolute impossibility that the same author should have produced the Gospel, the Epistle, and the Revelation. But it is not the writer's aim to establish this fact positively. We should hail from his pen, or from any other competent author, a work on the unity of authorship. To us there is no room for doubt that in the distribution

of gifts this was the prerogative of the beloved Apostle. It was his special honour to give the final memoirs of the Saviour's life on earth as a revelation of God in humanity, to give the final exhibition of His life in heaven which will end in His return to earth, and in his Epistle to unite the two, so to speak, in a final and perfect exhibition of that Christian life which His people receive from His Spirit, and which prepares for His coming.

In the Gospel and Apocalypse St. John is only or mainly the recorder. The Redeemer Himself speaks and acts, and His Apostle notes His words and works, only in a few words giving his own reverent comment. But in the Epistle he mediates between the two, being himself the expositor of perfect Christian doctrine. In it all truth puts on perfection. The Person of Christ has its most glorious exhibition. His atonement is nowhere in the New Testament so perfectly set forth; and the sanctifying power of the love of God in the human heart has its highest and most glorious delineation. In these three departments his writings are the consummation of the New Testament and of all Scripture. This is the bond of their unity; and we hope yet to see that unity more fully established externally by criticism, as it is internally demonstrated to the eye and the heart of faith.

*Etudes Bibliques.* Par F. Godet. ["Biblical Studies." Second Series.] Paris. 1874.

THESE are the remarkable words with which this new series of Dr. Godet's Studies is introduced:—

"The assemblage of the Sacred Writings resembles an edifice containing sixty-six apartments, in each of which there shines brightly a ray of the celestial light. The greater part of Christian people content themselves with contemplating it from without, like simple tourists. Are they hindered from entering by the fear of meeting inside with nothing but closed doors? This is the sentiment of very many, no doubt. We are about to offer to them the key of some of these mysterious apartments. If they consent to make use of them, they will soon extend their visits to all the chambers of this Divine abode, and will not fail to adopt the aspiration of David: 'One thing have I desired of the Lord; that will I seek after: that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in His temple.'"—Ps. xxvii. 4.

This is a homage to the organic unity and perfection of the Holy Writings which is very refreshing; coming, as it does, from a corner of Europe where as much has been done as in almost any other quarter to disintegrate those Scriptures, and rob them of their inspiration, and of the special providence of the Holy

Spirit to which their internal cohesion and their external preservation are to be ascribed. The writer's modest but elevated conception of the influence and effect of his own labours is amply justified by his books themselves. He is a most conscientious, reverent, and careful expositor; as his commentaries on St. Luke and St. John bear witness. But his miscellaneous essays are still more interesting than his more elaborate works. We have already noticed some of them. Here are a few specimens of a new series. Speaking of St. Matthew's Gospel: "The end of this composition is not for a moment doubtful. The author, recording a history, aims to produce faith in the person who is its Object. With this design he makes Him the Messiah promised to the Jews, and brings out everywhere the accordance between the facts and the predictions, an accordance which proves that Jesus is the Christ. This tendency appears everywhere from the first word, 'The genealogy of Jesus, the Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham.' He is the descendant of Abraham, 'in whom should be blessed all the families of the earth.' He is the Son of David, who, according to Isaiah, would establish for ever his kingdom. He is the expected Messiah, the sovereign of Israel, and, therefore, also the Saviour of the world. The last words of the Gospel correspond to this preamble, and show this programme accomplished in Jesus at the end of all His struggles and apparent defeats: 'all power is given unto Me.' The entire history leading to this last word is stamped with the same Messianic seal. The formula, 'that it might be accomplished,' is like a refrain repeated on every page of the book. The thought which presides over it is evident. This Gospel is the demonstration of the right of Jesus to sovereignty over Israel, as their Messiah. It is first of all, therefore, a treatise addressed to the ancient people of God. And if Israel does not understand and appreciate it, it is for the world: for the King of Israel is the King also of all mankind."

But we cannot altogether accept the author's graphic account of the probable method of construction adopted by the first Evangelist. He regards him as the *redacteur* of certain masses of discourses simply, on these five great subjects: the New Law, the Apostolate, the Kingdom of Heaven, the Church, the Consummation of all things. The historical groundwork was to him of comparatively small importance. The author, in order to render with more clearness and plenitude the thoughts of the Saviour on these five subjects, unites the words spoken by Him at different times, and groups together His parables after a manner which the Redeemer's own wisdom would not have adopted in speaking to the people. Hence some of them are found in St. Luke dispersed in five or six, or even ten, different positions. "It seems to me," says Dr. Godet, "that in the greater



part of them a profound study will not refuse the preference to the place assigned them by the third Evangelist. Luke seems on each occasion like a botanist who loves to contemplate a flower in the place where it had its birth, and in the midst of its natural surroundings. Matthew is like the gardener who, with a certain particular end in view, composes great and magnificent bouquets. There was certainly a sermon on the Mount: Luke confirms it. There was an instruction given to the Twelve: Mark and Luke bear witness. There was a time in the ministry of Jesus when He inaugurated His method of teaching in parables. But, to the discourses pronounced on these particular occasions, Matthew has attached many other words really spoken by the Lord on other occasions on the same subject. Nothing hinders the propriety of considering that he did so; for his book was not ordered by historical sequence, but by the law of progressive discourses. It is in virtue of this legitimate procedure that he was able to reproduce in so astonishing a manner the unique impression produced on the crowds by the preachings of the Master." Here we must demur. There are surely better methods of solving what is an undeniable difficulty than that of supposing the Evangelist to have packed together isolated sayings, and prefaced them by words which imply that they were then and there spoken. It seems more probable that St. Luke would give excerpts, than that St. Matthew would thus aggregate his materials. The theory has always been distasteful to our minds. Dr. Godet has done all that could be done to render it palatable; but we feel persuaded that the theory of the construction of the synoptical gospels has not been discovered by him. At the same time we must needs admit that no other theory altogether meets the exigencies of the case. The Divine Spirit has not given us the key to His method in the creation of the Gospels.

We turn to another subject of great importance:—

"The Epistle of James belongs then, in common with the writings of Paul, to that sacred Viaticum which the Lord has left to His Church for all the ages of its development and of its earthly activity: to the authentic Canon of the New Testament. And it is not inappropriate here to render our homage to the largeness of view, to the liberty of spirit, to the boldness of faith with which the churches at the close of the fourth century, at the very time when they proclaimed most vigorously the divinity of the Scriptures, dared without hesitation to give a place in their infallible Canon to writings which contained, as it regards salvation, formulas literally contradictory. How far was Luther, with his judgments little tempered, and dictated by a too exclusive preoccupation with the struggles of his own time, below the level of those courageous Synodal decisions which presided over the settlement of the Christian Canon!

"In the presence of this fact are we not justified in speaking of a *Providential Canon*, and in recognising the result of a superior and supreme direction in the formation of the Collection of Sacred Writings sanctioned by the Church?"—P. 271.

That the Divine Spirit presided over the decisions of the Churches and provinces that had the final settlement of the Canon we firmly believe. But it is, perhaps, better to say that He watched over the ordinary course of things which necessarily tended to the definite acceptance of the writings of inspiration. There needed no positive direction, nor inspiring suggestion. The divinity of the books must necessarily assert itself. Their origin and authority could not be hid. If we could suppose the Divine Spirit to have altogether withdrawn His special control, and left the writings of evangelists and apostles to make their own way, it may be regarded as certain that they would by degrees have taken the place they now hold, as distinct and separated, and sacred books. The law of the credentials of things Divine is that their evidence is mainly from within. This holds good of the holy books. But we do not deny, we rather assert strongly, the direct influence of the Spirit in the settlement of the Canon; only we hold fast the human element here also, and regard the Spirit's agency as having simply controlled the natural process of events. Just as His inspiring influence did not supersede the action of the human mind, retaining in each case its own individuality, so His vindication of the Bible, as a whole, did not take the form of a despotic decree, but simply directed and overruled the current of opinions and decisions which inevitably must lead, and did lead, to the permanent severance between the uninspired and the inspired books of Christianity.

Dr. Godet's remarkable comparison between Luther and the men of the fourth century has in it much truth, and is very suggestive. It may be asserted that the reason why the ante-Nicene Churches so readily accepted the Epistle of St. James was that they were lax as to the doctrine of justification by faith. Indeed, some would say that their general bias towards a doctrine that linked justification and moral character very closely together, was the reason of the favour that that Epistle found in their eyes. But against this, it may be alleged that St. James has some other peculiarities that would have operated to exclude him, if dogmatic principles had governed the decisions of the early Churches. The Epistle is very far from being as pronounced and emphatic on the divinity of our Lord, and the personality of the Holy Ghost, and the hypostatic distinctions of the Trinity generally, as the Nicene theologians might be presumed to have desired, supposing them to have been governed only by dogmatic prepossessions. In other words, if they had dealt with the Epistle on the same principle that Luther did, they would have rejected it as Luther

did, though not for the same reason. To him it was an epistle of straw, because it seemed unfaithful to Christ's finished work; they would have regarded it as an epistle of straw, because it was unfaithful to Christ's person. But they were not governed by Luther's principle. They accepted the apostolical epistle, and reverently sought for that harmony between it and the other writings which they perfectly well knew they should find. It would have been a good thing for the cause of truth if Luther had done the same. It is impossible to estimate the evil effect of the rash expression of his arbitrary principle. In his hands, and with the evangelical applications he gave it, it was comparatively innoxious; but it has been otherwise with his followers. A hundred vague and destructive theories of inspiration claim affinity with Luther's canon that the test of the divinity of a book is the way in which it deals with Christ. Those who are so fond of appealing to the great reformer's authority as demolishing the authority of St. James, forget that he was not himself always of the same mind, and that the theologians who followed him shared not his opinion. As to the question itself, we think there is no book of the New Testament which has on it a more evident stamp of Divine authentication than the Epistle of St. James. It watches over the purity of religion with a godly jealousy, and keeps guard over the doctrines of grace as with the flaming sword of the Cherubim. It would have been a sad loss had the early Church failed to do honour to it and expelled it from the canon. But there was never any fear of this. The Holy Spirit knoweth His own handiwork.

"The teaching of Paul has had for its result to condemn for ever, in the Church of Christ, *dead works*, exterior observances devoid of interior life; that of James is the permanent condemnation of *dead faith*, of the belief of the head isolated from moral activity. These two truths, like flowers which blossom at different points in the sea, but which, under the surface, are blended on one and the same root, belong both to the same religious principle, Pharisaism always reviving; which sometimes *knows* without *doing*, sometimes *does* without *feeling*. The writings of Paul are indispensable in epochs of formalism; they unfurl the standard of that spirituality which must characterise all true obedience worthy of God, who is a Spirit. The Epistle of James is especially appropriate to times of intellectual dogmatism and dead orthodoxy: it utters the protest, then, of that moral principle on which Divine salvation rests."

Here, again, we feel that our author is making too great a sacrifice to a fine generalisation. The Epistles of St. Paul and St. James are united in Scripture as adapted to all ages, and all Churches, and all Christian men at all times. The seeming contradiction between them has given rise to a whole library of con-

troversial divinity, which has not been altogether valueless. It has kept alive for ever the protest of the Christian Church against Antinomianism. But it has done still more to preserve thousands of Christians from the perversion of the vital doctrine of justification by faith.

"In all ages there have been, and there will be, natures straightforward, strongly tempered, and severe towards themselves, who seek in the Gospel a means of sanctification rather than pardon, and in Christ a model and a power rather than an expiatory victim. Pardon appears to them to be of necessity the accompaniment of a solemn labour, accomplished in view of moral amelioration. These natures seem to us to have the right to seek themselves in that of James. The corruption of salvation which results from this tendency needs rather to be complemented than rectified. It does not involve any error. But the truth does not, as yet, shine clearly in it. If any reader is surprised at this, he should remember, with regard to James as with regard to Jude, that these two men were never invested by Jesus with the apostolical dignity."

This seems a needless concession, and one the consequences of which have been so disastrous in past times, and are so obvious in the present day, as to make it matter of surprise to us that men of Dr. Godet's school should be betrayed into it. If once we begin to make distinctions of this kind, the doctrine of inspiration vanishes, with all its attendant blessings. Moreover, the concession is needless. Strike out the last sentence, and our author has said all that need be said. Notwithstanding a few flaws of the kind we have indicated, this little volume, like those which have preceded, may be recommended to our readers, with much confidence. They are beautiful French, and beautiful theological essays.

*Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib: an Inquiry into the Historical Meaning and Purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah.* By Sir E. Strachey, Bart. Second Edition, Revised, with Additions. London: Isbister and Co. 1874.

IF, as the writer states, it was by the advice of Mr. Maurice that he began, many years ago, to make the science of politics his study, we could imagine that it was a passage in Coleridge's *Statesman's Manual* that suggested to him the study of Jewish history and politics, or at least the method in which to pursue it. The passage we refer to is so wise and noble a one that it is a pleasure to find room for it here: "Not the less on this account will you have looked back with a proportionate interest on the temporal

destinies of men and nations, stored up for our instruction in the archives of the Old Testament: not the less will you delight to retrace the paths by which Providence has led the kingdoms of this world through the valley of mortal life—paths engraved with the footmarks of captains sent forth from the God of armies! Nations in whose guidance or chastisement the arm of Omnipotence itself was made bare. . . . Thucydides, Tacitus, Machiavel, Bacon, Harrington: these are red-letter names even in the almanacs of worldly wisdom: and yet I dare challenge all the critical benches of infidelity to point out any one important truth, any one efficient, practical direction or warning, which did not pre-exist, and for the most part in a sounder, more intelligible, and more comprehensive form, in the Bible."

To a considerable extent, as it seems to us, Coleridge's words have borne fruit in the writings of Arnold and Milman, of Hare, Maurice, and Stanley, and, with every reservation we may be inclined to make, there can be but one opinion as to the great benefit that the historical study of the Old Testament has received from these distinguished writers. Sir Edward Strachey's interesting and instructive volume is an important contribution to this branch of Biblical literature. He has selected a period of Jewish history—the last half of the eighth century B.C.—when the national life, then at its highest point of civilization, and coming into most critical contact with foreign powers, presents its most numerous, complex, and important features. With the increase of the power and security of the realm, there had been a great advance in arts and commerce, in wealth and luxury, and along with these the social and moral evils that thrive most readily under such circumstances. The intercourse with foreign nations brought in many elements of heathen life by which the upper classes of the country in particular were greatly demoralised. Even amidst her abounding prosperity the decline of the Kingdom of Judah had begun, and Isaiah was the prophet of the earlier stages of that decline, as Jeremiah was of the latter years immediately preceding the national overthrow. Leaving for a moment those highest strains of religious teaching into which Isaiah rises more frequently and more gloriously than any other prophet, his writings contain the deepest interpretations of the phenomena of national life. They show, as no writers outside the circle of the Jewish prophets have shown, the nature and causes of national growth and decay:—

"What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,  
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat."

From this point of view they will be best studied by those who, in addition to the ordinary qualifications of the biblical student, possess a wide knowledge of history and politics. Sir

Edward Strachey's competence in these respects is indisputable, and the result is that he is able to connect the history of Judah under Ahaz and Hezekiah with that of other peoples in other ages, by showing similar causes working towards similar results. The frequent and apposite illustrations from history show that there is no great difference in kind between the events of sacred and secular history, but that the former are recorded in their relation to the Divine government, and constantly interpreted in their relation to man's moral and religious responsibility.

There are other aspects of this volume that are not so satisfactory. The author's discussion of the nature of prophecy, and the prophetic faculty of prediction and inspiration, strikes us as vague, and in some respects inconsistent. There is a curious wavering of his tone on the subject that makes his meaning difficult to get at. He contends for the objective reality of the revelation made to the prophet; "*how* this could be, *how* God reveals His mind and will to men, *how* the poetic or other human faculty gives form and expression to truths not imagined nor discovered, but communicated from on high,—this can never be *explained*: an explanation is a contradiction in terms, an assertion that the infinite is definable, that the superhuman is subject to the laws, and expressible in terms, of the human." Half-a-dozen pages further on he explains the prophetic formula, "Thus saith Jehovah;"—"not by some miraculous communication, alien from all human experience, and of which neither the reality nor the worth is proved by saying that Isaiah's writings are a part of the Bible; but by that inward and spiritual command which is daily and hourly telling each of us what is our work and how we are to do it. . . . A Luther, or even a Cromwell, would have shrunk from dishonouring the spirit of God within him, by supposing that it was not by the same wisdom and the same power as inspired Isaiah, that he spoke and acted in the Diet of Worms, or on the field of Dunbar."

This latter passage appears to us to diminish considerably the value of the former. Writers whose spirit is very different from that of Sir Edward Strachey, are fond of associating the names of Socrates, Seneca, Mohammed, and Shakespeare with those of Moses, Paul, and Jesus; nor is it difficult to see why. Nothing more effectually neutralises inspiration than to make it universal or at least to call by that term the genius of the philosopher, statesman, and poet, as well as the Spirit of the apostle and prophet. In this style Strauss writes, "Let it not be deemed that Lessing's Nathan, or Goethe's Hermann and Dorothea contain fewer 'saving truths' than an Epistle of Paul, or a Discourse of Christ, as reported by John." If Sir Edward Strachey admits the objective reality of the revelation communicated to the prophet, we do not understand the force of the comparison with Luther and Cromwell quoted above. The comparison is one that

tacitly merges the special function of the prophet with his "Thus saith the Lord," in the ordinary life and activity of the human spirit. In this way the proper characteristics of both are destroyed. When once we admit the inspiration of all who are strong, or wise, or good, it is but a little step to the denial of inspiration altogether. Logically speaking, as we increase the extension of the term we diminish its intention, and from meaning very much it comes to mean little or nothing at all.

The treatment of the latter part of the book, from Chapter xl. onwards, is not so detailed and careful as that of the earlier and more historical part. He briefly discusses the question of the genuineness of the last chapters of Isaiah, and adopts a middle ground between the two opposite views that are held, namely, that which attributes them to the prophet whose name they bear, and that which ascribes them to an unknown prophet living towards the end of the Captivity. His suggestion is, that these chapters, though in the main by Isaiah himself, have come to us re-edited with interpolations, and, perhaps, other changes, dating from the Captivity. Sir Edward Strachey admits, with his usual candour, that no argument for the separate authorship of the last twenty-six chapters can be drawn from differences of ideas, sentiments, and style. He considers that the only argument of any real strength is drawn from their apparently contemporary tone and atmosphere in relation to the events described, and that the word *Cyrus* is its main source and support. But this argument has little force except with those whose theory of prophetic inspiration does not admit the gift or power of prediction. We fully admit the misconception of the prophetic office which made prediction its chief characteristic; but we are as strongly persuaded of the erroneous nature of that opposite view which denies that the prophets ever predicted future events, but confined themselves solely to enunciating great general principles. To say nothing of the argument from prophecies fulfilled, an argument which it has become the fashion to disparage, the Book of Isaiah contains many allusions to the gift of prediction possessed by Jehovah's prophets, especially as shown by their predicting *Cyrus*, and even naming him (xli. 26; xlv. 8; 24—26; xlv. 4, 19—21; xlv. 8—11; xviii. 3—8, 15). The power of foretelling the future is insisted upon as a test of divine authority, and it would be very difficult to account for a challenge that could be so easily and effectually answered, if it were put forth after, or at the same time as, the events described.

But the great value of Sir Edward Strachey's work lies, as we have already said, in the way he grasps the real meaning of Jewish history, and throws upon its various incidents the light derived from a wide and careful study of politics and statesmanship. The twenty-second chapter, pp. 330—344, is an admirable

example of his method, and of the deeply religious spirit in which it is pursued. The subject is the later policy of Hezekiah, when, according to the writer of the Chronicles, "he rendered not again according to the benefit done unto him; for his heart was lifted up: therefore there was wrath upon Judah and Jerusalem . . . and God left him to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart."

"Here was the old, deep-seated vice re-appearing in a form adapted to the new circumstances of the time. The Hebrew nation—as, indeed, every other, now, not less than then—could only stand by faith in its unseen, yet ever-present King, and conscientious obedience to His laws; they had quite forgotten this, not for the first time, during the prosperous reign of Uzziah, and had ceased to trust in anything but their own power and wealth, and the settledness of their institutions; when these failed them during the long years of Assyrian supremacy and invasion, they tried, with no better success, their system of political alliances, intrigues, and counterpoises, in which Hebrew craft was to outwit barbarian force: and now, when it might have been hoped that all this severe discipline had taught them how vain was their trust in either the one or the other, it needed but an opportunity—'God's leaving them to try them, that they might know all that was in their heart'—to prove that both king and people were ready to fall back upon the old courses, so superficially had the lesson been learnt, and so immediately forgotten. Instead of keeping steadily in view the fact that their deliverance from Assyria was wrought by God, after all their own schemes had completely failed, and adhering to the simple, straightforward conduct which that fact pointed to, they were taking credit to themselves for the deliverance, and proposing, or accepting the proposal of, a new system of heathen alliances. . . . With hesitation I suggest that we may find a counterpart of Hezekiah's want of faith in the future guidance of God who had led him through the past, in the repressive policy which our statesmen adopted, and so many of our patriots approved, after the peace of 1815. A large part of the best men of that day seem to have lost all clear belief that the God who had just delivered Europe from a mightier incarnation of sheer, arbitrary force than Sennacherib's, had any further work for 'His Englishmen,' and that He only required them still to work and follow the method of His counsels. They retained their faith in the ideal beauty of freedom and progress,—just as Hezekiah no doubt retained his faith; but, in a temper essentially analogous, though different in form, to that which prompted the alliance of Judah with Merodach-Baladan, they renounced, for all practical purposes, both their youthful love of freedom, and their maturer reverence for constitutional rights; and they avowed that while their hopes



for the future were utterly dim, their present trust was in the vulgarest expedients of police-craft; and in resistance to the reforms which, in the abstract, they admitted to be desirable, but in the demand for which they would see nothing but man's sedition, instead of the signs by which God was pointing to the forward road. . . . We, too, like Hezekiah and his people, have exceeding much riches and honour, cities and treasures, and store-houses; corn, and wine, and oil, and possessions of flocks and herds in abundance; for God has given us substance very much: and we, too, are exposed to the same temptations as they; and our nation, like theirs, may at any time fall under its power, and become obnoxious to its consequences and punishment. The warning example should never be absent from our thoughts; for there is no one, even the humblest of us, who is not taking a real part in the workings of our commonwealth, and influencing its destiny for good or evil, and that whether he will or not. There is much to fear for England; yet much to hope also from the increasing spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might in the fear of the Lord, which God has given to our public men."

We have no space for further extracts from this volume. It presents almost equal attractions to the student of theology and the student of history, nor is it easy to say which of the two it places under greater obligations. If it is well that the one should be taught that the God who governed Israel governed Greece and Rome, and at this day rules England, France, and Germany with merciful but righteous judgment: it is well that the other should learn to look upon human history in the light of religion, and see what are the ultimate foundations of wise statesmanship, and the true conditions of a nation's prosperity.

*A Sermon on Priestly Absolution, preached before the University of Oxford in St. Mary's Church, on Sunday, November 24th, 1793, by the Rev. Henry Digby Beste, M.A., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. Third Edition. With Notes and other Autobiographical Writings. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1874.*

IN the mania for archæological research that at present prevails, it is no wonder if some things should be disinterred which might as well have been suffered to remain in the dust of oblivion. The question whether the existence of semi-Popery in the Church of England can be traced back beyond the date of the Tractarian outbreak is not one of such consequence as to interest more than a limited section of the public. However, such as it is, the subject has some light cast upon it by the above-named reprint. A

sermon, advocating the right of the Christian, i.e. the Anglican "priesthood" to pronounce not a mere general and declaratory, but a real and particular absolution on all penitents who may come to them confessing their sins, was preached in the year 1793 at St. Mary's, Oxford, in the presence of the assembled heads of houses; and so far was it from provoking indignation,—as did John Wesley's sermon on Justification by Faith, preached under similar circumstances in the same place fifty years before, and which resulted in his exclusion from the pulpit,—that it drew down upon the preacher warm encomiums, and was deemed worthy of being printed at the Clarendon press. The sermon itself, based upon the literal interpretation of John xx. 23, starts from the usual assumptions respecting the powers inherent in the pastoral office, and the unbroken succession of the clergy, and, while admitting errors in the Romish Church, roundly rebukes the Anglicans for not imitating her zeal and fidelity in the maintenance of this most precious instrument of discipline, and means of salvation. It is no great discovery to find that the interpretation thus put upon a solitary passage in the New Testament, and some obscurely worded directions in the Book of Common Prayer, was acceptable at Oxford some forty years before Pusey and Newman were heard of. The Scripture quoted in defence of absolution will bear, as is too well known to need repeating, the ordinary evangelical sense, and even requires it in order to harmonise with the multitude of passages which establish the individual responsibility of men to their Maker alone. And as for the rubrics, if they do not harmonise with the obvious tenor of the New Testament Scriptures, it is high time they were revised, and all suspicion of a compromise with Popish tenets swept away.

The sermon itself forms but a small portion of the book. It is inserted in its chronological place in an autobiographic sketch of the preacher's history up to the time of his perversion to the Roman communion—for in him the proclivities adverted to had their logical issue. This narrative has a painful interest as exhibiting the fatal facility with which some minds, not chargeable with the ignorance usually attendant upon superstition, may, through lack of moral earnestness and mental strength, shirk the responsibilities of freedom, and accept the chains of spiritual despotism. There is manifest throughout the volume a desire to justify the step, and to recommend it to others who may be at all bewildered by the eddies of conflicting religious opinion. How silken the chains are, how easy the bondage, is a theme on which the autobiographer delights to dwell. The self-anatomy is very simple; we should add very superficial, if we were sure there was anything deeper to be laid bare. We cannot go into details. An hereditary predisposition to Popery was derived from an ancestry

that counted among its heroes Sir Everard Digby, of Gunpowder Plot notoriety. The discovery of an annotated copy of the Douay Testament was the match that ignited the tinder; the notes being evidently prized above the text. For a while the flame smouldered, the Oxford High Church influence of those days tending rather to dull it than otherwise, much on the same principle as vaccination keeps off the small-pox.

But an accidental *rencontre* with a certain Father Beaumont, one of the *émigrés* of the French Revolution, disposed of the transubstantiation difficulty, the only obstacle that had ever seriously barred the road to Rome; an appeal to the virtual consent, through silence, of all the Christian centuries being evidently quite sufficient for a mind only too wishful to believe in it; the silence itself being all the while taken for granted rather than proved. A rhetorical passage from Chrysostom settled the sense of "This is My body," and the conversion was complete. Of any agonising doubt, of any spiritual crisis, of any resulting peace of conscience, as connected with this momentous change in religious belief, the record bears no trace. Indeed, there are traces enough of a merry-making spirit that seems strangely at variance with the professed purport of the book. The hits at supposed Protestant inconsistency and disunion are plentiful enough, but seldom fail to admit of a *tu quoque* reply. "What is the creed of the Church of England?" We may ask in reply, "What is the creed of the Church of Rome? Who knows whether it will be to-morrow what it is to-day?" "Whether the Church of England allow the exercise of private judgment or claims infallibility, disputes are endless?" Here, likewise, we may assert, "The Church of Rome claims infallibility, and disputes are endless." The unfairness of some of the arguments is, however, palpable. All heretics must believe that those belonging to the body from which they parted are in danger of damnation, because on no other ground could they have ever determined to leave it! The Anglican catechism says that only two sacraments have been ordained as generally necessary to salvation; therefore it means that there may be four or five others not generally necessary! This is of a piece with the argument that because Christ said the sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, "neither in this world nor in the world that is to come," therefore some sins may be forgiven in the next world that are not in this; therefore there may be a purgatory. Or with the stale, flat, and unprofitable inference that because there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth, therefore we may pray to saints.

The common sense of the book appears to be confined to the concluding note by the editor, in which he seeks to demonstrate the utter untenableness of the Anglo-Catholic position. Of the rest

we may say, as the Romish priest said of penance, "If it does not do much good, it will not do much harm."

*A Few Facts and Testimonies Touching Ritualism.* By Oxoniensis. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1874.

THIS is a summary of the views and principles of the Ritualists, principally gathered from their own writings, and will be useful to those, if any such remain, who need to be enlightened as to their true character and tendency. The statements here quoted from Mr. Gresley, the Revs. O. Shipley, W. J. E. Bennett, W. Maskell, W. Dodsworth, &c., plainly establish the position with which the compiler sets out, and confirm the current opinion concerning Ritualism, that "the aim of its advocates is not to lead to the Church of Rome, *per se*, but to Romanise the Church of England. Should they succeed in this, they hope to go a step further, and effect the reunion of the Church, in its corporate character, with Rome at least, if not with the Greek Church also." The instincts of the Evangelicals were right when, on the first blossoming of Ritualism, they pronounced it to be naught, and declared that only apples of Sodom could be expected from such a tree. Who will say now that the words of the Bishop of Calcutta, uttered many years ago, were at all too strong: "My firm persuasion is that if this system should go on, we are lost as a Protestant Church, that is, *we are lost altogether*?" One hopeful feature of the case is that the danger is now on all hands acknowledged. The bishops, who at first appeared to temporise, are to a man convinced of the peril to which the Church is exposed, and have spoken out with a manliness which is reassuring. The Romanisers themselves have felt this so keenly that, from having at the outset adopted as their motto "*οὐδὲν δέγνυσι πικρόπου*," they have come latterly to indulge in an unmeasured vituperation of those who are over them in the Lord. The law-courts have also pronounced against the system. And now Parliament is taking up the matter. The firm Protestant attitude of Mr. Disraeli is being imitated by Mr. Gladstone; and while some appear to doubt the sincerity of either, we would on our part gladly credit both statesmen with a good conscience in taking steps towards which, as far as we can see, no selfish political considerations need be supposed to have impelled them. Yet the danger is not past. It must not be forgotten that learning, zeal, ability, material resources and the vantage-ground of a prominent ecclesiastical position are to be found on the side of these men; nor that all the frivolity, sentimentality, and worldliness of the age, if we may not indeed say all the propensities of unsanctified human nature, favour the form of religion which they are bent on

bringing in. The following remarks of the Rev. J. M. Capes, in his *To Rome and Back*, are well worth attention : "I attribute the diminution of the old anti-Roman bitterness of the English middle and higher ranks, to a certain extent, to that interest in the Mass music of the great composers which has now become general with almost all persons of musical cultivation. . . . In every case the idea of the Roman sacrifice of the Mass is associated with conceptions of purity and beauty ; and a very marked lessening in the fervid Protestantism of both singers and audience is the inevitable result. . . . Once come to love the music, and the mind insensibly ceases to think of the doctrines it expresses with any controversial fierceness." Not, of course, that musical tastes should be neglected : it is not by going to the opposite extreme of Puritanical contempt for God's good gifts that any headway can be made against the seductive misuse of them. The worship of God should be so conducted as not to offend the most refined taste, but elaborate choral services which appeal only to the ear and effectually stifle the sense of devotion in the effort to produce fine artistic effects, should be avoided everywhere, in the Establishment and out of it. In so far as it is lawful, and only so far, the Ritualists should be met with their own weapons. They must be outdone in all the good they strive to do, and it must be admitted that many of them do strive to do good according to their light, if the evil they are doing is to be "put down." Legislation may do much, but it cannot lay a spirit so subtle as this, if once the nation be infected with it. The new court will be as inoperative against Romanism inside the Church of England as the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was against Romanism outside it, unless the heart of the nation be soundly Protestant, that is Christianly spiritual. Let us hope that such may be the issue of the present crisis !

Two notes we must make in conclusion. The compiler calls attention to the distinction that should be made between the genuine old High Church party, of which there are still many representatives, and the Ritualists, who would willingly number them as belonging to their party. Though we do not sympathise with the views of the High Church section, we recognise their standpoint as essentially different from that of the Anglo-Catholics, and cannot but express the hope that, seeing the extravagant conclusions deducible from their own tenets, the holders of them may draw back farther from the edge of the gulf, and approach nearer to those who are really their brethren, whether of their own communion or not.

A statement, quoted on the thirty-eighth page, as reflecting on a Christian body with which this review stands closely connected, must not be passed over without notice, although the error contained in it is one that has been pointed out a hundred times.

The passage in question is from Greeley on Confession, in which, acknowledging the evils that have sprung therefrom, he says, "profligate priests have made the confessional the means of pandering to their passions, and artful women have beguiled unwary confessors. All this, I fear, is most true. Satan has contrived to poison the uses of this most important ordinance, as he has done many others. But I do not know that scandalous cases are more common amongst Roman Catholic priests who hear confession than they are with Wesleyan preachers or ministers of other denominations, perhaps rather less so!" When will it be understood that there is absolutely no resemblance between the Wesleyan class-meeting and the confessional? The class-meeting is not a private but a social means of grace; its business is not therefore and cannot be confession; neither, indeed, are its regular conductors Wesleyan ministers, who only exercise an occasional supervision, but godly laymen, themselves following the ordinary avocations of life. We believe it is customary for females to make their confession veiled; how many of them could a "Wesleyan preacher," even if he tried, prevail upon to make the same confession with unveiled faces in the presence of a dozen or more of their own friends and relatives of either sex? And what scandalous cases does Mr. Greeley remember to have heard of, as arising from a form of Christian fellowship he knows so little of, which will surpass in number and magnitude those he freely admits to have occurred in connection with the confessional? It is strange he cannot see that the vice is in the system, not a rare accident, but a necessary consequence of secret conversation on topics which, according to real apostolic authority, "ought not to be so much as named." Certain it is that should a scandalous case be proved in connection with any Wesleyan preacher, he would instantly be suspended from all his functions, and, unless he retired of his own accord, be publicly and ignominiously expelled by his brethren: whereas the priest, similarly offending, might only be removed to some distant place, because his orders are indelible! But outsiders must not complain of misrepresentation, when the bishops themselves are treated with scurrility.

*Biblical Expositions: or Brief Essays on Obscure or Misread Scriptures.* By Samuel Cox, Author of "The Expositor's Note-Book," &c. Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

WE are glad to give our welcome to Mr. Cox's new volume of Expositions. It may seem ungracious to criticise the title, but we cannot help thinking that the description "Brief Essays on Obscure or Misread Scriptures," is hardly justified in this interesting volume; inasmuch as the Scriptures commented on

are often not those specially obscure or misread, the comments on them are rather sermons than essays, and sermons often anything but brief. For example, the twenty-third Psalm, the text of the Christian's Homily, and the passage 2 Cor. v. 19, are hardly obscure, and the sermon on the last verse is elaborate to a degree. But it were not worth while to make this comment did we not hasten to add that what we most prize from Mr. Cox, and most look for in a new volume from him, is just these same "Brief Essays on Obscure Scriptures;" and we would fain exchange some of the longer sermons on texts often expounded for his instructive and happy elucidations of difficult passages. There were more of these to be found in the earlier volume, such as are represented in this by notes on verses from the Epistle of St. James, and one or two passages from Jeremiah. Mr. Cox's knowledge of the Bible, derived from long and patient study, is combined with so great a felicity and variety of illustration, that his flashes of light on dark corners of interpretation are doubly valuable.

We would not be understood to depreciate the sermons (more strictly so called) before us, though here our author is not on the ground where he especially excels. That on the twenty-third Psalm is so thoroughly expository in its character; is enlivened by so many fresh and original touches; and above all is so thoroughly practical in its contrast of the calm confidence of the Psalmist with the anxious harassed spirit of our modern life, that none can read it without profit.

"Think what our life should be if God is in very deed the Shepherd of men. With what quiet, loving confidence, with what cheerful constancy of spirit ought we to eat our daily bread, and go about our daily tasks, looking up indeed if the road be steep and bare, or if we scent danger in the wind, to be quite sure that our Shepherd is with us, and that we are following Him, but utterly refusing to murmur or fear because He is with us, and His rod and His staff they comfort us. If all things are in His hands and He is with us and for us, what can harm us, what can really be against us?"

"Contrast with what our life should be what it is. What a race against time! What a selfish competition with each other for what we account the safest place and the sweetest grass, and the purest water! How fretted and tormented with fears—fears for to-morrow, if not for to-day; fears lest our fellows should injure us, or we should injure ourselves, nay, fears of the very Shepherd who goes before us, lest He should abandon us to the wolf, or lest the crook with which He guides and defends us should be turned into a rod of judgment. Oh, it is pitiful to see how, all for want of a little faith in God, or a little more faith, we mar and waste our lives, exchange the peace and security of well-

ordered days for feverish anxieties which exhaust our strength, and will take to our hearts the fear that hath torment in lieu of the love which casts out fear !”

So in a sermon on “Freedom by the Truth,” a subject so often unfolded that originality, both in conception and illustration is needed, if the treatment is to be fresh and interesting. Our space forbids anything like an analysis of the whole, suffice it to say that the exposition is both comprehensive and minute ; but for one illustration we must find room. Our author is speaking of intellectual freedom, and after dwelling on the rights and responsibilities of private judgment says—

“Free from other men, we may be in bondage to *ourselves*. No one can have attentively considered himself, without having discovered that he runs some risk of becoming his own slave. I do not now speak of that servitude to physical lusts and to the baser passions to which many a man, once free, has sunk ; but of a servitude much more subtle, and, therefore, in some respects, much more perilous. Whether derived by inheritance from our fathers, or from habits formed before we have reached mental maturity, we all know or may know, that there are certain qualities, tendencies, leanings, in our nature, which largely affect, which go far to constitute our individual character, and to make us unlike the one to the other. By virtue of these individual peculiarities of mental structure, we are prepared to welcome one view of truth and duty rather than another. One man is a born Platonist, another a born Aristotelian. One man is naturally of a conservative, another of a progressive spirit. One man is of a hard, rigid temperament, the love of order, authority, rule, is strong within him, and whatever in the truth accords with his temper—as for instance the strict government of God, the virtue of an orderly obedience, the righteousness of punishment—is eagerly received and dwelt on with a disproportionate fervour and intensity ; while, on the other hand, he is in danger of overlooking or undervaluing such aspects of truth as reveal a mercy, a generous allowance for human weakness, a breadth of charity, a compassion for the vile and lost, alien to his temper. Another is a good, easy man, who loves to have everybody about him happy and comfortable, who is not strict to mark defects, who is very ready to forgive ; to him all those aspects of the Gospel which set forth the fatherly tenderness and unbounded compassion of God are very welcome ; while all sterner views, all that speaks of love as taking the forms of a just severity, he passes lightly by, or altogether avoids. . . . Does it never occur to us that our temperament has much, or may have much to do with our creed ? That instead of taking full, and rounded, and well-balanced views of truth, we may be taking partial views, disproportionate views ? That what we really hold and believe may be, probably is, the



truth as it is in us, rather than the truth as it is in Jesus? No thoughtful, candid man will deny that. Even when the truth has made him free from men, it has still to set him free from himself."—P. 238, f.

How this is effected, we must leave our readers to gather from a perusal of the sermon itself.

While enjoying the rich and thorough style of Mr. Cox's expositions, we cannot help regretting the occasional adoption of fanciful and somewhat unwarrantable treatment of texts, the more so because in our author it is so rare, and his example is generally so nobly set in contradiction to a vicious style of interpretation and comment. Examples of such blemishes may be found in No. IV. of this volume,—*"The Sea and the Sanctuary,"* a strained and far-fetched commentary on some verses from Psalm lxxvii.; in the last section of the chapter entitled *"The Reed and the Wind,"* and perhaps more especially in *"The Echoes of the Gospel in Nature,"* p. 168, where the connection between the appearance of Christ, after His resurrection, to the disciples on the way to Emmaus, and the thoughts suggested by a walk in North Wales, is by no means apparent, the use made of the expression *"in another form,"* being indeed more of the nature of a play on the words than anything else. Mr. Cox, too, makes no allusion to the criticisms passed on the authenticity of the paragraph Mark xvi. 9—20, an allusion which might be out of place in an address to a miscellaneous audience, but should not be entirely omitted in a volume of Biblical expositions.

But a truce to objections. The series of books of which this is but one have been of so much service to Biblical students generally, that to give prominence to criticisms on minor points would savour of cavilling. The excellences for which Mr. Cox has acquired deserved popularity, are the freshness with which he illustrates the words of writers separated from us by many centuries, so as to make plain what the words meant to them, and the equal freshness with which he makes the most commonplace occurrences and habits of our lives serve as anything but commonplace illustrations. One subject there is to which Mr. Cox makes useful reference more than once in this volume—the tendency of the present generation to make light of forms and ordinances, in thought and practice. He shows the truth which is represented by this tendency, but at the same time insists most usefully and seasonably on the complementary truth which is in danger of being forgotten. He quotes the German proverb, *"By all means empty the bath down the gutter, but try to save the baby,"* and adds, *"But there is such a general and energetic emptying out of the slops of formalism, and cant, and hypocritical pretence just now, that one cannot but fear a little lest baby piety should come to harm, or quietly float down the stream till it be lost to sight."*

This passage occurs in an admirable little dissertation on "Grace before Meat," and the subject is treated more at large in "Ordinances and Obedience," from which we extract the following. Speaking of the ordinances of public worship, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the preacher says:—

"But nevertheless you may have a feeling that these forms are not of any great moment after all, that it lies very much at your option or convenience whether you observe them or not; that your non-observance of them is of no importance, so long as you try to do your duty, and live a good life. It is this obscure persuasion, this unavowed feeling, I believe, which is fast emptying our sanctuaries, and in every way weakening our Churches. Good Christian men, or men who are sincerely endeavouring to be good on the Christian rule, are influenced by it, and under its influence are relaxing their use of the means of grace. On all hands we hear the complaint that those who were wont to be punctual as the hour, are growing irregular and infrequent in their attendance on public worship; that men are so steeped in worldly business, and so wearied by it, that they have neither time nor energy for the service of the Church. This, the non-observance of religious forms by religious persons, is the danger and sin of the present time. And, in great measure, probably, it springs from the broader and more generous views of truth which have, of late, found acceptance among us. We have learned to hold that obedience is better than sacrifice, till at last we have come to think that there need be no sacrifice in our obedience, that God demands no service of us which entails personal inconvenience or worldly loss. And therefore we need to be reminded of the real meaning of one of the first principles of the faith. 'Obedience better than sacrifice' is a principle, a fundamental principle of the faith of Christ. It cuts sheer through hypocrisy and formalism. But the keener the principle, the more deeply we may wound ourselves with it, if we mis-handle it; and we are mis-handling this principle if we use it to justify any neglect of any divine command. We are not obeying God's voice so long as we refuse to 'hearken and do' in respect to any of His commandments. We are not living so good a life as we might and ought to live, so long as we turn away from any means of grace He offers us."—Pp. 89, 90.

In closing, we heartily commend this volume to our readers, and hope that such books, such authors, may be multiplied, that the words of the sacred Scriptures may not only be perfectly understood by all, but kept fresh, interesting, *real* to all.

*Law and God.* By W. Page Roberts, M.A., Vicar of Eye, Suffolk. Smith and Elder. 1874.

THE above is a volume of sermons, preached for the most part at the author's own parish church, some few elsewhere; one on "Law and Prayer," for example, at Norwich Cathedral, and that on "Worship a Sight of God," in Westminster Abbey. The sermons are for the most part above the average of such compositions; they are thoughtful, clear, and practical, without any pretentiousness of style, though slight in construction, and each (of necessity on account of its brevity) dealing but superficially with the difficulties of the subject entered upon. The topics chosen are not such as evangelical theology is wont to dwell on, and the mode of treating current questions is not that of a man encumbered with much theological wrapping; on this account, therefore, to many the more attractive and the more effective. At the same time the author guards expressly in his preface against the assumption that "because he only treats of primitive strata he must be an unbeliever in later formations," and pleads that, inasmuch as he has not intended to write "a compendium of theology, therefore it does not deal with many doctrines commonly held by Christians." There can be no question but that the style of preaching here adopted is particularly suited to many minds, and if it were more generally adopted, the pulpit would exercise greater influence on current thought. A large part of its work is, as most know and many regret, assumed by the daily press. At the same time we cannot but think that in what we may suppose is a representative volume of sermons, many subjects more distinctive of Christian thought should have been handled, that the full light of the teaching of Christ and His Apostles is not brought to bear as it might on some of the subjects chosen; and that without giving up the direct and practical character of the sermons, the help and comfort of our earnestly Christian ministry might have been more richly afforded. To offer such food might not attract some, who are not prepared to receive it; to withhold it is to starve men who cannot live without it. That this negative characteristic is not accidental, seems suggested by the following passage from the sermon on "Do we make men unbelievers?"

"But why is it so many men are becoming infidels? Is it that too many things, things which were incapable of proof, and of little practical utility, have been forced upon them as necessary to salvation? It is often said that children who have been educated in the strictest way, and have had small liberty allowed them, when they grow up, often abuse their new freedom, and turn out badly. Would it have been better if the few simple facts of God and Christ and immortality, and the duties of daily life, had alone been insisted on, and the inferences and doctrines

which have been deduced from these facts, left free for each individual soul to adopt according to its need? I cannot tell. But it is a fact of human unreason that when something which the churches or the sects have insisted upon, is shown to be untrue or unprofitable, men too often throw overboard, in their desperation, the very necessities of existence, the faith by which a man may live."—P. 77.

Surely, however, a preacher who is wise to win souls will know how rightly to present distinctively Christian doctrine so as not to repel those who have hardly persuaded themselves of the being of God at all, and are but emerging from the dim borderland of modern Agnosticism, without regulating the style of his pulpit utterances as a whole by the needs of such as these.

The sermon on "A Law of Sacrifice" may stand as a fair sample of the whole. The text is Hebrews x. 4—10, and the subject "the transformations through which the doctrine of sacrifice in successive ages has passed." "Christ's sacrifice is the type; His sacrifice consisted in doing the will of God; by a sacrifice like His, even by the sacrifice of our will to God, we are sanctified." "The history of religions is like the history of civilisations, and, on the whole, of advancement and improvement, but each period holding within itself remains of earlier periods—broken fragments whose inscriptions even yet may be deciphered." The first religious power, when we come in contact with barbarous races is fear. We may note, as broad distinctions, three stages in the history of sacrifice; the first that in which one human being is offered in sacrifice by another; the second, the general substitution of an inferior animal for the man; and the last and highest, that of Christ and Christianity, the sacrifice of the man himself to the will of God. After slightly sketching these, is given the following, as "practical conclusion," p. 49:—

"It is said that the characteristic principle of the ethics of Christianity is self-sacrifice. I think this is scarcely correct. It is not characteristic of Christianity, for it is not confined to Christianity. Self-sacrifice was taught by the Stoics, and it has been insisted upon by the Buddhists. If by self-sacrifice be meant stamping under our feet and destroying as best we can, all the affections and appetencies of our nature, then we are involved in a strange riddle indeed; we are sent into the world to mutilate and to destroy the handiwork of the Almighty; the office of religion is but a revived iconoclasm, and instead of beating down Satan, we are called upon to beat down human nature under our feet. This is but a recurrence to the old form of human sacrifice, if, indeed, it be not something worse, for it is easier to die than to kill the affections of our souls. But the sacrifice of our sanctification is something different from this. It is the sacrifice of Christ, 'to do Thy will, O God;' not the mere sacrifice of self,

terminating in itself, but the devotion of self to the very intention of our existence to the will of Him who made us, and made us for Himself. . . . 'Father, not My will, but Thine be done;' this is the very summit of sacrifice, the very topstone of human capability, and this is our Gospel and prophecy."

We could wish that more sermons evinced as thorough an acquaintance with the difficulties of reading and thinking men of our generation as do these; we could wish that these and all evinced more thorough power to deal with them on the truest Christian basis.

*Strivings for the Faith.* A Series of Lectures Delivered in the New Hall of Science, Old-street, City-road, under the Auspices of the Christian Evidence Society. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

THESE lectures were delivered with a view to meet some of the difficulties and objections that are raised at the present day in reference to Christianity; especially such points as are insisted upon by the "Secularists."

The lectures are independent of each other, but form together a small body of evidence of no mean value, and illustrating, on a small scale, how effectually every point of attack may be defended. In the first lecture it is shown, with a succinctness approaching to severity, how great are the difficulties on the side of unbelief in accounting for historical Christianity. In the second an argument for the truth of Christianity is deduced from the variations in the Gospel records. This topic is treated with skill and ingenuity. The lecture on the apocryphal Gospels in a few pages gives a clear view of these singular writings and the grounds for rejecting them from the level of the Canonical Gospels. The evidential value of St. Paul's early Epistles, viewed simply as historical documents, is too large a subject to be fully treated in a single lecture; but it is well, if briefly, illustrated. The conversion of St. Paul; the alleged difficulties in the moral teaching of the New Testament; and the combination of unity with progressiveness of thought in the books of Holy Scripture, are successively dealt with. The final lecture is on the autobiography of John Stuart Mill. These lectures, though differing in merit as they do in form, are worthy of careful reading alike by those who are disturbed in mind by the many perplexing questions which unfriendly criticism so lavishly expends on the Christian Faith, and by those who, rejecting Christianity, are in their own interests bound to ponder carefully the consequences of that rejection. The difficulties of their position are here shown to be far greater and more serious than those of the Christian believer.

*Scripture Proverbs. Illustrated, Annotated, and Applied.*  
By Francis Jacox. London: Hodder and Stoughton.  
1874.

MR. JACOX still continues to add to the remarkable series of works with which his name is associated. As in his previous volumes, the plan adopted is to take a text, and to bring to it illustrations, anecdotes, and parallel passages from all likely and unlikely corners in the field of general literature. We have, by this time, almost ceased to wonder at his resources, and accept a new volume every six months as a matter of course. None the less must we acknowledge the skill with which Mr. Jacox pursues his method, and the inexhaustible ease and readiness with which he crowds the margin of a subject with comments gathered from a hundred authors.

*The Pilgrim Psalms: an Exposition of the Songs of Degrees.*  
By Rev. Samuel Cox, Nottingham. Daldy, Isbister & Co. 1874.

WE rejoice in the multiplication of books of this kind, which tend to make the Bible in all its parts a living book, and hope that their appearance testifies to a demand as well as a supply, a demand which Mr. Cox and many others are well qualified to meet. We are glad to believe that there is a revived interest in the study of the Bible in the present generation, a study to which defenders of the faith have to some extent been driven by fresh attacks upon it from new quarters, and to which many have been drawn by the fuller and more general acquaintance with sources of illustration and confirmation unknown to our fathers. The opening up of Talmudical research, and the knowledge acquired from deciphering ancient inscriptions, may be mentioned as two only among many of these sources of illustration; and to those lines of investigation which seemed at the outset most hostile to our commonly received notions about parts of the Bible, we have been indebted in many cases for the most valuable elucidation of the real meaning. We rejoice, above all, in the popularising of this knowledge. The comments, as well as the text, should be "understanded in the vulgar tongue," and by that is meant a great deal more than their being written in the English language. Every book which gives clearly and simply, without failure in accuracy, although stripped of technical phraseology, the later results of science, is an unspeakable boon to thousands; and assuredly, therefore, such a boon is every book which enables the thousands rightly to understand the Book of books. For its words, while intelligible to the "wayfaring man" in such sense that he cannot mistake from them God's will

concerning himself, nevertheless abound in difficulties which do often cause him to stumble, if not to fall; and every generation has its own difficulties, which require new interpreters and fresh elucidation.

These remarks have been suggested rather by the work, Mr. Cox is doing in the mass, than by the book before us itself. As he says in his preface, the qualities required to write such a book are not rare, and the work, though admirably done, is not of a particularly difficult kind. Almost all the materials necessary are found in such books as *Delitzsch* and *Perowne*, and to these the scholar and the minister will refer for all they want. Inasmuch, then, as this volume is for English readers, and for the many rather than the few of these, we regret that it should have appeared in such a shape, and at such a price, as is likely to prevent its having the circulation it otherwise would have had. Mr. Cox suggests its use as a text-book in schools; but a volume dealing only with fifteen psalms, the price of which is nine shillings, is hardly likely to find its way into such channels.

The work Mr. Cox sets before him is neatly, thoroughly, and pleasantly done. To each of the psalms he gives a title, "Song of the Start," "Song of the Arrival," "Of the Return," "Of the Redemption," and the unity preserved in each lyric, as well as the unity which pervades the whole series of psalms, is well pointed out. We find admirably combined in Mr. Cox the imagination necessary to conceive and pourtray the pictures that were present before the mind of the Jewish singer, and the moral insight and force necessary to impress the teaching which we of later days may gather in each individual case. Two extracts may suffice to bring out these characteristics of our author's expository style, and with them we close, heartily commending the volume itself to our readers.

The writer of the "Song of the Farm," Psalm cxxix, seeks a figure to describe those contemptible foes of his country, Sannabath, Tobiah, and the Samaritan freebooters:—

"No image of terror like that of the fierce Babylonian ploughman scoring the back of Israel with the keen share will serve his turn. He looks for an image of that which is mean, worthless, transitory, and he finds it in the grass which springs and withers on the village roofs. But though his fine scorn for the Samaritans moves him to select this figure, when once he has got it he falls in love with it, and the angry heat dies out of his mind as he recalls the pleasant scenes of rural life which it suggests. *Rural* life; for though grass might spring up even on the flat roofs of an Eastern city, and does spring up in the cracks and crevices even now, when the roofs are plastered with a composition of mortar, tar, ashes, and sand, yet it grows but sparsely, and is soon trodden down; whereas then, as now, the peasants' houses

in the country hamlets were roofed with a plaster of mud and straw, in which the grass would grow as freely as in the fields. Obviously it is such a rustic roof that the poet has in his eye—a roof all covered, after the rains, with long waving grass, which, however, for lack of moisture, soon withers beneath the burning rays of an Eastern sun. ‘Let the base plundering Samaritans be like that worthless grass on the village housetops, which withers before men have leisure to tread it down, or to pluck it up.’ This is the Psalmist’s first thought; an angry thought, no doubt, but perhaps we should be angry if our crops were ridden over by robbers, and our homesteads plundered by them. . . . As he thinks of the grass withering on the roof, the pleasant avocations of country life crowd in upon his thoughts, and crowd out his anger. He sees the mower swinging his sickle in the rich corn-field, gathering the wheat or barley in his hands; he sees the reaper gathering behind the mower, taking the corn into his arms, filling his bosom with it, that he may bind it into sheaves. The field lies slumbering in the sultry heat. A broad pathway runs through it. The passers by stop to look on at the bright, busy scene, and, in the courteous and pious Eastern fashion, they greet the reapers with the salutation, ‘The blessing of Jehovah be upon you!’ And the reapers, glad to pause, straighten themselves from their work amid the sheaves, look up, and shout back, ‘We bless you in the name of Jehovah.’”—Pp. 208—210.

And here is a paragraph from the close of the exposition of that most exquisite little Psalm cxxxi. :—

“Never was the gift of humility more needed than now. For how many of us do habitually busy ourselves in great things and wonderful, which are beyond us! If we do not attack the loftiest themes and the insoluble problems which have exercised the minds of men ever since they began to think, yet how little humility and patience do we show in forming the conclusions we reach, and the judgments we are so ready to pronounce! Even in the Church of Christ, where one might hope to find a little modesty and lowliness of spirit, how often do we who are at home in it frame opinions without thought, and impose them without charity! Ask almost any man you meet what the constitution of a Church should be, or what the contents of a creed, or what the forms of service, and lo! he has a confident and authoritative reply at your service, and thinks you but a heretic or a fool if you differ from him, although these are points on which the holiest and wisest men have differed for centuries, and are likely to differ for centuries to come. . . . Our hearts *are* haughty, and our eyes lifted up; we do, too, commonly busy ourselves with things too great and wonderful for us; and hence it is that we are so restless and perturbed. There is no peace but in the humility which leans on God, which trusts in Him, which con-



fesses weakness, and ignorance, and guilt, which is not ashamed to say, 'I do not know, I cannot tell;' which rejoices not in the faults and defects of others, but rejoices in whatever is true in them, and good and kind. Only as we recover the spirit of a little child, of a weaned child, and rest in simple, lowly faith in God, shall we enter into the peace which passeth all understanding."

*Lux e Tenebris; or, the Testimony of Consciousness.*  
Trübner and Co. 1874.

WHAT this title means we have found ourselves utterly at a loss to explain. In the crude, metaphysical farrago that this book contains is so much darkness, so little light, that the title is inexplicable as descriptive of the subject matter, unless the writer has emerged from Stygian shades indeed. A somewhat prolonged study of the mysterious chart at the beginning failed to clear up the subject; for whatever in it is new has no meaning, and whatever has meaning is not new. At length, towards the close of the book, we came across this passage, which threw a faint gleam of light on the matter. It occurs amidst some pages of declamation describing the present state of woman amongst us, a state ascribed to two causes, "man's greater physical strength and his selfishness," making her "a household chattel, a marketable commodity, by turns his idol, his toy, his victim, his slave."

"There exists for her a yet more inexorable enslaver—himself enslaved—the theologian. Bound fast to a creed which has long been dead, the theologian holds in the same bonds woman also. . . . Thus woman is held enslaved, both hands bound, and were she left to her own efforts alone, there would be but scant hopes of her freedom."

Nevertheless, the author of *Lux e Tenebris* and others are at work, and—

"When their work has been accomplished, and the theologian has become free, then his fellow-slave, woman, will be freed also. Then will the theologian resort for truth direct to the same sources which inspired of old the great Master in his science, nature and the human heart, and in lieu of the worthless refuse which now goes under the name of theology—the metaphysical moonshine which has been transmitted from the past through intellectual channels of constantly diminishing calibre, . . . he will be able to offer to us a nutritious, invigorating reality . . . an art which men may profess without a blush, and practise without degradation."—P. 342.

So, then, if we will leave the "metaphysical moonshine," the "worthless refuse," which, at present, is all that the Christian theologian can boast of, and sit at the feet of the author of this

wonderful book, we may stand some chance of being able "*to profess the art of religion without a blush*," and at last reach *Lucem e Tenebris*. Those who feel their deficiencies in this respect, and are very hard put to for a remedy, we would recommend to buy this book.

*Natural Science, Religious Creeds and Scripture Truth; what they Teach concerning the Mystery of God.* By Daniel Reid, Author of "*The Divine Footsteps in Human History*," and other Works. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1874.

MR. REID should first ascertain for us what the facts of natural science, religious creeds, and Scripture truth are, before he begins to philosophise upon them in their relations to the mystery of God. In proceeding to philosophise upon them he should lay down a few simple rules, which might save him and his readers much trouble. Such are, to affix a definite meaning to every term he employs, never to use twenty words when ten will serve the purpose, not to affix a mystical meaning to Scriptures that will bear a good literal sense, always to proceed toward some well-marked goal, such as the illustration of an old truth or the establishment of a new. These rules are plain and obviously necessary, if the smallest success is to be hoped for in an undertaking so vast as that which Mr. Reid proposes to himself. His meaning is good, but despite the prepossessions inspired in us by the name of the author, the title of the book, and the excellent print and paper which form the vehicle of his thoughts, we fail to see that he is any nearer to his purpose at the end than at the beginning of his lucubrations. Take the following specimen, which we lighted upon at random. "Before the world was, there were at least two laws in operation. One was the law of eternity, which was the habitation of the high and lofty One; the other was the law of the form of God, which form was the first-begotten high and holy habitation of the high and lofty One, whose name is Holy. Of each law there was a spirit. The spirit of the law of eternity was the Eternal Spirit. The spirit of the law of the form of God was the Holy Spirit. The law of eternity was the law of self. The law of the form of God was the law of God. The law of eternity and its spirit, and the law of the form of God and its spirit, were therefore contrary the one to the other. The natural antagonism of the two laws and their spirits each towards the other was such that co-existence or voluntary co-operation in one state of being, before the foundation of the world, was impossible. The law of eternity ruled therein, to the entire exclusion therefrom of the law of the form of God. And the law of the form of God ruled therein to the entire exclusion therefrom of

the law of eternity. Eternity and the form of God, however, were both habitations of the high and lofty One, whose name is Holy." Here we would ask Mr. Reid a few questions. How did he learn what took place before the world was? How does he know there were two laws? What is the law of eternity and what the law of the form of God? How can a law become a habitation? What is the spirit of a law, and why does he distinguish the Holy Spirit from the Eternal Spirit?

What does he mean by the law of eternity being the law of self, and the law of the form of God being the law of God? What necessity was there for a natural antagonism between the two laws and the two spirits, and how does co-existence come to mean co-operation? And, finally, if the law of eternity ruled therein (it is fair to ask, in what?) to the exclusion of the law of the form of God, and the law of the form of God to the exclusion of the law of self, then how could they both be habitations of the high and lofty One whose name is Holy? But we fear it is too late in the day for Mr. Daniel Reid to commence elementary lessons in logical method. There are one hundred and forty-four octavo pages of such stuff as the above in the first part of Mr. Reid's work, and there are two hundred and nineteen more in the second, and the only reply they give to any question, is a particular affirmative reply to the question which Mr. Reid prefixes to the above extract,—“Are the actual contents of the state of chaos ascertainable?”

*Philosophy, Science, and Revelation.* By Rev. Charles B. Gibson, M.R.S.A., Lecturer of St. John's, Hoxton. Longmans. 1874.

THE following interesting anecdote is retailed by the author of this book, in his preface:—

“I was once asked by a clever young man of the modern school of thought—or, more correctly, of theory—if I really believed in the Mosaic account of the creation. As a clergyman, I might have appeared indignant at such a reflection on my honesty, but I merely replied, ‘I really do.’ The shrug of contempt with which the neophyte received my reply was positively overwhelming. I found that I had fallen in the estimation of that young philosopher many more degrees than I shall venture to record. When those young men grow older they will know better, and be less demonstrative in support of new theories.”—P. viii.

Whether any of “those young men” have perused Mr. Gibson's book we cannot say, but we doubt whether they will be taught either modesty or careful thought by reading, under the

pretentious title of *Philosophy, Science, and Revelation*, such writing as this :—

“Very poetical and beautiful indeed [the account of the creation of woman], but not the less true on this account. Perhaps you would have preferred that your ancestors had been developed from Medusæ, or sea-nettles which assumed in the course of 850,000 years the appearance of a pair of shell-fish, furnished with antennæ, busily engaged in the process of natural selection, commonly styled courtship. Well, you have before you the Mosaic and Darwinian account of the creation of man and his wife, and the way in which they were brought together, so you can take your choice. To ‘natural selection,’ or the courtship of the lower animals, or even of man, we have nothing to say one way or the other. It seems very natural and amusing; but we feel disposed, after reading Darwin’s account of it, to ask, as the Scotchman asked after reading Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, ‘What does it prove?’”

Little, indeed, is “proved” by the few superficial pages in which the author endeavours to settle in off-hand style such slight questions as “the history of creation,” “the origin of man,” “the antiquity of man,” “varieties of race,” and relation of the Bible narrative to modern discoveries, as well as other sundry questions as to Satan and the inhabitants of the angelic world, which scientific men would not trouble to discuss with him. Here and there is a parade of quotations, but we regret that the author, in entering upon an important and difficult subject, has not given more thought and consideration to it, and produced a book more likely to succeed in the end he sets before himself,—the right interpretation and vindication of the Mosaic account of creation.

## II. BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Autobiography and other Memorials of Mrs. Gilbert (formerly Ann Taylor)*. Edited by Josiah Gilbert. Two Vols. H. S. King and Co.

IN literary merit, and in the character portrayed, this book may take rank with the *Hare Memorials*, and, like them, should find a place in every cultured and pious English home. Yet the two books are, in most respects, an extreme and suggestive contrast; suggestive, among other things, of the curious way in which distinct worlds lie side by side in our English society, each unknown to the other to an extent, we suspect, impossible in any land but our own. Mrs. Hare had relations, more or less intimate with men like the late Mr. Maurice and Archbishop Manning; Mrs. Gilbert, or, as she is better known, Ann Taylor, throughout her long life was singularly isolated from the literary society of her day, with the exception of that of her own gifted relatives. But the contrast is by no means altogether in favour of Mrs. Hare, nor even in those particulars in which she seemed to have an undoubted advantage. Strange to say, Mrs. Gilbert's piety strikes us as the more catholic, and her culture as much the broader of the two. With all its charm, the *Hare* book is simply a monologue of piety—a piety, too, which had its life within very marked, not to say narrow limits. Ann Taylor, on the other hand, has a word to say on most public questions: Free Trade, Disestablishment, Women's Rights, Broad Church Theology, the Morals of Romanism; each has its turn. However much some of us may think that hers was not the decisive word on many of these questions, it may be willingly allowed that she always said a genial and a shrewd one. As in the case of Mrs. Hare, outward surroundings somewhat limited her point of view, as they eventually deprived her of the opportunity of winning that place in literature to which her gifts entitled her.

The two volumes of Mrs. Gilbert's *Memorials* tell of a life such as one is apt to think was never realised outside the pages of a German story. In one way they have a special interest; they are a consistent attempt to apply to biography the principles that have made pre-raphaelite art, one main element of which is an uncompromising realism. Macaulay abolished for us, long since, "the dignity of history;" and if history does not fear homely

detail, still less need biography. Much more life and variety has been one result of this change in the very principles of art. Writers like George Eliot and Mrs. Gaskell have gathered up for us in their most popular creations the poetry and the pathos that lie about everyday life and everyday people, and it is a closely similar faculty which is the best literary quality of Ann Taylor's mind. The little knot of folk at the Lavenham Meeting-house, their primitive surroundings, and their funny ways, were precisely the material that suited her. We learn what sort of England our great grandmothers lived in, when the French were looked for any night at Colchester, and those who could sent their families out of the town; when an umbrella "with a stick like the mast of a yacht" was the latest achievement of civilisation; and when the ladies and gentlemen of Lavenham walked to their evening parties in pattens! The *Autobiography* is a perfectly charming fragment: a series of portraits wonderfully real, very quaint, but very tenderly drawn, by a memory that, all her life through, lingered with loving regret over every relic of the past. So strong is the spell, that before we have done with them we are quite ready to look at Mr. Stribbling, the blacksmith, and Mr. Meeking, the baker, through her eyes, and feel towards them as humble friends quite worthy of the regard she gave them. The editor has wisely retained this domestic character throughout.

Ann Taylor's father Isaac (second of the name) contrived to solve in his own family most of the problems which vex the souls of educators to this hour. Mr. Taylor brought up, not only his sons, but also his daughters, to earn their own livings, if need were; and in her old age Ann explains, with professional accuracy, the process known technically to engravers as "biting." The girls shared all their brothers' studies, and though some knowledge of "fortification," or, rather, the principles of it, might even yet be deemed superfluous in the "higher education of women," no harm came of this "equality of the sexes," if the Taylor method is to be judged by its results. Something, too, very like mixed classes was allowed by this father, who was so greatly in advance of his own day, as well as, perhaps, somewhat of our own. The "apprentices formed part of the family," and of course shared the workroom life with the Taylors. The best element in all this is not its picturesqueness, though that is very charming, but its healthy homeliness, so different from what one catches glimpses of now-a-days, when homely families are apt to be stupid, and new-fashioned clever ones, full of out-door excitements, in which homeliness is impossible. One longs to see the best points of the two combined, as in the old Taylor life, which, by the way, would not have been half as charming if they had been wealthy.

But this time of work, art, narrow means, and family life of

the closest and most loving sort came to an end. The household was transferred to Ongar, not, however, before Ann and Jane had deserted art for literature, with quite enough success to give zest and promise to the future, but scarcely with their father's full consent, who "did not want his girls to be authors," in which wish, Ann slyly adds, "he was not entirely gratified."

The poems of Ann and Jane Taylor have become classics in their way, and have been the best loved literature of each generation of English children since they were written. It is needless to refer to them here, further than to say, that in the chapter in which Mr. Gilbert deals with his mother's literary career, he enters a strong protest against the modern notion which would keep children as far as possible from all sights "of the hard and ugly realities of life." He also vindicates the poems from the charge of a narrow and gloomy theology, which has been brought against them in common with many of the hymns of that day. It is true, nevertheless, that Mrs. Gilbert did modify some expressions, and it is probable, were she now living, a few others might not have been retained.

Very soon after the family arrival at Ongar comes Ann's love story, a very appropriate bit of romance, ending in her marriage with Mr. Gilbert, who is justly regarded by Nonconformists as one of their ablest theologians. His book on the Atonement, within its own limits, has never been superseded. Through her husband, Mrs. Gilbert was brought into some connection with Methodism, for Mr. Gilbert's Lincolnshire relatives were all of them Wesleyans. His father "had allowed a barn to be used by Mr. Wesley," and this schismatic proceeding being visited in a fashion not infrequent in those days, the "victim" left the church altogether, built a chapel, and became a Methodist. But intercourse with these relatives was rare in Mrs. Gilbert's busy life, nor do their Church relationships appear to have arrested her attention. It would be very unjust to charge her with narrowness, but circumstances shut her up very much to that section of the Christian Church with which her husband was connected. The way in which she fulfilled her duties is a noble lesson of self-denial, practical wisdom, and untiring effort for all whom she could help. The characteristics of her piety were many and marked; one phase of it will not be passed over. Thoughtful, earnest, all but morbidly self-distrustful, teaching and practising a submission to the Divine will which knew no reserves, this large-hearted woman and wise Christian, whose words of counsel and comfort will be precious to many a weary soul, yet passed through life with comparatively little of the "joy of salvation" for her portion. Physical and mental idiosyncrasies had considerably more to do with this than any religious "views," but in all such experiences there is much we must reverently leave with Him whose "ways,"

even with His saints, "are not as our ways." But this undercurrent of sombre feeling seldom came to the surface. Her letters are full of bright sayings as well as hints of wisdom, which her shrewd wits had gathered from the experiences of a long life, and which she put into excellent English. Aphorisms such as the following abound :—

"We are never responsible to-day for to-morrow's light."

"Do the duty of to-day, and you will be better able to do that of to-morrow."

"God finds sorrow for us ; we make regrets for ourselves."

"We need time and thought for our eternal interests. To do otherwise is as if when stopping in a long journey at a railway station for refreshments, we were to employ our ten minutes in counting the people or the dishes—not wrong in itself, but very foolish, for we shall find no food elsewhere."

For her, as for most of us, life gathered store of sorrow in its course, and some of hers found touching expression in lines which deserve to live. The deaths of children, of her husband, and in the last years of her life, of her brother Isaac Taylor, from whose letters to her a few passages of great interest are given, were all strokes which left their mark. But she kept a brave heart till the end, the few details of which her son has given with much simplicity and tenderness. There was little to tell, for to her the messenger came in gentle guise. She was found one morning in a slumber, from which all effort to rouse her failed, and after a couple of days she passed to her rest.

The editor has performed his task with much grace and feeling, and the literary workmanship is throughout careful and finished. There is no slipshod English, nor carelessness of any sort, but he has, perhaps, not escaped the besetment of all biographers of the day. With the majority of readers the book might have been more effective if it had been somewhat shorter, but it deserves to be widely known, and very especially to be read by all who desire to fashion their own lives after a rare pattern of "plain living and high thinking."

*Ulrich von Hutten: his Life and Times.* By David Friedrich Strauss. Translated from the Second German Edition by Mrs. Sturge. London: Daldy, Isbister & Co. 1874.

WE have seldom seen a biography more entirely satisfactory than this picturesque little volume, for which we are indebted to Mrs. Sturge. In the space of four hundred pages we have a wonderfully life-like picture of the indomitable German knight and poet, with no concealment of his many defects, and, what is more surprising, with no exaggeration of his historical importance. So



many and various were the phases of his character, and so numerous were the contests in the front rank of which he fought, that new light is thrown upon almost all the great movements which were progressing during the thirty-four momentous years of his short life.

We are constantly finding unexpected side-lights thrown upon the progress of the Reformation, and upon the development of national feeling, and of the Renaissance spirit in Germany, with numberless personal traits of the many great men whom Hutten counted among his friends, and a most pleasing picture of the strong bond of union and affection which bound them together.

We have little inclination to look for the faults of the book. We sometimes feel that deficiency in warmth of colouring which is almost inseparable from a translation, even though Mrs. Sturge be the translator. We should have preferred to have seen the epigrams, from which extracts are given, in the original rather than translated, and the omissions that have been made in translating will detract from the value of the work as an authority for reference, although they will probably secure a wider circle of readers, and a more immediate success.

The interest of the book is exclusively literary and historical—it cannot be said to have any theological or religious aspect. In the earlier part the Renaissance is the force that governs Hutten's mind. After escaping from the monastery to which his father had confined him, he successively studies at one after another of the leading universities in Germany and Italy, and makes the acquaintance of most of the great scholars of Europe. The central event of the period was the struggle of the united brotherhood of letters against the Dominicans and Obscurantists of Cologne, who were trying to procure the condemnation of Reuchlin for his attempts to preserve the learned books of the Jews from destruction. The "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*," a series of fictitious letters, supposed to be interchanged between Reuchlin's enemies—written by Hutten and his friends, is, to Englishmen, the best known of Hutten's works, and forms the subject of the raciest of all the chapters in the book.

Indignation was the nurse of Hutten's genius. Hitherto his denunciations had been directed chiefly against his own personal foes, or the foes of his family; but the "*Epistolæ*" are written against the enemies of universal culture, and his powers increase with the greater dignity of the theme. At the same time the other feeling, which was to have yet more power over him than humanism, the intense feeling of his German nationality, was beginning to take hold upon him, and to make itself appear in his writings. At the close of the fifteenth century, the Germans were beginning to have a very keen sense of their individuality as a nation. The Holy Roman Empire—"no longer holy, nor

Roman, nor an empire"—had so hopelessly lost all life and meaning, that it could not any more divert patriotism from its natural channels.

The severance of Italy and Arles, and the independence of Poland and Denmark had relieved the empire of its chief non-German relations, and the advance of the Turks, and the growth of power and national spirit in the other European kingdoms, had made it necessary for the Germans to bind themselves more closely together for purposes of self-defence. Hence arose that suspicion of foreigners and strong national spirit, which finds its intensest expression in the works of Hutten. At first it is chiefly the Venetians against whom he directs his pen; but it is not long before he turns upon Pope Julius. The position of the papacy, as the centre and eventual support of all the efforts to check inquiry and reform, was the universal ground of the hate borne to it by scholars and politicians; but the long alliance of the popes with France, and the peculiarly exorbitant nature of their political claims on Germany, still further embittered the German soul of Hutten; and he gradually diverts all his energies from personal and even literary objects, into the channel of political opposition to Rome.

Thus, though with different objects, and under different influences—political in one case and religious in the other—Hutten and Luther found themselves fighting side by side in the great contest of the day, for individual freedom of thought against authority. At first Hutten regarded the monk of Wittenberg with contemptuous indifference, but after Luther had boldly accepted the position of Huss, and denied the infallibility of Pope and Councils, he seems to have been quite fascinated by the grand personality of the Reformer; and it shows the greatness of the man's soul that he, the aristocratic poet, could write to the Thuringian peasant and monk, learned only in the Fathers and the Scriptures, "I will renounce all my poetic fame, O monk, and will follow thee as thy shield-bearer." When Luther stood abashed before the great assembly of the empire at Worms, but yet declared that he would not retract, all Germany was vibrating with the intense feeling which found expression in Hutten's works, now no longer written in choice Latin to the learned few who could understand it, but appealing to the whole German people, in their native tongue. From the letters of the time that remain to us, we know how much was expected by the Reformers from his power over his fellow-nobles, and how great was the influence which he wielded—an influence which Strauss would certainly not seem to have over-estimated. Hutten's great hope was for a united and free kingdom, under the vigorous direction of the Emperor, and in a succession of publications he tried to persuade Charles to tread with firmer steps in the track of his

ancestor, Sigismund. But Charles was cautious and exclusive, was encumbered by an Italian policy, and was quite unable even to understand the aspirations of the Germans, who were thus forced to look around for other leaders ; and Hutten was safe only in the castles of his knightly friends.

The tendency to centralisation, universal throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, was felt not less strongly in Germany than elsewhere, and, limited as were the prerogatives of the Emperor, and distracted as were his efforts, there was yet a possibility that he might attain a regal authority as great as that of other sovereigns. Napoleon has said that Charles V. was but a fool, or he would have put himself (as Hutten had hoped) at the head of the Reformation movement, and have so directed its course as to be able to crush both princes and pope. Even as it was, he succeeded for a time in rendering himself all but absolute, till in 1552, the Reformation, arraying against him forces yet stronger than the tendency to centralisation, swept away the Imperial authority for ever. But the centralising influences worked with all their force in favour of the greater princes, whose policy was to dismember Germany into a vast number of almost independent states. By the end of the century their policy had triumphed—they had set limits to the imperial power, had reduced the nobles to subjection, had obtained possession of many of the imperial cities, and had crushed any appearance of popular influence in their dominions. But in 1522 the struggle was not yet decided in their favour, and all the other forces in the nation were watching their progress with alarm. Though their numbers and importance were much diminished, the lesser German nobles were still powerful in the West. From Strauss, we have a very full description of the successful struggle which they carried on with Duke Ulrich, of Wurtemberg, and now in 1522 they entered into a great league for mutual support ; and Hutten, always proud of his noble blood, was the soul of the movement. He was chiefly urged on by the hope of being able to further the cause of the Reformation by joint action on the part of the knights, but there were many others who were actuated mainly by hostility to the princes, and by the hope of advancing the interests of their own order. It was this that ruined the movement ; it rendered joint action with the cities and the people impossible, and Hutten was alone in advocating the alliance. The more moderate Reformers saw with alarm that reform was turning into revolution, and they stood aloof while the risings of the knights and the peasants were successively crushed, by the united power of the greater princes. It was by these last alone that the Reformation could be, and was saved, so that one of Hutten's aspirations—freedom from foreign influences—triumphed at the expense of the other,—political unity. The movement of the nobles had more than

failed; the alarm which it caused first created a strong party in Germany zealously opposed to all reform.

Hutten fled for safety into Switzerland, not yet disheartened by failure, sickness, and distress, by estrangement from the best loved of his friends, or by the suspicious distrust of the Reformers. He was kindly received by Zwingli, who, as a Republican and Humanist, had more sympathy with him than the leaders of the German Reformation. But before he could engage in any new attempt, he was carried off by the disease which had for years been wasting his frame. The last two chapters are among the most interesting in the book, and are full of pathos. They describe the anxious misgivings and the severed friendships of the noble band of scholars whom Hutten had numbered among his friends. In 1519 they had been as firmly united in support of Luther as formerly for Reuchlin, but most of them had not the rough strength which times of revolution require, and few of them could follow Hutten in all the lengths to which he had gone. His violent attack on Erasmus seemed to have alienated many of them from him for ever, but over his grave they forgot his faults, and one of them declared him to have been "Altogether loveable."

We heartily commend the book to all readers, and more especially to the historical student.

*Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D., Missionary of the Church of England in Connecticut, and First President of King's College, New York.* By E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New Haven. Second Edition. New York: Hurd and Houghton. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

BEYOND the fact that the Propagation Society sent a few Missionaries to America, who, on the conclusion of the War of Independence, generally returned to England, very little is known in this country of the position of the Episcopacy in the States during the last century. Of Episcopacy proper indeed there was none: that is, there were no bishops, and the origin of the New England settlements at least did not favour their introduction. The whole bent of the people's mind was against the principle of an establishment. Hence it is with some surprise we learn that, in the year 1722, Samuel Johnson, a genuine son of the soil, educated at Yale College, and ordained a minister among the Presbyterians, being persuaded, after much reading and reflection, of the superiority of the episcopal form of church-government, together with four or five others, set sail for England, was introduced to some of the chief Church dignitaries, and received ordination at the hands of the then Bishop of Norwich. Returning to America, Samuel Johnson settled as a Missionary in

Stratford, Connecticut, there being at that time no Episcopalian place of worship in the colony, nor any clergyman except himself. His position was a highly influential one, however, among the members of the Church of England throughout New England, while of course it exposed him to much animadversion on the part of his quondam friends. Not the least interesting part of the story is his friendship with Dean Berkeley, which commenced during the residence of the latter in Rhode Island, and only closed with his life. An early acquaintance with Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* had led Johnson into the wide fields of philosophy, and developed in him a taste for metaphysical pursuits. Before Berkeley's arrival in America he had formed a high estimate of his ability as a thinker, and become a convert to his opinions. He subsequently published an original work of some pretensions, entitled "*Elementa Philosophica: containing chiefly Noetica, or Things relating to the Mind or Understanding; and Ethica, or Things relating to the Moral Behaviour.*" It was printed by Benjamin Franklin, and dedicated to the Bishop of Cloyne.

His relations with Whitefield, or rather with Whitefield's followers, were of a less amicable kind. "Probably no period of his life was filled with greater anxiety than that which immediately followed the itinerancy of Whitefield, and witnessed the result of his disorderly proceedings." In so far as the controversy was theological we should, of course, be disposed to side with Johnson in his reclamation against the system that merges all God's perfections in sovereignty, and all His gracious purposes in unconditional decrees. As to the disorders arising from Whitefield's publication of those doctrines we can say nothing, as the nature of them is not described. If such a work is to be judged by its fruits, and those fruits the ecclesiastical statistics of a century later, no very adverse judgment would be passed by a candid mind upon a spiritual movement which communicated such an impulse to all non-conforming Churches that at this day each of the leading denominations numbers several millions of adherents, while Episcopacy barely reaches half a million.

Johnson was in frequent communication with other leading members of the Anglican Church: the name of Archbishop Secker, in particular, occurs in connection with the scheme for providing bishops for the colonies, which however the disturbed state of affairs rendered at that time abortive. Johnson's correspondence, together with the records preserved of his visit to England, and of his son's visit for a similar purpose in 1756, affords some curious glimpses of the upper ranks of English society in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. Clergymen gathered at clubs and coffee-houses just as readily as now they crowd to a congress or convocation: an infidel ecclesiastic is seen

grasping at one bishopric, and, though thwarted in that by the vigilance of his brethren, obtaining an Irish one of three times its value through the influence of Sir Robert Walpole, who in his turn is actuated by a desire to please the chancellor. The ravages wrought by the small-pox among Johnson's friends were such as ought to make us more thankful for Dr. Jenner than of late some appear to be. One of his companions sickened of it while in London, and another died; his son, who went to England for holy orders, fell a victim to the same disease, as also did Johnson's wife about the same time. So terrible were its ravages that Johnson was obliged more than once to suspend his ministrations and retire to a distance from his charge through fear of the infection.

As years rolled on Johnson's character and influence became more and more appreciated. His doctor's degree was conferred in 1748 by the University of Oxford. In 1749 he was invited by Franklin to assume the presidency of a college established under his auspices at Philadelphia; and in 1754 he actually accepted a similar position in connection with King's College, New York, together with a lectureship in Trinity Church of the same city. In 1763, at the age of 67, he relinquished his connection with the college, and retired to his former place of abode, where he died in 1772. He appears to have been a man of great energy and original genius, and to have laboured hard for the spiritual and intellectual interests of his country under great and sometimes almost overwhelming disadvantages. Altogether, Dr. Beardsley has produced a readable volume, in which he makes his readers acquainted with a man of no ordinary capacity, and one who would have been an ornament to any Church in any age.

*The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. John Clowes, M.A.,  
Rector for Sixty-two Years of St. John's Church, Man-  
chester. London: Longmans and Co. 1874.*

THE subject of this memoir was a native of Manchester, born in 1743, and, as stated in the title-page, was rector of St. John's church for sixty-two years. But this record of his long life gives us little insight into the history of Manchester, or of such of its more eminent citizens as were his contemporaries.

Mr. Clowes was educated at the Salford Grammar School, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he afterwards became a fellow. Under a strong religious conviction he exchanged the life of a Fellow and Tutor for that of a parish clergyman, and at twenty-six years of age accepted the incumbency of the church of St. John, Manchester, which was offered to him by its founder, Mr. Edward Byrom. He states that at that time "his theological researches had been very limited, and his religious views were

accordingly very imperfect. He had, indeed, read the Thirty-nine Articles, which form the code of doctrine peculiar to the Established Church, and he had perused some of the more distinguished authors who endeavour to explain and confirm that code of doctrine. But this was all: he had no clear and distinct views of the eternal truth in his own mind, and his ideas on the subject were rather those of others than his own." By-and-by, however, he met with and read Law's *Christian Perfection*, and was deeply impressed by it. The writings of Law led to the perusal of such authors as Fénelon, Madame Guion, Böhme, Tauler, and other mystics. These writers, he conceived, did him good service in preparing the way for a clearer unfolding of Divine truth. But the determining event of his life was his becoming acquainted with the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. Soon after looking into the *Vera Christiana Religio*, he records that he had a vision, or manifestation of a Divine glory, by which he was led "to read diligently, and receive affectionately, the heavenly doctrines of the New Jerusalem, and thus to bear his glad testimony to the second glorious advent of his God." Mr. Clowes soon became an ardent disciple of Swedenborg, and devoted himself throughout the remainder of his long life to the diffusion of the "new doctrines." It will not surprise those who are aware of the difficulty of showing what views may *not* be held by a clergyman of the Church of England, to know that Mr. Clowes remained undisturbed in his cure, though cited once before Bishop Porteus, to answer the charge, amongst others, of denying the doctrine of the Trinity. This citation is referred to by Mr. Clowes and his biographer as persecution, another instance of the misuse to which this term is continually subject. It is hardly fair to brand as persecution the appeal to the proper authority of a people puzzled beyond measure by "new doctrines," to determine whether these "new doctrines" were compatible with the standards of the Church of England. In any other relation of human life than that of parson and people, some effort would be made to restrain departure from a well-understood agreement, and even if it affected matters less important than religious teaching; and such an effort would not be called persecution.

Although to our mind a teacher of the New Jerusalem theology is entirely out of his place in a pulpit of the Church of England, we have nothing to say against the honesty of Mr. Clowes. He was evidently a very sincere believer in the doctrines he adopted; he was supported in them by many of his friends; and he succeeded in explaining them to his ecclesiastical superiors so as to secure, if not their approval, their protection. His greatest defence, however, lay in the beauty of his character, to which there is a wide range of consenting testimony.

The most interesting description of Mr. Clowes to be met with,

occurs in De Quincey's Autobiographic Sketches. We extract the following passage: "He was the most spiritual-looking, the most saintly in outward aspect of all human beings whom I have known throughout life. He was rather tall, pale, and thin; the most unfleshly, the most of a sublimated spirit dwelling already more than half in some purer world, that a poet could have imagined. He was already aged when I first knew him, a clergyman of the Church of England, which may seem strange in connection with his Swedenborgianism; but he was however so. He was rector of a large parish in a large town, the more active duties of which parish were discharged by his curate; but much of the duties within the church were still discharged by himself, and with such exemplary zeal, that his parishioners afterwards celebrating the 50th anniversary or golden jubilee of his appointment to the living, went further than is usual in giving a public expression and a permanent shape to their sentiments of love and veneration. I am surprised, on reflection, that this venerable clergyman should have been unvisited by episcopal censures. . . . However, my friend continued unvexed for a good deal more than fifty years, enjoying that peace, external as well as internal, which, by so eminent a title, belonged to a spirit so evangelically meek and dove-like."

Of Mr. Clowes's ministrations among the Swedenborgian Societies little need be said here. We have no wish to ridicule the ideas and phraseology of his sect. As to critical refutation, it is entirely out of the question. We look in vain for principles of interpretation held in common, or for points of contact between our way of thinking and that of a genuine expositor of the "New Doctrines." Let the reader judge of our wisdom in declining the office of a critic from the following specimen of Mr. Clowes's style, taken from the close of a sermon on regeneration: "Man's spiritual body is formed as to every *organ* and *sense* from the Grand Man, in Heaven, and the Grand Man, in Heaven, is formed from the Divine Humanity of Jesus Christ—each part and sense is quickened (as in natural birth) from its corresponding part in the Grand Man, by reception of influx from those societies of angels; for man is a centre of all influxes from the Grand Man." It is of little use to object to anything in particular when we understand nothing at all.

An anecdote of Wesley appears in this biography on which there rests the stamp of manifest improbability. "The Rev. John Wesley, when he visited Liverpool, frequently stayed with Mr. Houghton, who related to Mr. Clowes that when Wesley was with him shortly after the death of Swedenborg, he declared in the most solemn manner, that we might burn all the old books of theology, for God had sent a teacher from heaven, and in the writings of Swedenborg we might learn all that is necessary for



us to know." Swedenborg died in March 1772. Just two years before that Wesley writes in his journal: "I sat down to read and seriously consider some of the writings of Baron Swedenborg. I began with huge prejudice in his favour, knowing him to be a pious man, one of a strong understanding, of much learning, and one who thoroughly believed himself. But I could not hold out long. Any one of his visions puts his real character out of doubt. He is one of the most ingenious, lively, entertaining madmen that ever set pen to paper." Seven years later Wesley's opinion remained unchanged, and he writes: "I wish those pious men, Mr. Clowes and Clotworthy, would calmly consider these things, before they usher into the world any more of this madman's dreams." But it is not necessary further to disprove the most apocryphal story told above. Wesley's deliberately recorded opinion of Swedenborg and his doctrines will be found in his works by those who care to know it.

*Memorials of Thomas T. Lynch.* Edited by William White.  
London: W. Isbister. 1874.

WITH only scanty materials at his command, Mr. White has succeeded in preparing a well-executed and pleasing memoir of his friend. With artistic skill he has carefully wrought the "eye" of his picture without permitting the accessories unduly to attract attention, preserving with true tact that only which was effective in the delineation of Mr. Lynch's character. This is the record of a life of suffering, of patient endurance, of hard work and simple faith. With a delicately sensitive nervous system, and an enfeebled body, suffering for years from an affliction which prevented him from taking solid food, he struggled bravely both to gain and impart knowledge. Commencing to preach in a very humble way, he poured forth tender, touching, forcible words, with "an authentic voice from the depths of spiritual experience;" though his congregation is described as consisting of about six men and twelve grown women. A tutored ear accidentally heard and appreciated; others were drawn to listen, and he gradually became known and loved. Spending much of his time in enforced solitude "his mind was more and more engrossed with the seriousness of life and the interior relations of God and man." He found recreation in the study of botany and music, and so chastened and attuned a poetic taste, the chief fruits of which he has left in his one volume of spiritual songs, a rill quiet if not profound; if not perfect, pure.

The interest of Mr. Lynch's life to all beyond his friends and congregation, centres in the celebrated "Rivulet Controversy," into the merits of which we need not enter, save to say, that he

patiently bore the attacks directed against him in the name of evangelical truth because his free spirit spoke its deep experiences in words which offended ears quicker to detect verbal defection than to discern the true evangelical spirit. His defence in the *Review of the Rivulet Controversy* is not wanting in keenness of criticism, wit, pungency of satire, quaint retort, or spiritual fidelity. Far more was made of the matter than the little rill of song called for.

In reading this memoir we have had no thought of the writer; he has not obtruded himself upon our attention, but with grace has receded from view, that his subject only might be apparent. No formal estimate of Mr. Lynch's work or his character is attempted. This is a rare quality in memoirs.

*Elementary History of Art.* An Introduction to Ancient and Modern Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music. By N. D'Anvers. With a Preface by T. Roger Smith, F.R.I.B.A. Illustrated with One Hundred and Twenty Woodcuts. London: Asher and Co., 13, Bedford-street, Covent-garden. 1874.

WE have long advocated a systematic and rational arrangement of the fine arts as a basis for text-books dealing with this complex subject; and we consider the arrangement of the *Elementary History of Art*, fully described above, a decided advance on any similar work that has yet appeared in England. The arrangement of the arts which we have advocated on former occasions is that based on the historic order of their birth and development,—an order which yields an æsthetic scale of decreasing generality, and increasing technicality in the modes of expression. This æsthetic scale gives the first place to poetry as the parent of all the other arts; and music, painting, sculpture, and architecture follow, each being less general and more technical than the preceding one,—and each being also more national than the preceding one. We have protested, and we still protest, against the exclusion of poetry and music from works professing to deal with art generally; and we welcome this book as the first *Elementary History of Art* published in England, as far as we know, with even music recognised in its right place. Poetry will come in time to be regarded as the basis of all art, and dealt with accordingly in elementary text-books; and when that is the case the need of making the poetic section the first in such a work as this of Mr. D'Anvers will probably be recognised. In the meantime, as that work deals with the four children-arts only, and not with the parent-art at all, there is something to be said in favour of the inversion of the æsthetic scale which alone, of all proposed æsthetic scales, is tenable. This inversion is simple and direct, and does not mix

the arts up anyhow ; instead of dealing with music first as the most general and least technical of the four arts included in the book, Mr. D'Anvers places the most special and technical art, architecture, first, and comes strictly down the scale, through sculpture and painting, to music. Now the great point in favour of this arrangement in a book for young students is that it engages the attention first on what is most material, and passes from stage to stage into regions more and more widely separated from material interests and material beauty, and more and more intimately connected with philosophic interests and spiritual beauty. Thus, in following out Mr. D'Anvers's programme of æsthetic instruction, the young student has a greater proportion of technical difficulties to contend with at first than at last, a less exacting demand on the higher nature which it is the mission of art to cultivate, and a more palpable series of facts and forms on which to engage the attention : his higher, or emotional, nature is educated gradually, while his intelligence is being well exercised from the first.

The want which the compiler of the present volume claims to supply for all who are engaged in education in England, is that of "a simple introductory text-book ;" and it is needless to add that a profusely illustrated volume of between six and seven hundred pages, dealing with four of the fine arts historically, cannot well be more than introductory. It is, however, at the outset that the student most requires just direction in matters relating to the arts ; so that the importance of a work such as the present is designed to be cannot easily be exaggerated. The compiler tells us that "the framework and the greater number of the illustrations are borrowed, with the permission of the publishers, from a small *Guide to the History of Art* which has long been in use in German schools ; but this framework has been filled in by reference to standard English, German, and French authorities, and each division of the book has been supplemented by a chapter on art in England." This indicates that the Germans are considerably in advance of us in systematic cultivation of the history of art as a part of ordinary education ; while it would seem, from the necessity to add a chapter, in each section, on English art, that they think as little of our artistic attainments as we, and the rest of the civilised world, think of their unhappy attempts at poetry before Goethe, and painting and sculpture since.

The woodcut illustrations vary considerably in merit, as well as in the condition of the blocks ; but they are, on the whole, good ; and even when not artistically fine, they are useful as diagrams. There has been a strange misadventure with the cut of Raphael's "Madonna della Sedia," at page 377 : it will be remembered that, in this circular picture, the Virgin is represented sitting, with the infant Christ on her knee, and leaning towards Him,—the back of the chair being perpendicular ; but in this instance, the cut, which

is a very bad one, is set in the page so that the chair's back is a long way out of the perpendicular, and looks as if the Virgin had tilted her seat backwards into the most perilous position. Again, in Michael Angelo's "Moses," facing page 248, not the slightest idea is conveyed of the expression of that grand statue; while many of the representations of earlier work, both sculpture and painting, are excellent. The musical section of the work, which is very useful as an introduction to the intelligent study of music, is illustrated with portraits of nine German composers and one Italian, Rossini; the best of these are the portraits of Glück, Beethoven, and Schubert,—the worst, those of Mendelssohn and Rossini.

*Arlon Grange, and a Christmas Legend.* Critics' Edition. By William Alfred Gibbs, Author of "The Story of a Life," "Harold Erle," &c., &c. To the Above is now Added some Contributions by the Author's Friends. London: Provost and Co., 86, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden.

As far as we can make out from a handbill pasted on the cover of the volume whose title-page is transcribed above, Mr. W. A. Gibbs issued some little time since a volume of verse called *Arlon Grange*, and had it handsomely bound, "chiefly to please a lady's eye." If we understand the handbill aright, the critics reviewed the binding favourably, and wisely left the inside of the book alone. The author did not perceive that, except for the gorgeous get-up, the book would never have been reviewed at all, and seems to have deemed that the reviewers were so taken up with the binding that they could not get further. Finding that, notwithstanding the cover, the book did not sell (we still interpret the handbill, with the aid of a little observation as to the book now issued), the author determined to have a critics' edition; and so,—

"Now, white and gold and grand array  
Is changed to hoddan, sodden grey,"—

that is to say, the same sheets are stitched up in a limp cover, with a new title-page, the edges ploughed down ruthlessly, and a doggerel address to reviewers stuck outside. Now it is not conciliatory to critics to say "white and gold and grand array is," or to talk of a colour being "sodden," or to say, as the author does in the title-page, "to the above is now added some contributions." When the author prophesies (*vide* handbill) that the ugly "sodden grey" book will find its way to the smoking-rooms and studies of men who

"Will score its leaves with praise or blame;  
'Indifferent,' 'good,' or 'bad,' will vote it,  
Or cut a passage out and quote it,"

he is simply puerile and impertinent ; and when he goes on to promise another gorgeous edition, illustrated, one suspects him of being insane. We have looked into the book, just to see what all this fuss is about ; and we find no reason to do as prophesied in the author's doggerel. It is utterly commonplace ; and we decline to criticise it more closely, or make extracts from it, "upon compulsion." The author has told its story for it :—it *had* a handsome cover ; it *has* a hideous cover ; and, we may add, it is not worth any cover at all.

*Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and other Essays.* By David Masson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. London : Macmillan and Co. 1874.

PROFESSOR MASSON is one of the most thoughtful of contemporary critics ; and he has done well in reprinting, with additions and revisions, some admirable essays which have long been out of print. The present volume is the first of a series of three, and it contains six essays ; four of these were included in a volume entitled, *Essays, Biographical and Critical : chiefly on English Poets*, published in 1856, and vainly sought after, since it has been out of print, on account of a very beautiful contribution to Chatterton literature, which was the largest and most elaborate thing in the volume. This work, entitled, *Chatterton : A Story of the Year 1770*, is now wisely separated for independent publication ; while two most interesting essays on the lives and poetry of Shelley and Keats, which originally appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine*, are now judiciously grouped with the four reprinted from the 1856 volume, namely, those on Wordsworth, De Quincey, Theories of Poetry, and Scottish Influence in British Literature. The two last named are not of nearly equal value with the three which give the volume its title, each of which three is a successful attempt to treat the personality and the poetry of a great man, without separating the one from the other. The essay on Shelley is the most interesting, probably because Shelley was himself a more interesting person (even if not, as we think, absolutely a far greater man) than either the exquisite and unfortunate poet Keats, or the noble and toweringly intellectual poet Wordsworth. We doubt whether Professor Masson appreciates Shelley at his *full* worth ; but his essay is full of fine feeling and perception, though hardly enthusiastic.

*Songs of Two Worlds.* Second Series. By a New Writer. Henry S. King and Co., 65, Cornhill, and 12, Paternoster-row, London. 1874.

THIS volume is commonplace without being either vulgar or ungrammatical like that of Mr. Gibbs. If the "new writer" is a

young writer, it is all very well ; he may do something worth doing some day ; but in the meantime, on the evidence of this volume, we cannot concede the presence of a new poet, or, indeed, of anything more than ordinary cultivation. The book is thoughtful and free from affectation ; but the thoughts have no depth, and no particular originality ; while the style is colourless, the rhythm, generally, thin, and the lyric impulse of the meagrest quality.

*The Tragedy of Israel.* Part II. King David. By G. F. Armstrong, M.A. London : Longmans and Co. 1874.

THE first part of this work, "King Saul" was noticed, with favourable recognition of its high poetic qualities, in a former number of this Review. It now comes before us in this second stage of its progress, with no diminution of power, and certainly with a large addition of elements of interest. Mr. Armstrong deserves credit for the extent to which he has preserved fidelity to his Bible originals, and for his thoughtful and reverential handling of sacred subjects ; while at the same time we cannot but admire the skill with which he contrives to infuse into his work a dash of modern thought, sentiment, and motive, which, without painfully disturbing our sense of historic propriety, adds vastly to the interest of the story. His personages are very lifelike, and possess a distinct individuality, which they retain throughout.

The subtle mischief-making Jonadab is an especially interesting study, with his sharp insight into men's characters and motives, and his clear apprehension of what is good and noble, and perfect satisfaction with his own conscious want of anything of this sort. He does not shrink from guilt itself, but from painful recollections connected with it. After Amnon's death, he is seized with a momentary disgust of life, and thinks that he will kill himself, but sheathes his sword with the reflection that, after all, he might still find pleasure if he could get away into some other land for a time, returning only when all this trouble had blown over. Thus he soliloquises :—

"It is the trouble of this realm that wounds me,  
The pain of neighbourhood, local suggestion ;  
The evil done, of which I am a part ;  
Pain of the many weighing on my soul ;  
The dread anticipation of the end :  
These I can brook not ; better death than these.  
Yet elsewhere may delight not dawn for me ?  
Then I will out into the alien lands—  
Hath Tyre no sweet ? Hath Egypt nothing strange ?  
There roam, and wear the teeth of conscience down,  
And soften the painful hues of memory,  
Drink palatable wines, renew the sense,

Learn much, see out this curious road of life,  
 And haply, after many rounds of years,  
 And when this evil is an olden tale,  
 Return in calmer hours another soul.  
 So, farewell, friends, and welcome ways unworn."

The principal character of this drama is, of course, King David ; around him the interest of the story gathers. The author's conception of him is very noble and striking ; and as he brings him before us—Israel's poet king, so rich in bodily and mental gifts, with his noble, far-sighted desires for his country's welfare, the deep fount of tenderness in his heart, his vast capacity of passion—we feel we are in the presence of a worthy ideal of the great Hebrew monarch. We see why Jonathan loved him, and the hearts of men were drawn to him, and the strongest and wisest were proud to serve him ; we feel the presence of the lofty thought and aspiration, the fervid imagination, the strength of emotion, the sincere religiousness, which, touched and hallowed by the Spirit, found voice in psalms that sound the depths of human sadness and soar to all the glorious heights of prophetic hope.

The subject of this drama is David's fall and repentance. The king is represented as at the summit of his power and popularity. But his soul has not yet found its true mate—the one without whose intelligent sympathy and loving co-operation he lacked the incitement which his emotional nature required for carrying out the grand designs he cherished for the welfare and glory of his beloved people. In Bathsheba he thinks he sees the promise of all he has longed for, but never yet found. And then commences the mighty conflict of duty and passion. The subtle working of David's mind in the stress of temptation is drawn with truth and power. He tries hard to sophisticate reason and conscience, and to reconcile crime and duty. Absorbed in this weary strife he has neither eyes nor heart for anything else. He neglects the oversight of his family and the affairs of his kingdom, and thus disorder and trouble creep into both. His inconsiderateness yields Tamar to ruin, and his people to the misgovernment that breeds rebellion. Passion prevails at last. The double crime is consummated. The drugged conscience slumbers. Ambition and energy revive at the trumpet-call of war. But just then the prophet Nathan appears and in a moment David sees his crime in its true colours, and shame and remorse sink him to the dust. This scene between the prophet and the king is one of the finest in the book. We take from it the following passage:—

NATHAN.

Now the dark worst  
 And deadliest sorrow of my life is over.  
 I go away—go as the spiritual storm  
 Drives me across the spaces of the world.  
 Lift up thine eyes that I may go in peace.

DAVID.

I cannot lift my face to thine again,  
Or gaze upon the scornful brows of men ;  
I am mated with the earth, and in the dust  
I will lie down for ever.

NATHAN.

Nay, my king.  
Look up, and speak. This sight is hard to bear.

DAVID.

My people ! O my people ! O my realm !

NATHAN.

Thou art not all rejected, though so fallen  
Arise, and live, and let thy people live.

DAVID.

Into my heart's dark cavern thou hast flashed  
An awful beam, and I behold my ways  
All loathsome ; and the thoughts, the purposes,  
That guide me or incite, clear to their springs,  
Fountains of ill discern ; and all my soul  
Crawled over with broods born of long decay.  
Let rise another king, for I am none.

NATHAN.

Tread back the mazy paths to Him whose love  
Led thee so long in glory. Call aloud,  
And He will answer from the lonely heights.

DAVID.

To Him, to Him ! All unfamiliar now  
The too familiar name, and powerless  
My lips to shape. Repent ! How can the soul  
Repent at impulse the deliberate sin ?  
And I—O God !—for every question asked  
Of conscience, rendered answer, answerless ;  
With strong premeditated aim, trod out  
The light divine of reason, man's one guide,  
Heaven's sacred emissary ; with free hand  
Crowning the monster evil in my heart ;  
And, shameless, all my faculties awake,  
As righteous men choose virtue, chose my sin,  
And smiled upon my choice. Where the remorse ?  
All gentle thoughts and gentle impulses,  
Fair ministers of virtue, I have slain,  
To make a happy tranquil field of growth  
And nursery of my darling weed of sin,  
And nought abides to lift me or impel.

The judgment which had been gathering now breaks upon him. In Amnon's murder he sees the bitter fruit of his own sin, and the beginning of troubles henceforward to darken his life and kingdom. A touching scene here takes place between the



king and Bathsheba, which is broken in upon by the tidings of Absalom's rebellion, and the desertion to the rebel cause of his trusted friends. Astonished and dismayed by the sad and unlooked-for events, he prepares with heavy heart to leave the city of his choice, and in whose loyal love he had so entirely trusted. The tragic interest of the scene is heightened by the sudden appearance of the unhappy Tamar who comes in to gratify the resentment she cherishes against the king and his party, whom she regards as the authors of her crushing woe.

Our limits will not permit us to pursue this notice further. We have said enough to show our high appreciation of this work. We still think it would have been every way better for Mr. Armstrong to have employed his poetic talent on themes in the treatment of which he would not have been trammelled by the conditions and limitations necessarily attaching to those drawn from the sacred records. But we are bound to say that few in our judgment could, out of such materials, have produced a drama of absorbing interest, and clear high purpose, admirable alike in conception and execution, such as is the one it has been a pleasure to deal with in this notice.

*Through Normandy.* By Katharine S. Macquoid. Illustrated by Thomas R. Macquoid. W. Isbister and Co. London. 1874.

It happens sometimes, when one has "been long in city pent," and is thinking only of its labours and activities, that a sudden whiff, it may be, of burning wood, or, still better, of peat, will carry the spirit away to very different scenes, and evoke all kinds of holiday associations among Welsh valleys, or Connemara cabins, or any of the hundred-and-one out-of-the-way pleasant places where coal is unknown. And there are books that have a similar power, a kind of natural magic of their own, due partly to subject, partly to treatment, partly, perhaps, in some cases, to the individual recollections of the reader, but with a result, however obtained, that is altogether sunny and delightful. Of such books *Through Normandy* is one.

Far be it from us to endeavour to analyse what is here so happily blended, and discriminate too coldly and critically between the charms of subject and setting. Both contribute to the effect of relaxation and enjoyment. Doubtless Normandy, like all other places that are under the sway of civilisation, possesses "hungry generations" that "tread one another down." Its manufactures, as we might learn from commercial directories if we took the trouble to consult them, are important; its agricultural wealth considerable; and the inhabitant himself is acute and industrious, a keen hand at a bargain. But which of

as who has travelled through the land, with its sunny, natural beauties, its innumerable hoar relics of elder time, its thousand memories, has not been a Gallio as regards these work-a-day things? Which of us has given a thought to Rouen as the "Manchester of France," when he was wandering over the cathedral's multitudinous west front, or pacing the nave of Saint Ouen, or exploring the many picturesque nooks of that most beautiful city? Possibly the new spire of the cathedral may have reminded us, for a moment, that this is an age of iron, and not of beauty, and the new streets, with which the natives are so pleased, may have struck us as an impertinence. But still, both here and elsewhere, the prevailing impression left upon the tourist's mind is one, not of nineteenth-century work and effort, but of harmony with his own brief respite from toil.

And of Mrs. Macquoid's work what shall we say? We would liken it to the pleasant companion of our summer ramble: a companion well-read and well-informed; who knows the history of the district, and can quote with *à propos* from the *Roman de Rose*, or Mr. Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, or Lord Lytton's *Harold*, and other more recondite works; who lingers lovingly over the many relics of the great Duke whose successful expedition changed the course of English history; who collects local legends and traditions with a loving hand, has a keen eye for the picturesque in building, for salient architectural points, and for the beauty of long river reaches, wooded dales, and coast scenery; a keen eye, too, but kindly and tolerant withal, as becomes one who has made France the scene of pleasant fiction and story, for what we may call the *social picturesque*,—those peculiarities of custom and manners and dress which must always seem strange to people of foreign race and creed. Indeed our companion is not a mere silent observer of such peculiarities, but will enter into ready and genial intercourse with natives of every degree, receiving here a nosegay, and there a confidential communication, in sign of amity. Nor is this all. Though full of interest in the things of the mind and imagination, he does not unduly despise the things of the body,—maintaining, in fact, the traveller's golden mean in this matter, and being able to give the best advice as regards inns, stopping-places, routes, &c., without habitually making the excellence of the dinner the test of enjoyment.

With such a model companion should we ever quarrel? Not seriously, most certainly. Occasionally, perhaps, as all companions will, he makes some remarks that jar with our mood at the moment, as when he seems to complain of the Normans too habitually calling their great Duke "*Guillaume le Conquérant*," as though the title were unknown on this side of the Channel, or when he describes the pictures in the Bayeux Tapestry as

"extremely comic;" and again we might occasionally think him a trifle too enthusiastic. But these are very, very small matters, —to be mentioned almost with shame.

We have used the image of a companion advisedly, for, in order to be thoroughly enjoyed, this book should accompany the tourist in his wanderings through Normandy, or, at any rate, be read—as if one were chatting over old memories with a former fellow-traveller—by a tourist who has reminiscences of the country to revive. Failing any such previous knowledge, we may doubt how far it would bear perusal from end to end, for though partly a pleasant record of travel, it is also a superior kind of practical guide-book, and guide-books must be taken homœopathically, in small quantities, and by those who really require them. Still, even for those to whom that pleasant corner of old France may be unknown, there are many interesting pages of history and legend. Nor, among other attractions, should we forget Mr. Macquoid's illustrations. The subject could not but be congenial to a painter who, if we are not mistaken, has had, in former years, some training as an architect.

*Epochs of History. The Houses of Lancaster and York, with the Conquest and Loss of France*, by James Gairdner. London: Longmans and Co. 1874.

THE volumes of this admirable series are designed principally for use in schools, for which purpose the period treated by Mr. Gairdner is peculiarly fitted. It coincides throughout with the great succession of Shakespeare's historical plays. From Richard II. to Richard III. all the more striking events are there dramatised, so that the invaluable aid of literary illustration never fails the teacher and the student. It has another advantage, that for great part of the time the history of France and England is the same, and thus almost without effort the connection of English and Continental history is kept before our eyes. The period is unfortunately very obscure, and the sequence of facts difficult to retain in the memory. Dynastic quarrels make up the whole story with but a few unconnected episodes, such as the rebellions of Tyler and Cade, which reveal the social life of the nation underneath. We own to a little disappointment that Mr. Gairdner, who has studied all the original and some fresh evidence, has not succeeded in making clearer the principles and moral causes which decided the course of events. The book, however, though detail is necessarily excluded, is far from dry, and gives a better insight into the character of the epoch than the chapters which larger works devote to it. The five maps are a very valuable help both to the understanding of the narrative and to that interesting but neglected branch of study, historical

geography. If the other volumes devoted to English history are as well executed, the whole will be a great advance upon even the best school books now in use.

*The Philosophy of History in Europe.* By Robert Flint, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy in the University of St. Andrew's. Vol. I. France and Germany. Wm. Blackwood and Sons. 1874.

SINCE the revival of learning a philosophical spirit has shown itself continually more and more in the study of history. It is the great distinction of modern from ancient work in that field that the views taken of human life and fortune are more widely comprehensive, and the insight of the writers into the causes that have determined the world's course deeper and clearer. In these respects the writings of Gibbon, Mommsen, or Thierry, are as much more valuable than those of Marcellinus, Livy, or Tacitus, as the accumulated experience and remote impartiality of the more recent historians would lead us to anticipate. Nor is it only in the understanding of ancient times that this advance has been made. Taught mainly by the history of Rome, or of the Christian Church, we have come to demand from all who deal with any great period an analysis not merely of individual motive, but of cause and effect, on a large scale. They must show how the whole epoch was directed by general influences, whose genesis and operation it is the principal business of the historian to exhibit. We have, in short, arrived at the conviction, more or less vividly realised, that our race in its parts, and as a whole, is moving on a definite plan, the principles, and possibly the object of which, we may hope to discover. This is the problem of the philosophy of history, a problem which has been uninterruptedly discussed for three hundred years, and seems still to be growing in interest. From the time of the French Revolution the writers on the subject have been very numerous. Mr. Flint passes in review about fifty from France and Germany alone, and of these only six in the former and four in the latter country are earlier than that great crisis in recent history. Previous speculations form a thin, though connected line; but subsequent to the quickening of intellectual and political life which then took place, we have to treat not single works, but schools of thought in this pre-eminently modern branch of philosophy. This rapid multiplication of treatises, essays, and systems makes such a book as Mr. Flint's very welcome. It is not a fresh contribution of original opinions, though there are not wanting hints that they may in time be given to the world; its pretensions are only to show what has already been done for the new science, what conceptions have been formed of its matter,

scope, and method, and what attempts have been made to reduce the vast mass of materials to logical order. The volume consists principally of analysis and criticisms, intended to guide the student in forming the acquaintance and estimating the position of the chief authors who have philosophised on history. We are left to gather Mr. Flint's own conclusions from incidental remarks upon the character of those men whom he regards most favourably. There is, indeed, an Introduction of his own, but it is historical rather than dogmatic. We are not unfrequently referred to the end of the work for fuller information on these and kindred points; but till the next volume appears we can only guess at the principles on which the somewhat brusque and unargued decisions are based. It would perhaps have been better to publish the two volumes together; it would certainly have been more satisfactory to deal with the whole than with a fragment. The book is made easier for reference, but more provokingly incomplete by the geographical arrangement which is followed. It is not conducive to a clear comprehension of the course of European thought to have to read about all the French labours before we come to any of the German, and to have to delay altogether our comparison of Italian or English writers. In such a cosmopolitan subject, speculations should have been grouped by chronological and intellectual succession rather than by the language in which they may happen to have been written. It is awkward to judge Cousin before Hegel, Quinet before Herder, and Michelet before Vico. It would have added completeness to the system adopted if each division had been concluded with an estimate of progress made in the country considered, and an acknowledgement of foreign influence.

No one nation can claim this department of thought as its own special province; the thinkers of all lands have worked together under the common condition of modern life, to which essentially, and not to the genius of individuals, the philosophy of history owes its rise. Before men could speculate on the plan which underlies the progress of our race as a whole, it was necessary that they should learn to look upon the multitude of peoples and generations as forming one connected humanity, and on the vicissitudes of national fortune as the unfolding of a regular plot in the universal drama. The Empire of Rome was needed to teach the first lesson, and it is in Polybius that we find the first recognition of the fact that the history of different nations tends to a single point; Christianity, with its revelation of a Divine plan for the restoration of the world, taught the second, and Augustine is the first who marks out history into epochs according as the ages stand to the fulfilment of one general design. Through the long Mediæval period of dissolution and reorganisation the ideas thus brought into the world retained their life;

and when at last the Renaissance came, and Europe began to reflect upon its own condition, a more varied and elastic civilisation was found to have sprung up, expanding men's conceptions of order and of progress, and leading to a deeper and more comprehensive theory of the process by which all this had been reached. It is then that historical philosophy begins to be written. It is, as was only natural, strongly influenced at first by the laws and history of Rome and by the teaching of the Church. Principles and traditions drawn from these sources are mixed up and often struggling with ideas, the product of freer modern thought and larger recent experience. Bodin and Bossuet, the forerunners of historical science, especially illustrate this. The former has to argue elaborately that the dream of Nebuchadnezzar does not contain all we need to know about the course of history, while at the same time he writes as a Roman Jurist only, pleading that the laws of other nations deserve to be studied as well. Bossuet follows the imperfect principles of Augustine, making the progress of the Church the history of the world, and drawing his facts mainly from the Bible and the classical writers. Montesquieu, too, finds in Rome great part of his materials, but he reveals also the scientific spirit, the advance of which was another necessary condition of the growth of the study. Bacon had given the hint that laws analogous to those of the inanimate world might be found directing human activity; Bodin had endeavoured to point out some of them, and the *esprit des lois* attempts to exhibit the natural causes which manifest their effects in political constitutions. But it is to an earlier writer that historical inquiry, like almost all other branches of thought, owes its impregnation with the ideas of modern science. Leibnitz wrote nothing directly on the subject, but he was here the great combiner of history and philosophy, the great mediator between France and Germany, and, most important of all, the principal mind to introduce into speculation the ideas of the unity of knowledge, the intimate connection of all forms of existence, the fundamental identity of the laws that govern all phenomena, whether of matter or of life. The conceptions of universal development, the solidarity of the sciences, and the necessity of historical method in their study, received from him their currency, and to him, therefore, the philosophy of history is most deeply indebted.

The new science, which as yet only struggled to the birth, was born in Turgot, whose two discourses at the Sorbonne contain the first historical proof of the reality and certainty of progress, the first acknowledgment of the vast complexity of the problem, the first realisation that humanity is an organic whole, whose evolution is guided by internal forces, and strangely enough the first indication of that invaluable half-truth respecting the law of

development, which has since become celebrated as Comte's law of the three stages. The epoch of the Revolution was now drawing near, and under the stimulus of that approaching crisis of thought and history, speculations on the course of the world rapidly multiply. With Voltaire to champion free and rebellious criticism, with Rousseau to shock complacency by his bold preaching of degradation, and the threatening aspect of political life to excite reflection, there is no wonder that this should be the case. Wegelin, Lessing, Herder, and Kant, show the awakening attention in Germany, which, when Napoleon carries the Revolution there, hopes to take its place at the head of European thought.

One other influence has to be taken into account as leading to a wider and more accurate view of history, and that is the increased knowledge of the East which has been gained in recent years. The British conquest of India, and the opening of China and Japan to European commerce have largely added to our conceptions of what is meant by universal progress. A complete philosophy of history must explain both Western and Eastern civilisation, and exhibit their connections and contrasts while showing that they both tend to a common goal. The Oriental side of the question has been practically ignored, or very superficially treated by every writer who as yet has tried to reduce historical phenomena throughout the world to the exemplification of a few general laws, that can be connected into a single scheme, or expressed by one formula. Indeed, the impression left most prominent, after reading such a book as Mr. Flint's, is the utterly inadequate treatment yet bestowed on the most complex problem that can be considered. The *à priori* systems of Germany, and the political generalisations of France alike fail when confronted with the infinite mass and variety of the facts. Fichte, Schelling, and to a great extent Cousin, do but play with words in an ideal sphere that never touches, and only occasionally sheds light on the real world. Hegel, rich in detail, and abounding in suggestive thought, falls far short of establishing his rigid theory. The idea of freedom, taken by several thinkers as the thread upon which all history is strung, is too narrow and thin to bear the weight of a development that clearly moves along many lines at once, whether we make freedom with Kant a political; with Quinet a spiritual, or with Michelet a general conception. Scarcely more satisfactory are the attempts of Schlegel and Bunsen to make human history simply the progress and realisation of men's relation to God. The discussion of the problem has been fertile in results, and has greatly helped us to appreciate special parts and aspects; but perhaps the wisest things that have been said on the subject as a whole are Quinet's protest against attempting to bring its entirety under one idea, and Comte's

warning that the social science is the most complex and difficult of all, which cannot advance far till the earlier sciences approach completion. Wiser than any words is the refusal of Guizot to try and deal with more than a fraction even of European civilization. History must look rather to the scientific students who explore special fields, and detect the laws which have ruled there, than to the speculative philosophers who build up systems to embrace and explain the whole. Detailed criticism of Mr. Flint's own workmanship will be more in place when he brings out his second volume: at present it would be unfair to judge from a fragmentary specimen.

*Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded.* By J. E. Cairnes, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

THE volume before us embraces the discussion of some of the most profound and difficult questions in the whole field of economic inquiry, and it is not possible to treat these subjects in a simple or easy manner. In the beginning of his interesting chapter on "International Values," Mr. Mill says, "I must give notice that we are now in the region of the most complicated questions which political economy affords, and the subject is one which cannot possibly be made elementary." This observation of Mr. Mill may, with propriety, be applied to all the subjects discussed in the present volume, and to the mode in which they are treated. In this work we have a re-examination and a fresh exposition of most of those knotty points in the science that have, in recent years, engaged the minds of the ablest writers on the subject, as Mill, Thornton, Jevons, and others. The work consists of three parts:—I. Value; II. Labour and Capital; III. International Trade. It would not be possible, in our space, to give the reader an intelligible outline of the course of reasoning pursued by Professor Cairnes on these subjects, or even to furnish a satisfactory account of the conclusions he reaches, but we may briefly notice one or two points in these discussions in a way that will indicate the general nature of the inquiries. In the first chapter of Part I. the author aims to elucidate the meaning of the terms "Value" and "Utility," and to show the relation of value to utility. He effectually disposes of the doctrine of M. Say, which has recently been revived by Prof. Jevons, that "value depends entirely upon utility." He makes it clear that Jevons' theory fails to explain the ordinary phenomena of the subject. The second chapter is on that vexed question, "Supply and Demand;" and here the explanations of Prof. Cairnes are at once novel and important. Everybody thinks he understands what is meant by "supply and demand," but our author says, "I



believe there is no doctrine of political economy more generally misunderstood, or, to speak plainly, respecting which a more complete absence of all clear understanding of any kind prevails, than this very doctrine. The terms are used, and the supposed 'law' is appealed to, for the most part, without any distinct ideas being attached to the phrases employed." He holds that supply and demand are not separable or independent phenomena, but are "strictly connected and mutually dependent." He says—

"Aggregate demand cannot increase or diminish without entailing a corresponding increase or diminution of aggregate supply; nor can aggregate supply undergo a change without involving a corresponding change in aggregate demand. . . . Let us suppose a *régime* of barter; under such circumstances supply would consist in the commodities offered in exchange for other commodities. In what would demand in such case consist? We can only give the same reply: in the commodities offered in exchange for other commodities."

He shows that this simple character is only very slightly modified by the introduction of a medium of exchange. Hence he says—

"I would, therefore, define the terms as follows: demand, as the desire for commodities or service, seeking its end by an offer of general purchasing power; and supply, as the desire for general purchasing power, seeking its end by the offer of specific commodities or services."

The illustrations given of this doctrine are very striking, and by its application several controverted points may, we think, be cleared and settled. The two following chapters, "Normal Value" and "Market Value," supply views and criticisms on received theories, of peculiar interest and value. Some grave errors in current notions are forcibly exposed, and the influence of "cost of production" and "reciprocal demand," in determining normal value, are admirably brought out. In these chapters the doctrines propounded by Mill and Thornton are shown to be either erroneous or defective, and important modifications of accepted conclusions as to "cost of production," "competition," and "market prices," are advanced by Prof. Cairnes.

In the last chapter of the first part, "On some Derivative Laws of Value" we have capital illustrations of the working of the law of "Diminishing Productiveness" in both new and old countries, and of the influence of this working on "cost of production," "normal value," and "market prices." Here Professor Cairnes deals with the fluctuations in the market prices of different commodities, and in a masterly way clears up several points that have hitherto been in controversy.

The second part of the work, entitled *Labour and Capital*, consists of five chapters, all dealing with grave questions of

economic science. The titles of the chapters are—"The Rate of Wages;" "Demand for Commodities;" "Trades Unionism, No. 1;" "Trades Unionism, No. 2;" "Practical Deductions from the Foregoing Principles." It must suffice to say that in each of these sections Professor Cairnes examines the subjects named in a calm, scientific spirit, and by the new views he propounds he does much satisfactorily to elucidate some of the most controverted points in both theoretical and practical economics. These chapters are in the main expository, but they are necessarily to some extent controversial. For instance, the objections to the wages-fund doctrine urged by Mr. Longe and Mr. Thornton, are examined at length, and, we must think, conclusively shown to be unfounded. Valuable as we have always deemed many things in Mr. Thornton's book on Labour, his notions respecting supply and demand, competition, and the wages-fund, seem to us superficial and unscientific. In his able work on the *Theory of Political Economy* Professor Jevons had said, "For my own part, I think that most of Mr. Thornton's arguments are beside the question," but it was left to Professor Cairnes fully to demonstrate how vague and unsound are most of Mr. Thornton's doctrines on these subjects. The two chapters on Trades Unionism well deserve the attention of all interested in the economic and social condition of the working classes, and they are particularly worthy of the study of such writers as Mr. Thornton, Mr. Frederic Harrison, and Mr. Longe. The last chapter of this part—"Practical Deductions from the Foregoing Principles,"—is marked by that candour, breadth, and thoroughness which distinguish the productions of Mr. Cairnes. In reference to the permanent improvement of the condition of the workers, the Professor is not sanguine; but the means he advocates for securing their elevation appear to us the only legitimate and reliable grounds of hope.

The last part of the treatise, on "International Trade" is fully as valuable as those portions we have briefly noticed. It consists of five chapters with these headings:—"Doctrine of Comparative Cost;" "International Trade in its Relation to the Rate of Wages;" "International Values;" "Free Trade and Protection;" "On Some Minor Topics." These chapters contain some notable modifications of Mill's well-known doctrine of International Value and International Trade, which he first put forth in his volume entitled, *Some Unsettled Questions in Political Economy*. We can heartily recommend Professor Cairnes' volume to the students of Political Economy, and to all readers that desire a searching examination of economic questions. It deals with the great theoretical principles of the science, with the applications of these principles to the moot questions of the day, and it discusses all points raised with singular ability and fairness. It appears to us to be the most original and most important work

on political economy that has appeared since the publication of Mill's Principles, about a quarter of a century ago. There are some reasonings in this volume that we cannot think are altogether conclusive, and some few conclusions that we cannot entirely accept, but where there is so much to approve and commend—so much to be thankful for—we have no disposition to dwell on insignificant faults.

*English School Classics.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Francis Storr, B.A.

*Goldsmith's Traveller and the Deserted Village.* Edited by C. Sankey, M.A.

*Selections from the Spectator.* Edited by O. Airy, M.A.

*Browne's Religio Medici.* Edited by W. P. Smith, M.A.

*Macaulay's Essay—Moore's Life of Lord Byron.* Edited by Francis Storr, B.A. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

THE appearance of a new series of selections from our English classics for the use of schools, may be taken as a welcome indication of the place that the study of our own literature is beginning to take in education. But that it may be of a value in any way comparable to the study of the Greek and Latin classics as hitherto pursued, the text-books must be very different from those we have now to notice. It has seldom been our fortune to come across such slovenly and unskilful workmanship in any school series appearing under respectable auspices. Mr. Smith's edition of the *Religio Medici* is much better than the companion books. There are more misprints than there should be. It is doubtful whether the proper way to edit a school-book is to save the pupil all use of the dictionary as far as possible; some of the derivations given are quite exploded, and we are at a loss to understand what kind of pupils for whom the *Religio Medici* would be fit reading, could need a note like the following: "*Themistocles.*—A celebrated Athenian general, by whom the fleet of Xerxes was defeated at Salamis (B.C. 480)." But it is a great boon to have a work of such value in a convenient shape; and although it is little likely that school-boys will have time for Sir Thomas Browne, without neglecting their Spenser, Bacon, Hooker, and Milton, it may possibly be useful to others who have leisure for a further study of the seventeenth-century literature.

Mr. Sankey's edition of Goldsmith's more important poems is distinguished from that of Mr. Hales mainly by the fact that his notes have a larger accumulation of those details which a boy ought to be expected to look up for himself, and much less suggestiveness. Is it really advisable to write a note to save a lazy school-boy the trouble of looking in his atlas for the Scheld or even the Po? It may be worth while to remind him, as Mr.

Hales does, that in class he will be required to point these out; but anything more than this is purely mischievous. On the other hand, it is useless to say that "*pomp* is used in a sense very far removed from its original one of 'sending'" (we wonder, by the way, if Mr. Sankey translates it so in Homer), without a word to explain the process of transition.

Mr. Storr's edition of *Macaulay's Essay* is wholly unsatisfactory. It teems with misprints and blunders. To the printer we may ascribe "*Horace's calliola junctura*," but can he also be responsible for "*M. Tellegius (Tigellius !)* Hermogenes," or for transforming the *ambubaiarum collegia* into girls' schools (!) "The pupil" who is referred to Bontell's (Bowtell's) heraldry for an account of Portcullis and Rouge Dragon, and who "should look out Gray, Goldsmith, Beattie, Collins, and Mason in Aikins' or Chambers' *British Poets*, and "try to discover for himself the masterpieces," is supposed to need the information that Culloden was fought in the year 1745, a blunder by the way, which shows strange ignorance of the history of the Rebellion.

But the worst book of the series, and about the worst edited volume we have had the misfortune to come across, is Mr. Airy's *Selections from the Spectator*. Its blunders are literally countless, and on almost every subject. Derivations, of course, furnish a fertile source: we are told that Sibyl "is from  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , Doric from  $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  (!) and  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$  will. The Sibyl is she who embodies the will of Zeus." (!) Brachet is apparently as unknown to Mr. Airy as Curtius, for "batchelor is derived from *bas-chevalier*, a *knight* of low degree." We are remitted to Charicles for a graphic account of a Roman (!) symposium, "too long to be inserted here;" and are told that the Elzevirs were distinguished printers of Venice (!). We have such specimens of English as "Scott or Macaulay are *polite* authors." We have a note like this: "*Artchitecture* ; for other instances of bad spelling, see *landskip*, *sir-name*," without anything either in Mr. Airy's text, or in any other, that we can discover to justify such a monstrosity. And, finally, according to Mr. Airy, Fielding, "a celebrated novelist of the period, whose chief work was *Tom Jones*," had won himself such fame at the age of four years, that his works were to be found in the library of a lady of fashion. He adds that Smollett (born 1721) was also a popular author in 1711.

It is fortunate for the cause of our English literature in schools that it is not left to depend for its success on crude and ignorant compilations such as these.

END OF VOL. XLIII.

# INDEX

## TO

### VOLUME XLIII.

---

- 'Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs,'  
 Lepsius's, 1.  
 'Ägyptische Gräberwelt, Die,'  
 Brugsch's, 1.  
 Airy's 'Preparatory Arrangements for  
 observing the Transits of Venus in  
 1874, 1882,' 93.  
 Airy's 'Selections from the *Spectator*,'  
 527.  
 'Arlon Grange,' Gibbs's, 512.  
 Armstrong's 'Tragedy of Israel,' 514.  
 'Autobiography of Mrs. Gilbert,' 497.  
 Baker's 'Ismailia,' 329.  
 Baldwin Brown's 'Higher Life,' 222.  
 Beste's 'Sermons on Priestly Absolu-  
 tion,' 477.  
 'Bible Educator,' Plumptre's, 243.  
 'Bishop Asbury,' Briggs', 230.  
 Bonnier's 'Traveller's Guide in Sweden,'  
 60.  
 'Book of Daniel,' Wordsworth's, 292.  
 'Browne's Religio Medici,' 527.  
 Brugsch's 'Sai und Sinsin,' 1.  
 Bryant's 'Iliad,' 363.  
 Buchanan's Poetical Works, 213.  
 Bunsen's 'Egypt's place in Universal  
 History,' 1.  
 Bushnell's 'Forgiveness and Law,' 411.  
 Cairnes's 'Leading Principles of Poli-  
 tical Economy,' 524.  
 'Chapter of Autobiography, A,' Glad-  
 stone's, 382.  
 Christlieb's 'Modern Doubt, and Chris-  
 tian Belief,' 438.  
 'Church and the Empires, The,' 344;  
 burning questions, 347; Mr. Wilber-  
 force, 349; craving for certainty,  
 353; heathen Rome and early Chris-  
 tianity, 357; the fall of Imperial  
 Rome, 359; Roman reasoning, 361.  
 Collins's 'Ancient Classics,' 211.  
 'Comedies of George Chapman,' Pear-  
 son's, 32.  
 Cordery's 'Iliad,' 363.  
 Cox's 'Biblical Expositions,' 482.  
 Cox's 'Crusades,' 239.  
 'Daniel the Prophet, 292; personal  
 history of the Prophet, 293; Nebu-  
 chadnezzar's dream, 295; rationalist  
 objections, 297; Daniel and Ezekiel,  
 303; Belshazzar's place among the  
 kings, 307; the Fourth Beast, 311;  
 the Son of Man, 315; the little horn,  
 317; the seventy weeks, 323; last  
 visions, 327.  
 D'Anver's 'Elementary History of Art,'  
 510.  
 Dart's 'Iliad,' 363.  
 'Delivery and Development of Chris-  
 tian Doctrine,' Rainy's, 458.  
 'Ecclesiastical History of England,'  
 Stoughton's, 219.  
 'Egyptian Book of the Dead, The,' 1;  
 the evidences of primeval faith, 3;  
 Assyrian tablets, 5; reason for mum-  
 mifying corpses, 7; earlier and later  
 texts, 9; doctrine of immortality,  
 13; deterioration of primeval faith,  
 19; description of the book, 23;  
 book of migration, 29.  
 'English Readers,' 263.  
 'English School Classics,' 527.  
 'Etudes Bibliques,' Godet's, 467.  
 'Evangelical Alliance, The,' 265.

- Farrar's 'Life of Christ,' 241.  
 'Few facts touching Ritualism, A,' by Oxoniensis, 480.  
 Flint's 'Philosophy of History in Europe,' 520.  
 Forbiger's 'Hellas and Rom,' 123.  
 'Forgiveness and Law,' 411; change of views, 418; President Edwards, 417; the amen in humanity, 419; expiation and propitiation, 423; justification, 429; Scripture, the final appeal, 433; the paraclete, 435; flippancy of style, 437.  
 Gairdner's 'Epochs of History,' 519.  
 Gardiner's 'Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648,' 289.  
 Geyer's 'Histoire de Suède,' 60.  
 Gibson's 'Philosophy, Science, and Revelation,' 495.  
 Gladstone's 'Ecclesiastical Opinions,' 382; Bunsen on Gladstone, 383; the ideal of 1838, 389; Gladstone's first book, 391; the disestablishment of the Irish Church, 395; his recent manifestoes, 401; the Irish University Bill, 403; his "political expostulation," 405.  
 Gladstone's 'Iliad,' 363.  
 Godet's 'Etudes Bibliques,' 292.  
 Goldsmith's 'Traveller,' and 'Deserted Village,' 527.  
 'Greek Anthology,' Neaves's, 211.  
 Howells's 'Speech in Season,' 263.  
 Herschell's 'Iliad,' 363.  
 'Heterodox London,' Davies', 195.  
 'Higher Life, The,' Baldwin Brown's, 222.  
 History, Essays, and Documents of the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, 265; New York prepares for the Alliance, 269; reasons of the success, 273; continental religion, 275; American students in Europe, 279; Professor Warren, 281; Dr. Storrs on modern Romanism, 285; Dean Payne Smith at New York, 291.  
 'History of the Welsh in America,' Thomas', 246.  
 Hole's 'Young Christian armed,' 234.  
 Homer's Iliad in Translations, 363  
 Homer and Shakespeare, 365; Lord Derby, 367; English Hexameter, 367; Mr. Bryant, 371; Voss, 373; alliteration, 377; the shield, 379.  
 'Iliad of Homer,' Lord Derby's, 363.  
 'Image of Christ,' Oosterzee's, 446.  
 'Islam,' Arnold's, 261.  
 Ismailia, 329; a fearful journey, 331; wholesale matrimony, 333; a conspiracy, 335; foul play, 339; end of the campaign, 341.  
 Jacox's 'Scripture Proverbs,' 490.  
 'Jewish History,' Strachey's, 472.  
 Keil's 'Biblical Commentary,' 292.  
 Kingsley's 'Health and Education,' 199.  
 Lamb's 'Specimens of English Dramatic Poets,' 32.  
 'Law and God,' Roberts's, 487.  
 Leathes' 'Bampton Lectures,' 453.  
 Lebrun's 'Iliade traduite en Français,' 363.  
 'Lectures on the Geography of Greece,' Tozer's, 209.  
 Lewis's 'Life of John Thomas,' 255.  
 'Life and Correspondence of S. Johnson,' 504.  
 'Life and Correspondence of the Rev. John Clowes,' 506.  
 'Life of Dean Alford,' 263.  
 'Lyra Christi,' Ford's, 260.  
 Luthardt on St. John's Gospel, 463.  
 'Lux e Tenebris,' 493.  
 'Macaulay's Essays—Moore's Life of Lord Byron,' 527.  
 'Manual of Introduction to the Old Testament,' Keil's, 292.  
 Mandaley's 'Responsibility in Mental Disease,' 204.  
 McFarlane's 'Story of the Life Mission,' 249.  
 'Memorials of Rev. William Toase,' Arthur's, 228.  
 'Memorials of Thomas Lynch,' 509.  
 'Ministry and Character of R. H. Hare,' Hare's, 244.  
 'Missionary Enterprise in the East,' Collins', 248.  
 Morris' 'Epochs of History,' 239.  
 Murray's 'Handbook for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden,' 60.  
 'Natural Science,' Reid's, 494.  
 'New Companion to the Bible,' 264.  
 New's 'Life and Wanderings in Eastern Africa,' 281.

- Old Catholic Church, The, 177; latent and definite belief, 179; Döllinger, 181; inconsistency of the position, 185; Congress of Constance, 189; recent progress, 193.
- 'Omero,' *La Reposta di Achille*, 'Ago Hinto, 368.
- Oosterzee's 'Christian Dogmatics,' 250.
- 'Pilgrim Psalms,' Cox's, 490.
- Plays of George Chapman, The, 32; Lamb's estimate of him, 33; the gentleman usher, 39; the widow's tears, 41; Bussy d'Ambois, 43; Byron's conspiracy, 47; Alphonsus, 49; Mr. Pearson's editor, 55; specimens of original text, 57.
- 'Poems,' by Hunter Dodda, 215.
- 'Poetical works of David Gray,' 212.
- Proctor's 'Universe,' 93.
- 'Protestant Revolution, The,' Seebohm's, 239.
- Pusey's 'Daniel the Prophet,' 262.
- 'Reports of the Old Catholic Congresses,' 177.
- 'Ritualism and Ritual,' Gladstone's, 382.
- Rome in the time of the Antonines, 123; Marcus Aurelius, 127; the old Latin gods, 129; Greek deities, 131; sacrifices, 135; temples, 137; vestals, 141; Isis, 147; superstitions, 151.
- Society for the Promotion of Scientific Industry, 245.
- 'Songs of Two Worlds,' 513.
- St. Olair's 'Darwinism and Design,' 210.
- 'Spirit and the Word of Christ, The,' Vance Smith's, 226.
- Stokes's 'Poems of later years,' 237.
- 'Strivings for Faith,' 489.
- Study of Philosophy, 153; definitions, 155; philosophy and theology, 159; misconceptions, 163; ancient and modern schools of thought, 169; influence of Christianity, 171; originality of Christ's teaching, 173; Bacon's scheme, 175. }
- 'Suckling's Poems, Plays, and other Remains,' 234.
- Sweden—Past and Present, 60; relics of paganism, 61; Gustavus Vasa, 65; Thirty Years' War, 67; resources of Sweden, 71; railways, 73; the approach to Stockholm, 79; game in Sweden, 83; natural disinfectants, 87; Swedish poetry, 91.
- 'Texts and Thoughts for Christian ministers,' Harding's, 234.
- 'Theologisches Literaturblatt,' Reusch's 177.
- Thomson's 'Ilias, traduite en vers français,' 363.
- 'Through Normandy,' Macquoid's, 517.
- Transit of the planet Venus in 1874, 98; methods employed to measure parallax of the sun, 97; Horrocks and Crabtree, 103; Halley's method, 107; Mr. Proctor and the Astronomer Royal, 111; finding longitudes—the 'Black Drop,' 115; the English expeditions, 119.
- Ueberweg's 'History of Philosophy,' 153.
- 'Ulrich von Hutten,' Strauss', 500.
- 'Vatican Council, The,' Kaff's, 177.
- 'Vatican Decrees,' Gladstone's, 382.
- Vizcaya, 263.
- Waddington's 'Constitutional History, 1567—1700,' 216.
- 'Wayside Wells,' Lamont's, 263.
- 'What is Darwinism?' Hodge's, 210.
- Wilberforce's 'Church and the Empires,' 233.
- 'Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and other Essays,' Masson's, 513.
- Worsley's 'Iliad,' 363.







1868

20  
587  
050